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of church and state in

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HISTORY  
OF THE  
AFFAIRS OF CHURCH AND STATE  
IN  
SCOTLAND,  
FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION  
TO THE YEAR 1568.

BY THE  
RIGHT REV. ROBERT KEITH,  
PRIMUS OF THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

WITH  
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH, NOTES, AND INDEX.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME III.

EDINBURGH:  
PRINTED FOR THE SPOTTISWOODE SOCIETY.  
M.DCCC.L.

ALEX. LAURIE AND CO. PRINTERS TO HER MAJESTY.

## P R E F A C E.



N reference to some statements made by the Editor of the First Volume of this Work, I have received the following Letter from the Reverend ARCHIBALD JAMES DOUGLAS, Vicar of Mathon, Worcestershire :

*“ To the Editor of the Third Volume of Bishop Keith's History.*

“ REV. SIR,—Some little inaccuracies as to the Family and Representatives of Bishop Keith, having appeared in the Preface and Biographical Sketch prefixed to the First Volume of his History, as republished in 1844, under the auspices of the SPOTTISWOODE SOCIETY, I beg to supply you, from an authentic source, with more correct information ; simply adding that, when the First Volume appeared, there was no opportunity of testing the accuracy of the statements then made to the Editor, by reference to any of the Bishop's descendants. What follows, therefore, will be received in connexion with the statements in Vol. 1st. pp. viii. xi. lvii. lviii. lxxv. xc.

“ The Bishop married a lady named Isabel Cameron, daughter of the Rev. John Cameron, by whom he had two daughters. One of these died unmarried ; the other, named Katherine, was married to Mr Stewart Carmichael of Leith. The offspring of this marriage was a daughter, Katharina Stewartina, and a son who died young. The former became the first wife of Mr William Douglas, Merchant, Leith, and left issue by him, William (who died unmarried) Stewart, Archibald, and four daughters. The direct representation of the Bishop's Family, therefore, rests with the descendants of the late Mr Stewart Douglas ; who left five sons, the eldest of whom, William Douglas, Esq. of Liverpool, the great-great-grandson of the Bishop, is likewise

nearest of kin, through his grandmother, to Colonel Robert Keith, of the 2d Regiment of Foot Guards—who was, up to his death in 1780, acknowledged (p. lvi,) as the nearest male representative of George, tenth Earl Marischal, who died two years before him, namely, in 1778.

“Taking it for granted then, that, with the death of Keith of Northfield, referred to in the statement by John Riddell, Esq. in p. lxxxix, the *male* representatives of the Family became extinct, the representation in the *female* line belongs, in the first place, to the direct descendants of Keith of Northfield; or failing them, to the direct descendants or nearest heirs of Colonel Robert Keith, who are manifestly much nearer, in point of propinquity, to the last male representative who would have inherited the title and property, than the Family of Lady Clementina Elphinstone can be.

“In reference to a statement made at p. lxxv, it may be remarked, that the fact of the title and estates of Kintore devolving on the heirs-*female* of George, tenth Earl Marischal, goes no farther than to point out the representatives of the KINTORE Family, which, by the terms of the charter, were allowed to pass through the female line. The title and estates of MARISCHAL were restricted to *male* descendants; and would, therefore, as has been before observed, have devolved on Colonel Robert Keith, as the nearest male heir.

“By giving insertion to the foregoing statement, for the accuracy of which I am of course responsible,—You will much oblige, REV. SIR,

Your most obedient Servant,

A. J. DOUGLAS.

MATHON, MALVERN,  
8th December 1849.

“*P.S.*—Since the publication of the First Volume of this Work in 1844, a large and interesting collection of the Bishop’s Letters has been discovered, written in a kind of cypher. They refer principally to circumstances connected with the internal state of the Church in Scotland, from about 1740 to 1755.”

This Third Volume, it will be observed, relates exclusively to the "Church Affairs" of Scotland between the Reformation and the flight of the unfortunate Queen Mary into England. It contains, consequently, an account of the memorable struggle between the members of the Scoto-Catholic Church and the Reformers; which struggle, it is well known, ended in the triumph of the latter. Ever since that era, the great bulk of the people in this Country have been taught to unite their sympathies with the Reformers: whereas, Bishop Keith, in common with the members of the Episcopal Church, have pursued a middle course betwixt, what they deem, the two extremes; that is, betwixt no-reformation, and an ultra-reformation, or, in other words, betwixt middle age abuses, and modern innovations; and while they have retained, in "The Holy Catholic Church" of the Apostle's Creed all that was primitive and venerable, they have rejected that which was unauthorised and schismatical. In short, they have, like their Reformed sister of England, avoided Rome on the one hand, and Geneva on the other; and followed the combined light of Scripture and Antiquity. This is the view entertained by the conductors of the SPOTTISWOODE SOCIETY, and by myself, the humble Editor of this volume; and this view I have exhibited, as well as I could, in the few Appended Notes,—to which I refer the reader.

C. J. LYON.

ST ANDREWS, *January* 1850.



# CONTENTS OF VOLUME THIRD.

---

## BOOK III.

### INTRODUCTION TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

	PAGE
CONTAINING SOME SPECIAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE TIME OF THE PARLIAMENT IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1560,	1
CHAP. I.—CONTAINING CHURCH-AFFAIRS FROM THE PARLIAMENT IN AUGUST 1560, UNTIL THE QUEEN'S RETURN INTO SCOTLAND IN AUGUST 1561,	13
CHAP. II.—CONTAINING ECCLESIASTICK AFFAIRS FROM THE QUEEN'S ARRIVAL INTO THIS KINGDOM FROM FRANCE, IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1561, TILL THE BATTLE OF CORRICHIE, IN THE END OF OCTOBER 1562,	39
CHAP. III. — CONTAINING CHURCH-AFFAIRS FROM THE BATTLE OF CORRICHIE, IN THE END OF OCTOBER 1562, TILL THE PARLIAMENT IN DECEMBER 1564,	61
CHAP. IV.—CONTAINING CHURCH-AFFAIRS FROM THE PARLIAMENT IN DECEMBER 1564, TILL THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE IN JUNE 1566,	97
CHAP. V.—CONTAINING ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS FROM THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE IN THE MONTH OF JUNE 1566, TILL THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE WITH THE EARL OF BOTHWELL IN THE MONTH OF MAY 1567,	136
CHAP. VI. — CONTAINING CHURCH-AFFAIRS FROM THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE WITH THE EARL OF BOTHWELL IN THE MONTH OF MAY 1567, UNTIL HER REMOVAL INTO ENGLAND, AFTER THE BATTLE OF LANGSIDE, IN THE MONTH OF MAY 1568,	162

## APPENDIX TO BOOK II.

	PAGE
I.—A Message of the Estates of Scotland to the King and Queen, . . . . .	209
II.—Queen Mary's Letter to the English Ambassador, in French, . . . . .	210
III.—A Letter from the Laird of Lethington to Sir William Cecil, . . . . .	211-216
IV.—The Indenture betwixt the Lord Dacre and the Master of Maxwell, . . . . .	216-218
Acts of Privy-Council, . . . . .	218
V.—Commission by the Queen to William Maitland of Lethington, . . . . .	220
VI.—The perils and troubles that may presently ensue to the Queen's Majesty and this realm, and in time to come follow, upon the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Lord Darnley, 2d June 1565, . . . . .	221-223
VII.—Message of the Queen of England, by Mr Tamworth, in August 1565, . . . . .	223-227
Answer for the part of the Queen's Majesty to the proposition made by Mr Tamworth upon the behalf of the Queen of England, . . . . .	228-232
The offers to be propounded to the Queen of England upon the behalf of the King and Queen's Majesties, . . . . .	232-235
VIII.—Acts of the Town-Council of Edinburgh, . . . . .	235-237
IX.—Acts of Privy-Council, from July to December 1565 :—	
Assurance toward the state of Religion, . . . . .	237
Proclamation to come to Edinburgh, . . . . .	238
Master of Requests and Advocate direct toward the Earls of Argyll and Moray, . . . . .	239
Assurance to the Earl of Moray, . . . . .	240
Charge on the Earl of Moray, . . . . .	241
Charge to the Sheriffs to convene an Army, . . . . .	242
Another Assurance to the Earl of Moray, . . . . .	243
Proclamation anent the state of Religion, . . . . .	244
The Army called back, . . . . .	245
Charge on the lieges to put themselves in readiness, . . . . .	246
Act in favour of the heirs of such as should be slain in the expedition under Mathew Earl of Lennox, . . . . .	247
Proclamation before the Army which passed to Dumfries, . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Bond made in Fife, . . . . .	248
Bond in the West country, and other places, . . . . .	249
Declaration of the intention of the rebels, . . . . .	250
Division of the battle, . . . . .	252
For attending unto the coast sides and passages, . . . . .	253
Charge on the Wardens to attend the passage of the rebels, . . . . .	254

	PAGE
Proclamation to be ready to pass with the Earl of Atholl, . . . . .	255
Charge on the Earl of Argyll and Lord Boyd, . . . . .	256
Declaration anent the execution of the Summons of Treason, . . . . .	257
The new 'Riall' coined, . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
X.—Letters from Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, and the Council of England, . . . . .	259
XI.—Lord Ruthven's account of the murder of Rizzio. A Discourse of the late troubles that happened in Scotland betwixt the noble and mighty Princess Mary, by the grace of God Queen of Scots, and her husband Henry the King, with other Earls, Barons, Gentlemen and Freeholders, Merchants and Craftsmen, on their part, the 9th day of March 1565. Written in Berwick the last day of April 1566, . . . . .	260-278
Certain Articles to be subscribed by James Earl of Moray, Archibald Earl of Argyll, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, Andrew Earl of Rothes, Robert Lord Boyd, Andrew Lord Ochiltree, and other accomplices of the noble and mighty Prince Henry, King of Scotland, which they offer, with all lowliness, to the said Prince, for whom they pray, . . . . .	262
Certain Articles to be fulfilled by the noble and mighty Prince Henry, King of Scotland, husband to our Sovereign Lady, to James Earl of Moray, Archibald Earl of Argyll, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, Andrew Earl of Rothes, Robert Lord Boyd, Andrew Lord Ochiltree, remaining in England, . . . . .	263
XII.—Acts of Privy-Council concerning the murder of Rizzio, . . . . .	278
Proclamation to meet at Musselburgh, . . . . .	279
Charge on the persons delated of the slaughter of David Rizzio, . . . . .	280
Device for rebels that were at Rizzio's murder, . . . . .	281
For rebels accessory to Rizzio's murder, . . . . .	282
XIII.—Original French Letters omitted, . . . . .	284
XIV.—Letter of the Council of Scotland to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Ambassador in France, . . . . .	<i>ib.</i>
Letter of Le Croc, Ambassador of France, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, in French, . . . . .	285
Letter of Mr John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, upon the Queen's sickness, . . . . .	286-289
XV.—Letter of the Council of Scotland to the Council of England, . . . . .	290
XVI.—The Protestation of the Earls of Huntly and Argyll, touching the murder of the King of Scots, . . . . .	<i>ib.</i> -294
An Answer by the Earl of Moray, Regent, to the foresaid Protestation, pasted on the back thereof, 19th January 1568-9, . . . . .	294

	PAGE
XVII.—Remark concerning the Queen's Letters, Sonnets, &c.	295
Discharge to the Earl of Morton, &c. with remarks,	297
Apology concerning other Letters falsely ascribed to the Queen,	298
XVIII.—Extract of the deciphering of a Letter of Queen Mary's to her Ambassador, the Archbishop of Glasgow, from Sheffield, 1st June 1576,	300
Extract of a Letter, in cypher, of Archbishop Beaton to Queen Mary, 30th July 1576,	<i>ib.</i>
Extract of a Letter of Archbishop Beaton, in cypher, to the Queen, 4th January 1577,	301
Extract of a Letter of Queen Mary to the Archbishop of Glasgow, her Ambassador-in-Chief, from Sheffield, 6th January 1577,	303
Copy of a relation of the Earl of Bothwell's declaration at his death, by one that was present,	304-306
Extract of a Letter of the Queen to the Archbishop of Glasgow, 2d May 1578,	306
Part of a Communication to the Author,	307
Extract of the principal heads contained in the last Letter that came from the Queen's Highness, our Mistress, direct from Bowton, the 19th December 1568,	309
XIX.—Letters concerning the Pope's Nuncio,	311
XX.—Act of Edinburgh,	312
XXI.—A Platt Executory, devised per Lethington,	313
XXII.—Omitted,	315
XXIII.—Act of Council, New Coinage,	<i>ib.</i>
XXIV.—Charge to present the Seals,	316
XXV.—Acts of Parliament,	317-324
XXVI.—Proclamation to come to Glasgow,	324
Miscellaneous additions to the History :—	
Letter from the Nobility of Scotland to Queen Elizabeth, Edinburgh, 1st September 1561,	325
The Copy of Articles between Lord William Howard, Lord Chamberlain, and Mr William Maitland, the Queen of Scots' Secretary, 7th July 1561,	326
A Declaration of Mary Queen of Scots,	327
Arguments against the Queen's [Elizabeth] Majesty's meeting with the Queen of Scots at the first appointment, betwixt June and August, 20th June 1562,	328
Principal Points to be remembered and considered in the Affairs of Scotland, 24th September, at Westminster, in the seventh year of Elizabeth's Reign, [being an Abstract of Letters out of Scotland in Secretary Cecil's hand,]	329-339
Other Abstracts of Letters from the Cotton Library, [Original Letter, the Earl of Moray to Cecil, Newcastle, 15th January 1565-6,]	339-350
	343

	PAGE
[Letter from the Queen of Scotland to the Earl of Bedford,]	350
[Letter, Queen of Scotland to the Queen of England,]	351
Instructions to our trusty and well-beloved Sir Andrew Ker of Hirsell, Knight, to be declared in our behalf to the Earl of Bedford, Lord Governor of Berwick, and Lieutenant of the North parts of England,	352
[Letter, Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth,]	353
[Letter, Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary,]	354-357
Act of Privy-Council concerning the eating of flesh,	357
Order by Queen Mary,	358

## APPENDIX TO BOOK III.

	PAGE
I.—Acts of Privy-Council,	360-368
Alphabetical List of the Bishoprics of Scotland, with an account of the revenues thereof, &c.	369-387
Act of Council concerning Adam Foreman and John Wishart,	388
Another Act of Council concerning the Supplication of John Harvy, Thomas Gould, &c. against the Commendator of Newbottle,	389
List of Parsonages,	391
II.—Act of the General Assembly restoring the Bishop of Orkney,	392
III.—Act of the General Assembly allowing Mr John Craig's Purgation,	393
Copy of a Letter from Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel, to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, 7th April 1559,	<i>ib.</i> -396
Writings betwixt Quintin Kennedy and John Willock,	396-404
Mr Quintin Kennedy's Book, entitled, "A Compendious Tractive conform to the Scriptures, &c."	405-413
Certain Tracts for Reformation of Doctrine and Manners, set forth at the desire, and in the name of the afflicted Catholics of inferior order of Clergy and Laymen in Scotland; by Niniane Winzet, a Catholick priest, born in Renfrew. Which by name this leaf turned shall shew. <i>Murus aheneus sana conscientia.</i> Edinburgh, 21st May 1562,	413
The First Tract, to the Queen, Pastors, and Nobility,	414-424
The Second Tract by Winzet,	424-430

The Third Tract by Winzet, . . . .	430-439
Mr Niniane Winzet's Book of Eighty-three Ques- tions, &c. &c. . . . .	439-507
Some Additions and Corrections, . . . .	507

[See also the Letters and other Documents in the "Advertisement to the Reader," at the beginning of Vol. I.]

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE AFFAIRS OF  
CHURCH AND STATE IN SCOTLAND.

BOOK III.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

CONTAINING SOME SPECIAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE TIME OF  
THE PARLIAMENT IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1560.



S in the transactions of the Parliament in the month of August 1560, I found myself obliged to intermix so much of ecclesiastical matters as came to be treated in that meeting; so, now that I am to enter upon a regular declaration of these same affairs through the following seven or eight years, whereof I have already narrated the Civil Part, I judge it altogether proper to impart to my readers some farther original information relating to the posture of Churchmen and Church matters in and about the time of that Parliament.

It has been already seen that John Monluc, Bishop of Valence, was one of our Sovereign's Plenipotentiaries at composing the differences immediately preceding the pretended Parliament in the year 1560. This Monluc, it appears, was the person chiefly trusted by our Scottish Prelates at that time; to him they communicated their grievances, and through him they proposed to obtain a

relief from such hardships as they judged themselves to be brought under. But what small service that French Prelate<sup>1</sup> did to those of this nation who put so much confidence in him, may be pretty well perceived by the tenor of the Articles of Agreement formerly set down.

*Follows a Memorandum,<sup>2</sup> without date or title, written entirely in the hand-writing of the Archbishop of St Andrews (Hamilton); but the tenor of it will necessarily determine its date.*

“MEMORANDUM.—To resaif the Artickilis, togydder with this particular Artickil, quhilk we desire to be maid mair cleir be the Bischop of Valence; and gif he nocht do it himself, to interprete thame, and putt away all obscuritie, that he wald communicat the heids following with the Lordis of Congregation, and gett thair mynds and resolution.

“*Item*, That the Imbassador gett perfett resolution gif all kirkmen's houses, baith of Prelatis and inferiours, that hes bene spulziet fra thame violently sen this insurrection, sall be restorit to thame instantly again or [before] thair departing; and gif that beis not done, that na kirkman oder [either] to lippin for thair houses or leving.

“*Item*, That thai make the Artickil cleir, that all kirkmen of every degree to be maid sure of [against] harme and skaith in thair bodies, quhairever thai pass, baith be the Lordis of the Congregation, and all thai may stopp; and that to be extendit surely.

“*Item*, Gif ony Prelatis be desirit to be at this Parliament, that thai may frelie pass and repass thai and thair servandis, without ony danger of thair body. And that thai may frelie say thair voit in Parliament, conforme to thair conscience, without injurie or skorne. And the auld manner in Parliament to be kept to thame, and thair privilegis usit and wont.

<sup>1</sup> See the character of this Prelate in Moreri's Dictionary, not altogether indeed to his advantage. [The article in Moreri says that this Bishop left a natural son, who was legitimated, and became a Marichalde France; and moreover that the Bishop was alleged to be inclined to Protestantism, and a favourer of new opinions. Thus both his creed and his conduct were inconsistent with his profession.—E.]

<sup>2</sup> Colleg. Scot. Paris. Mem. Scotl. Tom. i. f. 205.

“ *Item*, To gett my Lordis Valence and Amiens counsal, and quhow the Ordinaries shall now exerce thair office and ordinarie cure in thai thingis concernis thair office and conscience.

“ And gif we may cause say Mess and Divine Service opinly in all partis of our dioecy without cummir and offence, and quhow we sall use us in thir behalfs. And gif the Ambassador cannot gyf resolution himself to thir Heads, that he gett the resolution of the Lordis of Congregation, and that schortlie.

“ *Item*, That the Bischop of Valence cause the Commis-sionar that suld cum heir fra the King and Quene for halding of the Parliament, be sa restricket, that it be nocht left to thir Lordis to abrogat ony Actis passit of before ; or zit to mak ony alteration of ony Estait, or zit to the prejudice of ony of the three Estaits in this Parliament. Bot gif thair be found be the hail three Estaits ony point in this Parli-ament quhilk hes nocht bene of before, that the Artickil thairof be nottit alanerly at this Parliament, without ony Resolution, or votting, or pronunsing, bot to be sent first to the King and Quene, to be sene and considerit be thame to anuther Parliament ; that gif their Majesties find the Actis gude, that thai may gyf first thair consentis, and thaireftir propone it heir in Parliament.”

By this last article of the Memorandum the readers will clearly perceive that the then Prelates of this nation did look for a Parliament in form, with a Commissioner from the King and Queen, clothed and restricted with proper instructions, and no innovation to be made without consent of their Sovereigns, especially in matters of religion. Thus, it seems, when they found the Parliament proceeding with-out any such formality, and all things borne down by a plurality of their adversaries, themselves threatened, and their rents attached, they have become quite dispirited, and thunder-struck as it were, and putting all their trust in the remedy they expected from France, (which, however, never came), they have stupidly suffered all things to go on with-out so much as entering a protestation against these un-warranted proceedings, or leaving the Parliament under form of instrument.

Another paper I present to the reader for information at this time is

*A Letter by the Archbishop of St Andrews (Hamilton) to the Archbishop of Glasgow, dated 18th August 1560.*<sup>1</sup>

“MY LORD—Efter hairtlie commendation, pleas I man mac this litil ticat to zour Lordschip, mair that remembrance be not tynt betwixt us, nor for ony matteris of importance; for sen zour departyng, na novellis has occurrit heir seyn, bot as ze left thame. For zit the cuntrie is nocht in gude rest nor obedience, albeit thair be mekil spekyng of God and His Word, and all men for the maist pairt hes maid in Parliament the Confession of thair Faith, as ze sall resaif this copy thair of, quhilk wesaggreit in Parliament xvij Augusti, and vottit without mekil resistance, except three Bischopis, viz. Dunkeld, Dunblain, and the third I need not expym.<sup>2</sup> And siclik, Erlis Cassils, Catness, Crawford, Atholl, Eglinton, Houme, Gray, would nocht cum to the Tolbuyth nor vott.<sup>3</sup> And all the rest ratifyit the Confession by [except] Kylwynen in an maner, by certain Lordis, Lord Borthwick and Lord Somerwel. *Item*, Thair is maid, be consent of Parliament, an commission to certain Nobilmen to seik the mariage of the Quene of Ingland to my Lord Arran. Quhat cumis of it, I cannot say; bot I knaw perfectly that baith ze and I wald haif it endit betwixt thame: For it is vottit without ony maner of prejudice to our Soveranes, or thair Autho-

<sup>1</sup> Colleg. Scot. Paris. Mem. Scotl. Tom. i. f. 157; an original.

<sup>2</sup> Meaning no doubt himself. And so this lets us into the secret of the singling out these three Prelates in the Act contained p. 151 above. [Vol. i. p. 324.] By this likewise we learn that some feeble resistance at least has been made against the *new Confession of Faith* in Parliament.

<sup>3</sup> Yet the Earl of Athole is remarkably taken notice of by our Historians, as having voted against the new Confession; and all these other Peers are marked in the list of this Parliament. So it seems the list has been made up at discretion by the men in power. It may be said the Prelates had done well not to have come into the Parliament neither; but perhaps they dreaded a further resentment from the prevailing party, should they have absented; or probably they have thought that by their complying to meet the Parliament, they might have obtained some favour with respect to the Bills which they were obliged by the late capitulation to offer to the Parliament, for redress of such wrongs as they had sustained. But I shall not say that either of the two were justifiable reasons; nor, on the other hand, can we determine any thing in the matter at this distance.

ritie.<sup>1</sup> And as to particular causis or complaintis, as zit thir xv dayis thai wald tak nane in, or at the leist all the Billis thai kepe thame as zit; and na manis levingis nor houses restorit, and zouris and myne in speciall. I can nocht say quhat thai will do now efter this. Farder, the elderis callit of every town takis all the causis of our ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, and intromettis with all our office; quhilk ze man luke to. And at this Parliament the Lordis of Artickilis was, Postulat of Galloway, and Abbot Lindoris, Commendator of Arbroath, and St Colm, Den Johne Wynrame;<sup>2</sup> and thai war chosen be the temporall Estait of [out of] our Estait,<sup>3</sup> with sum utheris. I heir thai will do all thingis thai may do against kirk and kirkmen, not breaking openly the appointment: And as all thingis takis end, ze sall be advertisit. Bot without uther order nor I sie, I beleif litil rest for us; for thai will not tholl us ells to weir our awin claythes without troubil. Also ze man cause sum man use zour jurisdiction, and be officiall or commissar, that we may haif the letteris towart inhibition for teinds, or for summar process; for it will be sum time to get execution on sentence. For I noder will nor can thynk that our Soveranis will lat all this cuntre be oppressit wrongouslie be subjectis; bot I will nocht judge quhill I see the uttermaist. Bot an thyng is, that sa lang as thir new precheris ar thollit and haldyng, that ar nocht admittit be the Ordinary, bot cumis in be force, or tane in be townis at thair awin hand, sa that thai will not thol ony maner of service in the kirk, oder Mess, preching, using ony Sacramentis bot alanalie be thai men, and all utterly opposis all utheris, baith Bischopis, Abbotis, Parsonis, Vicaris, that will not use all thyngis of thair manner as thai preserif: Thairfor zour Lordschip man be diligent for remeid of thir thyngis;

<sup>1</sup> This confirms our observation in p. 155, [Vol. ii. 9.]

<sup>2</sup> Archbishop Spottiswoode gives the list thus, viz. Bishops of Galloway and Argile, Prior of St Andrews, Abbots of Aberbrothick, Kilwinning, Lindores, Newbottle, and Culros; which list may probably be true, since Archbishop Hamilton says here, "with sum utheris."

<sup>3</sup> This is a plain instruction that the temporal lords have been in use, even at that time, to make choice of so many from among the clergy, to make up the Lords of Articles; which custom we know came afterward to be passed into a law in the Reign of King Charles I. Spottiswoode observes likewise, that it was the privilege of Noblemen then to nominate some of the clergy.

and at reasoning wald that [na] alteration war maid of Godis Service, oder in synging or saying of Mess, Matynes, using of prechings and Sacramentis, again baith the Prelatis willis, and siclik again the peopillis awin willis. Bot it micht be sufficient to ony that wold be of this new opinion to use thair awin conscience with thairsell,<sup>1</sup> and nocht to cummir utheris to bost thame, or banisch thame the cuntrie, without thai do siclik; or at the leist, to hald all thair benefices and lyvingis fra thame. And als, it is schawin that thai will putt in every kirk, by all the Bischopis, [i. e. without consent of the Bishops,] ministeris to preich and use the Sacramentis on thair maner, and debarr all utheris. And thir precheris ar sa seditious, that I belief littil obediens to the autoritie sa lang as thai haif place. And as all thyngis takis end, I sall heirefter advertise zour Lordschip schortlie, or send an servant to zou. And quhat zour Lordschip will I do heir, I sall do siclik, as I offer me to zour servandis heir ay to do. Thair is nane of this new band hes will oder to speik or accompany with ony of us. Referring farder to my nixt writing or sending. Of Edinburgh xvij Augusti.

“All thir new precheris perswadis opinly the Nobilitie, in the pulpit, to putt violent handis, and slay all kirkmen that will not concurr and tak thair opinion; and openly reprochis my Lord Duk that he will nocht begin first, and oder to cause me do as thai do, or els to use the rigour on me be slauchter, sword,<sup>2</sup> or at the leist, perpetuall prison: And

<sup>1</sup> This Prelate should have thought of this sooner, and granted liberty of conscience when he had more power in his hand. But we see men in power, be they of whatever denomination, are still of one mind, viz. to carry every thing by a high hand.

<sup>2</sup> This is indeed a severe charge; but I must acknowledge it comes not up the length of what I mentioned p. 50, [Vol. i. p. 123,] and promised to have inserted into the Appendix, Number 25. I therefore beg the reader's pardon for not being able to make good what I there inserted. And yet I must free myself of any bad intention; the information I had, before that I received this letter, having affirmed fully as much as I then said. [From the example of what had happened to his immediate predecessor in the See of St Andrews, Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop Hamilton had too much reason to dread personal violence from the Reformers, and his own final fate (he was hanged over Stirling Bridge, dressed in his clerical robes out of mockery!) amply corroborated the fears he now entertained. He also ran a very narrow risk of his life about this time, at the destruction of the Abbey of Paisley, of which he was Abbot. “They

with tyme, gif thai be thollit, na man may haif lyf bot without thai grant thair Artickilis; quhilk I will nocht. Thairfor provide remeid. I pray zour Lordschip to mak my commendation to all Nobilmen of our acquaintance of French beand in Court, and my Lord Seyton.<sup>1</sup>

“Zour Lordschip at all Power,

“J. SANCTANDROIS.”

The readers will receive likewise a good deal of satisfaction by perusing the following letter written by the Archbishop of Glasgow's factor, who seems to have been a sensible, sincere, plain country man; and I presume his account to the Archbishop of what passed while he wrote on the place, may be safely depended upon.

*Letter of Thomas Archibald, Chamberlain of the Archbishoprick of Glasgow, to the Archbishop at Paris, 28th August 1560.*<sup>2</sup>

“MY LORD, efter maist hairtlie commendation of service: It will pleis zour Lordschip, that zour mother is weill con-

(the Reformers, says Knox,) burnt Paisley. The Bishop of St Andrews who was Abbot, *narrowly escaped*. They cast down Failford, Kilwinning, and part of Crossraguel.” It is evident from this what would have been the fate of the poor Abbot, had he not “narrowly escaped.” Knox adds, “Thus God so potently wrought with us, so long as we depended upon Him, that all the world might see His potent hand to maintain us, and to fight against our enemies.” It is not very evident how they showed their dependence upon God; they seem rather to have depended upon their own efforts; but it would have been more prudent if the Reformer had contented himself with relating the facts, without prejudging the question of the divine interference in an affair which, on the part of man, was conducted with so much turbulence, and the indulgence of so many base passions and propensities.—See Lyon's Hist. of St Andrews, i. 346.—E.]

<sup>1</sup> This Nobleman went away in company with the Archbishop of Glasgow, when the French soldiers were sent home.

<sup>2</sup> Colleg. Scot. Paris, Mem. Scotl. fol. 166, an original. There are many more of this man's letters to his Lord, the Archbishop; but they are all concerning his care to get up the rents which were entrusted with him: Only here and there he tells a word of what was adoin in the country; such as, “10th October 1560, John Willocks is going to London with the Ambassadors to bring home his wife; he gets 1000*l.* yearly off the Bishoprick of Glasgow, [I suspect he is mistaken in the sum] and dwells in the Dean's house. All the poor priests that will not recant are banished the town [of Glasgow]. 18th December 1560.—Himself [Archibald] warded till he should repay the rents of Glasgow he had got up. My Lord Huntly holds up the Mass in Strathbogy, and will not

valescit again, and all frendis heir is weil, be reason that thair is gude word that zour Lordschip is weill in France. And concerning zour Lordschipis bissiness of zour Lordschip's leving of the Bischopry of Glasgo, I can find nathing to be gottin heir, bot is alwayis denyit baith with my Lord Dukis Grace and the Counsall. For first I zied [*i. e. went*] to my Lord Duk incontinent efter zour Lordschipis departing, and desirit restitution of the castell and places of Glasgo and Lochwood, and gaif in Billis to the Lordis of Counsall, desirand restitution conform to the Articlis of Peace: And the Dukis answer and the Lordis wes, that thai commandit the Lordis of the Session to give all the letteris of four formis; quha refusit, and continuit [*i. e. put off*] the giving of the letteris to the Parliament: And I remainit continuallie in Edinburgh quhil the Parliament, and thair maid Billis, as the rest of the spirituall Lordis, as my Lord of Santandrois, Duncald, Dunblain, [Durie Abbot of] Dumfermling, and utheris of the clarge, quha could get na answer the space of thretty-three dayis; and the last day of the Parliament, at fyve houris at evin, the Lordis of the Articlis callit for the Bischopis to resson thair Billis, and thai war all departit, be reason that thai would nocht subseryve with the Lordis of the Articlis; *and therefor thai war callit because of thair department.* I gaif in sindrie Billis to the Lerdis of the Parliament, be avyse of Maister Johne Spens, desirand an answer: I could never get the answer of ane of thame. At last I passit to the Maister of Maxwell, quha zeid in special to my Lord Duk for zour Lordschipis affairs, and he gat an answer of my Lord Duk, that his Grace wald not haif ado thairwith, and that thair wald na kirkmen be answerit, neither of thair placis nor rentis, without that thai subscrivit the Articlis of the new religioun, as thai haif sett it forwart. The Parliament endit the xxiv of August 1560, and began the first of the samyn. I was at my Lord Duk be the xvi day of August, and desirit his Grace to gif me

come to the Lords of the Congregation——and sicklyk my Lords of Eglinton, Cassils, Symple, Ross, and Hume, comes not to thame, nor zit to thair Counsall. The Laird of Dalhousy is in ward in the Castell of Sanctandrois, becaus he gaif three or four pur Friars meat in his place. My Lord of Arran and my Lord James seirchit all his place, and gatt thame not; but thai brunt all the bukis and mess-claiths that was in the place."

his written answer, quhidder that he would restore the castell and place of Glasquo to me as chamberlan and factor to zour Lordschip, be resone that I wes left be zour Lordschip to resaif the samyn; and I said to his Grace that I would write no lyis to zour Lordschip, and thairfor desirit his Grace's answer, swa that I war not callit an evil servant and negligent. His answer wes, that he had na mair ado thair-with nor the rest of the Lordis of Counsall. And swa I got nathing done in this bissiness, as this bearer can schaw zour Lordschip. And the rest of the Bischopes and kirkmen that hes nocht adjoint is done in like maner, and will get nathing this zeir to cum mair than thai gat the zeir bygane. The Lordis dischargit all letteris of factories in Parliament; bot zit thair factoris intromettis and takis up all thingis in the auld maner.<sup>1</sup> I mister not to write mair of bissiness to zour Lordschip; but, as I hear, how soon the comptis of thair factoris is hard, that thai will gif thame new commissionis again, or utheris in thair placis — [Follows an account of his diligence in craving the duties of the Kirk of Glasgow in several places, but without getting any thing; then follows,] — I putt no doubt bot zour Lordschip is advertisit of the Lordis of the Artielis. For newis: Thir ar the Imbassadoris that departis in Ingland for the mariage of my Lord Duk's son,—My Lord Glencairn, my Lord Morton, my Lord Revan, my Lord Robert, as said is, and the Lard of Ledinton the Secretar: Thai depart wondrous bruisk, thair bayis ar taxit to cum up to £15,000. To thair furnishing Maister Robert Richeson,<sup>2</sup> advancit them £5,000. Farther, thair is an Act maid on the last day of the Parliament, that gif my Lord of Sanct Androis, zour Lordschip, Dunfermling, my Lordis of Murray, Dun-cald, Dunblain, the Prior of Quhittern, Corsragruel, and all thais that hes not adjoint, that gif thai haif sett ony tackis, fewis, or rentalis, sen the vi day of March, in the zeir of God 1559 zeiris, the said tackis and fewis sall be of na avail;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is still another instance of unjust procedure by this Convention.

<sup>2</sup> He was Commendator of St Mary Isle, and Lord Treasurer; he is often mentioned in our Scottish history. If the Lord Ruthven and Lord Robert of Holyroodhouse were indeed nominated in this Convention to repair into England, it is probable they have left the trouble of the journey to the Earls of Glencairn and Morton, and the young laird of Lethington.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 151, [Vol. i. p. 324.]

and swa thair is nathing to me ado heir without thair be some remeid found thairfor. My Lord Duk sayis heir, that zour Lordschip hes maid evil report of him and of his sone my Lord of Aran, sen zour Lordschipis departing of Scotland; and this his Grace said to the Maister: I mister not to exprem his naim<sup>1</sup> to zour Lordschip. The Maister said this himself to me; quhairfor I think zour Lordschip the war [worse] handelit. The Maister standis in gude mind to zour Lordschip, and sayis, gif ony of the Bischopis beis restorit to thair livingis and placis, that zour Lordschip sall be restorit in like maner, utherwayis thai sall tyne [lose] him. And this zour Lordschip sall belief surelie that I write unfeinzetlie to zour Lordschip. I sall remain byding better tymis cuming, and God preserve zour Lordschip. Of Edinburgh, xxviii day of August 1560.

“ Be zour Lordschip at command,

“ THOMAS ARCHIBALD.”

“ *P.S.*—Johne Willokis is maid Bischop<sup>2</sup> of Glasquo, now in zour Lordschipis absens, and placit in zour place of Glasquo.”

By this letter we have discovered to us more than otherwise we should ever have known of the hardships and injustice imposed upon the clergy, contrary to the plain Articles of the late Agreement. And both by it and the preceding letter of the Archbishop of St Andrews, we find what truth is contained in that Act of Declaration made in this Convention, and printed here already, p. 151, [i. 324,] beginning thus:—*It is statut, that becaus na man comperit of the kirkmen, &c.* For by comparing these letters with this Declaration, it is most obvious the Parliament has fraudulently eluded the meaning of the agreement, and by the same mean and wicked art not only deprived the poor kirkmen of the

<sup>1</sup> Very probably the Master of Maxwell is here intended.

<sup>2</sup> The writer of this letter is so far in the right, that Mr Willocks was truly made Superintendent of Glasgow. [This Reformer's name is variously spelt Willock, Willockis, and Willox. He gave up the work of reforming in 1568, and retired to England; nor could any entreaties of his brethren induce him to return.—E.]

small relief afforded them by the Articles of Capitulation, but brought them likewise under the reproach of having had no complaint at all to bring before the Parliament: Whereas we are here rendered certain that several bills of complaint were given in to the Parliament, but no answer at all vouchsafed them, though often requested, until at last, when the Prelates were quite tired out, and having lost all hopes of redress to their complaints, were departed, after a tedious attendance of thirty-three days and more, (a very unusual space for our *Scottish* Parliament to sit,) they were pleased to call the Bishops at five o'clock in the evening, immediately before the rising of the Parliament, when they were sure the Bishops were all gone, (and as Mr Archbald very well observes—*thairfoir thai war callit becaus of thair department*,) and because the Bishops were not present *to reason their Bills*, that is, shew reason why their bills, petitions, or demands, should be granted, they were holden as having either withdrawn their bills, or as having *not* offered any bills at all; and so the Declaration just now mentioned proceeds to say, that *the Lordis and Nobilitie had done their dewtie conform to the Articles of Peax, quhilk says, &c.* But if this was *doing their duty*, or doing to others as they would have wished to be done by, honest and impartial men will be best judges. Surely if the Earl Marischal thought it a sufficient reason for him to conclude the badness of *one* plea from the silence of the Bishops, his Lordship might, in my humble opinion, have more justly concluded the badness of *another* from the deceitful and elusory expressions of the Congregation; at least, he should have abhorred to support a *good cause* by *evil measures*. But the Noblemen wanted to finger the patrimony of the kirkmen; and so the kirkmen may complain, but they shall never be heard. But besides this Parliamentary cheat, if I may so call it, it is to a demonstration evident by Archbald's letters that the men in power had no such intention as to fulfil the contents of the 13th Article of the Accord: For how often had this Archbald solicited the Council, and particularly his Grace of Chastelherault, in favours of the Archbishop of Glasgow; but we see all was to no purpose. There was so much contrivance, shifting and shuffling, and at last downright denial, unless the kirkmen would subscribe the Articles of the

new religion, that I wonder not that Knox and Buchanan have taken care not to say one word of this matter in all their History of the Reformation ; for indeed it might have cost more than all their skill, great as it was, to have varnished over this dirty job with any tolerable appearance of equity.

## CHAPTER I.

CONTAINING CHURCH-AFFAIRS FROM THE PARLIAMENT IN  
AUGUST 1560 UNTIL THE QUEEN'S RETURN INTO SCOTLAND  
IN AUGUST 1561.

BEING now resolved to follow forth the new scheme into which the ecclesiastical affairs of this Nation were thrown by the present modellers, it may not be altogether amiss to run over the short hint thereof, which, for connexion's sake, I have already subjoined to the Treaty of Accord in the month of July 1560.

Mr Knox then tells us, that after the publication of that treaty, the departure of the foreign soldiers, and the solemn thanksgiving in the High Church of Edinburgh, "the Commissioneris of Burghs, with some of the Nobility and Barons, were appointed to see the equal distribution of Ministers, to change and transport, as the most part should think expedient." Then follow the names of the Ministers and the places to which they were appointed, as is already set down. Next follow the names of those that were nominated for Superintendents: "These," adds he, "to be elected at the days appointed, unless the countries wherein they were to be appointed, could in the mean time find out men more abill or sufficient, or ells schaw sic causes as nicht inhabill thame for that dignity." By the Book of Discipline we see the kingdom was divided into ten districts, each of which to have a Superintendent, but at present there were only five Superintendents nominated, through the want of sufficient persons to discharge that trust;<sup>1</sup> for Mr Knox, what-

<sup>1</sup> [They could not find funds to pay more than five Superintendents, (viz. Spottiswoode, Willox, Erskine, Wynram, and Carswell,) though there had been thirteen well endowed Bishopricks before the Reformation. Including these five, there were no more than fifteen who were considered clerical reformers in Scotland, and of these, only *seven* had received Roman or Anglican orders, though even they attached no value whatever to such orders, but considered all men as "Ministers" who were in their opinion, "qualified" to preach. And here I cannot help observing that Mr Tytler is mistaken when he calls these Ministers "Presbyterians." Thus, in Vol. vii. p. 161, he says, "of all the enemies

ever has been his motive, has still taken care to keep himself out of that employment. It is most likely he has seen he could be more useful for the main point, by remaining close within Edinburgh, and guiding the inhabitants of that capital into such measures as he found necessary for bringing about their designs. The office, manner of election, &c. of the Superintendents, may be seen at large in the Book of Discipline; and their admission, in Knox's History. Thus we see that immediately after the Accord was proclaimed, and before the meeting of the Parliament, the Ministers were distributed into particular towns, and Superintendents nominated for that superior office; neither of which, I suspect, could legally be done according to the Articles of Agreement.

“The Parliament dissolved,” says Mr Knox, “consultation was had how the Kirk might be established in a gude and godly policy, quhilk by the Papists was altogether defaced. Commissioun and chairge was gevin to Mr Johne Winrame, Sub-Prior of Sanct Androis, Mr Johne Spottiswood, Mr Johne Douglas, Rectour of Sanct Androis, Mr Johne Row, and Johne Knox,<sup>1</sup> to draw, in a volume, the policy and discipline of the Kirk, alsweill as thai had done

of the miserable Queen (Mary), the most bitter were the Presbyterian clergy and people.” The peculiarity of Presbyterianism is the *parity* of its officials; but Knox was no friend to such party, for he had his Superintendents, Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers, all in due gradation of rank. This system was, no doubt, non-descript, and more distinguished by its antagonism to Popery, than by any other feature; but, not possessing this parity, it cannot properly be called Presbyterianism, which was not introduced into Scotland till thirty years after the Reformation. I may add, that equally mistaken is Mr Tytler in saying (as he does, vii. 407,) that Episcopacy was established in the Scottish Church in 1572. The system he alludes to was, in truth, a mere modification of the Knoxian polity, and if possible a more objectionable one. The usual and true signification of Episcopacy is the oversight of a body of canonically-ordained clergy, within a given locality, by one ecclesiastic who has received his consecration from the hands of three of the highest order of the priesthood, who have received *their's* in like manner, by succession, from the Apostolic age. Episcopacy in this sense was not restored in this country till A.D. 1610.—E.]

<sup>1</sup> The title-page of the printed Discipline bears likewise John Willocks to be one of the compilers, and so do the editions of Knox's History, in the year 1644. Archbishop Spottiswoode's History does likewise the same.

the doctrine; quhilk thai did, and presented it to the Nobility, quho did peruse it mony dayis.”<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the modelling this Book of Discipline, Archbishop Spottiswood has a pretty singular story in the MS. copy of his History, viz. “The preachers,” says he, “in this time<sup>2</sup> were busied in drawing up a form of Church-Policy, for the order that should be observed in preaching, in the administration of the sacraments, election of pastors, provision for their maintenance, and other things belonging to discipline; the care hereof had been committed to Mr John Spottiswood, Superintendent of Lowthian, Mr John Willocks, Superintendent of Glasgow, Mr John Winrame, Sub-Prior of St Andrews, Mr John Douglas, Rector of the University of St Andrews, and to Mr John Row and John Knox, Ministers. Divers of this number perswaded the retaining of the ancient policy, and to purge it from the corruptions and abuses only that were crept into the same, forasmuch as they were not to make up a new Church, but only to reform it, and to reduce things unto that perfection from which they had swerved. Wisdom, they said, would require that as little change should be made therein as might be, because the smallest alterations in any State are perillous, and Government once loosed is not easily again fastned. But these advices took no place; John Knox (who then carried the chiefest sway) liking that course best which stood in extreme opposition against the Church of Rome, and studying by all means to conform the government of the Church with that which he had seen in Geneva. The rest suffering themselves to be led by his opinion, a draught of the Policy was made, and presented to the Convention.”

<sup>1</sup> In the Preface to this Book of Discipline, it is said the Ministers received a charge from the great Council, dated at Edinburgh the 29th April 1560, to compile this book; and at the end of the book there is this note, viz. “From Edinburgh, 20th May 1560.” Which two dates do perfectly well correspond; but how they are to be reconciled with what Mr Knox says here of a consultation and commission to draw up the *Policy*, sometime after the dissolving of the Parliament in the end of August 1560, is more than I can pretend to adjust. He owns himself that the Book of Discipline was perused newly over again by the Convention in January 1560-1.

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* As appears by his introducing the story in the time betwixt the Parliament in August 1560, and the Convention in January 1560-1.

This Book of Discipline which was now formed is pretty large, and may easily be seen by such as have any curiosity ; and therefore I shall only mention some few particular places of it that may be noticed above others.

In the third head, touching the *Abolishing of Idolatry*, are these words—" We cannot cease to require idolatry, with all monuments and places of the same, as abbeyes, monkeries, frieries, nunneries, chapels, chanteries, cathedral churches, chanonries, colleges, others than presently are parish-churches or schools, to be utterly suppressed [*i. e.* as appears by the former and future practice of those days, *pulled down*] in all bounds and places of this Realm ; except only palaces, mansions, and dwelling-places adjacent thereto, with orchards and yards of the same."

In the fourth head, concerning *Ministers*, it is said that " ordinary vocation consisteth in election, examination, and admission.—Other ceremonies than the publick approbation of the people, and declaration of the chief Minister [meaning, I fancy, the Superintendent], that the person there presented is appointed to serve the Church, we cannot approve ; for albeit the Apostles used imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not necessary." A manifest renversement in the appointment of Ministers in the Church ! It is somewhat strange that Mr Knox's and his brethren's judgment should excel the judgment of so many worthy persons that had been in the Church fifteen hundred years before him ! But some men are fond of their own inventions ; and provided they be *new*, no matter how extravagant otherwise.

In the Article concerning *Burial*, it is said, " for avoiding of all inconveniences, we judge it best that neither singing nor reading be at the burial, for albeit things sung and read may admonish some of the *living* to prepare for death, yet shall some superstitious think that singing and reading of the *living* may profit the *dead*." Such *may-be's* can never be wanting in any point, nor is it possible to guard against superstition in some one shape or other.

In the Article that concerns the *Punishment of those that profane the Sacraments*, &c. it is declared, " the Papistical Priests have neither power nor authority to minister the

Sacraments of Christ Jesus, because that in their mouth is not the Sermon of Exhortation:<sup>1</sup> And therefore to them must strait inhibition be made, notwithstanding any usurpation they have made in the time of blindness, not to presume upon the like hereafter; as likewise, to all others who

<sup>1</sup> And in the 22d Article of the *Confession* presented to the Parliament, are these words—"lauchfull Ministeris, quhom we affirm to be only thai that ar appointit to the preiching of the Word, or into quhose mouthes God hathe put sum sermone of exhortatioun, thai being men lauchfullie chusin thairto be sum Kirk.—We flie the society with the Papisticall Kirk—becaus thair Ministeris ar na Ministeris of Jesus Christ." The weakness of these arguments here made use of are too palpable. It was surely a fault not to have instructed the people by discourses; but even this could not be laid to the charge of *all* the Kirkmen who adhered to the Pope. And now that I have mentioned this part of the *Confession of Faith* presented to the Parliament, I may likewise, since I omitted the doing it formerly, touch at another part or two thereof. The 16th Article says—"The Catholick Kirk is invisible, known only to God:" But sure the *whole* Catholic Church is not invisible. The 18th Article gives these for the marks of the true Kirk, viz.—"*First*, The trew preiching of the Worde of God. *Secundlie*, The right administration of the Sacramentis of Christ Jesus. *Lastly*, Ecclesiastical Discipline uprightly ministred." And what Church will not pretend to all these? Again, in the same Article—"The interpretation of Scripture neyther aperteinethe to any private nor publick person, neyther yet to any Kyrk, for any preheminence or prerogative, personal or local, which one hath above another [this is added, no doubt, against the Bishop of Rome], bot aperteinethe to the Spirit of God, by the which also the Scripture was writtin. When controversy then hapneth for the right understanding of any place or sentence of Scripture, or the reformation of any abuse within the Kirk of God, we ought not sa mekill to look what men befor us have said or done, as unto that which the Holy Ghost uniformly speikethe within the body of the Scripture, and unto that which Christ Jesus himself did, and comandit to be done." But unless the Holy Ghost was audibly to speak, men must always be the interpreters. Or if Mr Knox should say, that the Holy Ghost spake and interpreted Scripture through him, yet another man may deny the same; and it is certain that both he did affirm this thing, and others did deny it. Therefore all this is but loose work, subject to much cavil and uncertainty.—[There is another observation to be made here. In the text, the Reformers declare "that the Papistical priests have neither power nor authority to minister the Sacraments of Christ Jesus." It was not foreseen at this time that in the year 1565 (see Chap. IV.) the following question would be put to the General Assembly—"If baptism be administered by a Papist priest, or in the Papistical manner, shall it be reiterate?" And the answer given is, that it shall not. This was a very proper answer, on the supposition that the said baptism was valid; but if "the Papistical priests had no authority to minister the Sacraments of Christ," then surely their baptism was invalid, and ought therefore to have been reiterate.—E.]

are not lawfully called to the holy Ministry. It is neither the clipping of their crowns, the crossing of their fingers, nor the blowing of the dumb dogs called the Bishops, neither the laying on of their hands, that maketh true Ministers of Christ Jesus: But the Spirit of God inwardly first, moving the heart to seek to enter into the holy calling for Christ's glory, and the profit of His Kirk; and thereafter, the nomination of the people, the examination of the learned, and public admission, as before is said, make men lawful Ministers of the Word and Sacraments. We speak of the ordinary vocation in Kirks reformed, and not of that which is extraordinary, when God, by Himself, and by His only power, raiseth up to the Ministry such as best pleaseth His wisdom." I have already made such a reflection as might be applicable here; and shall only here add, that no set of men ever denied the necessity of the Spirit of God's inwardly moving the heart: So there is nothing new in this discipline as to that qualification.<sup>1</sup>

I have purposely reserved the sixth head to be taken notice of in the last place, a great part of which, because of its singularity, I shall here set down. "With the griefe of our hearts we heare that some gentlemen are now as cruel over their tenants as ever were the Papists, requiring of them the teinds, and whatsoever they afore payed to the Kirk; so that the Papistical tyrannie shall only be changed into the tyrannie of the lord and laird. The gentlemen, barons, earls, lords, and others, must be content to live upon their just rents, and suffer the Kirk to be restored to her right and liberty. The summes able to sustain the forenamed persons, [viz. the Ministers of the Word, the Poor, together with the Schools,] and to furnish all things appertaining to the preservation of good order and policie within the Kirk, must be lifted of the tenths, to wit, the tenth sheaf of all sorts of corn, hay, hemp, and lint; tenth

<sup>1</sup> In the place to which I here refer, as containing a proper reflection upon this Article, viz. p. 150 [i. 322], I took too much freedom to say, that the former Clergy were, by the Act abolishing the Mass, declared to be nothing else but usurped Ministers. It is indeed so said upon the matter, but in so many express words it is not said so; however, the reader sees their usurpation is here named. In this Article of the Discipline the compilers do own that they would wish death to be inflicted upon the former Clergy if they attempt to administer the Sacraments.

fish, tenth calf, tenth lamb, tenth wool, tenth foal, tenth cheese. And because that we know that the tenth, reasonably taken, as is before expressed, will not suffice to discharge the former necessity, we think that all things doted to hospitality, and annual rents, both in burgh and land, pertaining to the priests, chanteries, colleges, chappellanries, and the frieries of all Orders, to the Sisters of the Seenes, and such others of that sort, be retained still in the use of the Kirk or Kirks within the towns and parishes where they were doted. Furthermore, to the upholding of the Universities, and sustentation of the Superintendents, the whole revenue of the temporality of the Bishops, Deans, and Archdeans lands, and of all rents of lands pertaining to the Cathedral Kirks whatsoever. And further, we think that merchants and rich craftsmen in free burghs, having nothing to do with the manuring of the ground, must make some provision in their cities, towns, and dwelling-places, for to support the need of the Kirk. The receivers and collectors of the rents and duties must be Deacons or Thesaurers appointed from yeare to yeare, in every Kirk, and by the common consent and free election of the Kirk. The Deacons must distribute no part of that which is collected but by command of the Ministers and Elders; and they may command nothing to be delivered but as the Kirk hath before determined, to wit, the Deacons shall of the first part pay the summes, either quarterly, or from halfe yeare to halfe yeare, to the Ministers which the Kirk hath appointed. The same they shall doe to the Schoolmasters, Readers, and Hospitall, if any be, receiving alwayes an acquittance for their discharge.

“ If any extraordinary summes be to be delivered, then must the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons consult whether the deliverance of such summes doth stand with the common utilitie of the Kirk or not; and if they do universally condescend and agree upon the affirmative or negative, then because they are in credite or office for the yeare, they may do as best seems: But if there be any controversy amongst themselves, the whole Kirk must be made privy; and after that the matter be proponed, and the reasons heard, the judgment of the Kirk, with the Minister's consent, shall prevaile.

“The Deacons shall be compelled and bound to make accounts to the Minister and Elders of that which they received, as oft as the Policie shall appoint; and the Elders when they are changed, which must be every yeare, must cleare their count before such auditors as the Kirk shall appoint: And both the Deacons and Elders being changed, shall deliver to them that shall be new elected, all summes of money, cornes, and other profites resting in their hands; the tickets whereof must be delivered to the Superintendents in their visitation, and by them to the great Councill of the Kirk, that as well the abundance as the indigence of everie Kirk may be evidently known, that a reasonable equality may be had throughout this whole Realm. If this order be perfectly kept, corruption cannot suddenly enter: For the free and yearly election of Deacons and Elders shall suffer none to usurpe a perpetuall domination over the Kirk; the knowledge of the rentall shall suffer them to receive no more then whereof they shall be bound to make accounts; the deliverance of money to the new officers shall not suffer private men to use in their private business that which appertaineth to the publick affaires of the Kirk.”

The great complaint had been that the Church in former times had enjoyed too large possessions. The complaint seems indeed to have had a just foundation, since we perceive by the public records that in time of a new taxation or assessment to the King, no less than one-third of the whole was paid out of the Church-lands. And it has been oft-times said, and perhaps with equally good foundation too, that had it not been for the envy which the possessions of the Church created to its office-bearers, very few of the landed men, either nobility or gentry, would have acted so keenly in overturning the ancient form of religion in this realm. Mr Knox, who was at the head of this new regulation, was of opinion (as we see by this Article of the Discipline) that all the former rents belonging to the Church (manses and glebes included), must still continue in possession of the Church, with this difference in the manner of collecting or uplifting, that annual Deacons were surrogated into the room of the former legal proprietors, and these Deacons were to distribute the incomes according to warrants signed by the Ministers, Elders, &c. Mr Knox, it

may be, thought all his party as disinterested as himself; but he soon found he had been mistaken, as we shall afterwards have occasion to observe. Archbishop Spottiswood informs, that a certain "Nobleman being asked his opinion of this new device of annual Deacons, answered, it was a devout imagination; at which Mr Knox was highly offended: Yet, says the Archbishop, it was no better than a dream, for it could never have taken effect." And here is added in the printed History of this Prelate, a pretty remarkable story concerning the then Archbishop of St Andrews (Hamilton) his employing John Brand to offer his advice to Mr Knox. But the story, according to the MS. History, is to be found in a different place, and narrated likewise at somewhat greater length; and Mr Spottiswood says likewise that he has often heard the story from John Brand: I shall therefore take the freedom to insert the same here, word by word, viz.

"The History of Reformation which I go now to write [this is the beginning of the Archbishop's third book, according to the MS.] will let us see great changes made in the Church. What, do I say changes? We shall see the state of the Church quite overturned, and with the Reformation that was much desired, (and was indeed most needful) many things done extremely hurtful both to the Church and Kingdom; as, temples demolished, religious places ruined, the rents and rights of the Church sacrilegiously usurped, and the external policy (*than which a more wise form of government could not be devised*)<sup>1</sup> utterly overthrown. Thus (as it falleth out sometimes in bodies replenished with corrupt humours) the remedy intended for purging one disease brought with it many infections, such as this age, perhaps the succeeding, shall not see fully cured and put away.<sup>2</sup> It comes to my mind what I have often heard related by John Brand (who served many years with good commendation in the ministry at Halirud-house), that he was employed by the Archbishop of St Andrews, in the time this work was adoining, to John Knox, and willed to say from him, that howsoever he had introduced another form of religion, and

<sup>1</sup> These are the Archbishop's precise words, though not a syllable thereof is to be found in the print.

<sup>2</sup> The Prelate here has been but too true a prophet.

reformed the doctrine of the Church, whereof it might be there was some reason, yet he should do well not to shake loose the order and policy received, which had been the work of many ages, till he were sure of a better to be settled in place thereof. And to this purpose he told of a custom kept amongst the Highlanders in breaking wild colts, how they were wont to fasten them with two strong tethers [ropes]; and when they let loose the one, they kept the other fast, till the colt was made tame, and brought in subjection to his rider: for the beast otherwise finding itself at liberty, flinging him off that sat on it, would run to the hills, and put them to some days, perhaps to some months travel, before they caught it again. So people, said he, are wild for the greater part, and hardly kept in subjection of their spiritual governours; and being once cast loose, would not be easily brought again into order. Such I remember was his discourse; and no doubt the wiser sort wished the work to have proceeded with advice and by the direction of lawful authority. But it was the fault of them in place, that would give no ear to the petitions for reformation often preferred, and drove the people unto the desperate resolution they took, which was, to do the work by themselves that was denied by others, whose care chiefly it ought to have been.”<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, not only Mr Knox, but those that have come after him, have found the Archbishop's words to contain sound truth and wholesome advice. Mr Knox was not so well acquainted with the world as the Primate: he was too wise in his own eyes to accept the Prelate's advice: he imagined he had no more ado to settle the revenues of the Church in what form he pleased to chalk out, than to go hither and thither with a mob of people at his heels, and order them to pull down the fabrics of the churches; for in this he got ready obedience: He imagined that new Acts of Parliament, and new charters transferring the rights of the Church-lands to his annual Deacons, were to be as easily obtained as he could declaim against the corrupt practices of the Church-officers; but he was even forced to see his

<sup>1</sup> Though this might have been some excuse during a part of the lifetime of the Queen-Regent, yet sure it was none at all after the authority was assumed into the hands of these levelling Reformers.

error, when those good men, whom he calls saints and professors, could hardly be prevailed with to allow himself bread to his belly, after they had entered into the possessions of the Church. But it was then too late for him to look back ; and he must content himself secretly to see that the Archbishop was wiser than he. The Nobles were willing to let Mr Knox redress the spirituality ; but they would take care to reform the temporality of the Church by themselves : and the truth is, they reformed clean and low : They left no superfluities, no not bare necessities. But it may not be improper to hear Mr Knox give his own account concerning the reception the Book of Discipline met with from the Nobility.

“ Sum (says he) approvit and willit the sam to haif bein set furth as a law ; utheris perceiving thair carnall liberty and warldly commodity sumquhat to be impaired thairby, grudged, in sa mekill that the name of the Buik of Discipline became odious unto thame. Every thing that repugned to thair corrupt affectiouns was tearmed in thair mockage, devoit imaginatiounis ; the caus we haif befor declaired : Sum were licentious ; sum had gredily grippit the possessiounis of the Kirk ; and utheris thoct thai wald not lack thair parte of Christ’s cote ; yea, and that befor that ever he was hanged, as be the preicherours thai wer oft rebuiked. — Thare war nane within the Realme mair unmercifull to the pair Ministeris thane war thai that had the grittest rentes of the Kirkes.<sup>1</sup> Bot in that we haif perceaved the

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Spottiswoode’s account of this matter, from that part of the MS. which was set down, p. 492 [iii. 17], may perhaps be agreeable to some. — presented it to the Convention ; “ which some scornfully rejected, calling it *devoute imaginatiounis* : And the whole [members] deferred to allow [it] till matters were better considered. Yet was the same by the Church so vehemently urged to be confirmed [*i. e.* by Knox’s faction] that a number of the Nobility and others meeting in the Town-house of Edinburgh, did ratify it by their subscriptions, with this provision, that Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates and beneficed men who had joined themselves to the religion, should enjoy the rents of their benefices during their lifetimes, they sustaining the ministry and ministers for their parts, as was prescribed in the Book of Discipline. The subscribers were the Duke of Chattlerault, &c. [as in the print exactly], all these did promise their uttermost assistance to the furthering of the Policy devised : But all turned to no effect, the contrivers thereof, after a little time, growing sensible of their own errors, especially in that which concerned the rents and patrimony of the Church ; and divers of the subscribers

auld proverbe to be trew, *nothing can suffice a wretche* ; and agane, *the bellie has no earis*. Yit the sam Buik of Discipline was subservyed by a grit parte of the Nobility, to wit, the Duike's grace, &c. — in the Tolbuythe of Edinburgh, the 27th day of Januar, 1560 yeirs, be thair approbatioun,<sup>1</sup> in these words :<sup>2</sup>

“ *Act of Secret Counsell, 17th<sup>3</sup> of Januar, Anno 1560–1.*

“ *Wee, which have subscribed thir presents, having advised with the articles herein specified, as is above mentioned, from the beginning of this book, thinkes the same good and conforme to God's Word in all points, conforme to the Notes and Additions hereto eiked ; and promises to set the same forward to the uttermost of our powers : Providing that the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates and beneficed men which els have adjoined themselves to us, bruik the revenues of their benefices during their lifetimes, they sustaining and upholding the ministry and ministers, as herein is specified, for the preaching of Word, and ministring of the Sacraments.*<sup>4</sup>

“ JAMES Duke of Chatellerault, James Earl of Arran, Archbald Earl of Argyle, James Steuart Prior of St Andrews, Andro Earl of Rothes, Earl Marshal, Jhone Earl of Monteith, James Earl of Mortoun, Earl of Glencairn ; Lord Boyd, William Lord Hay, Alexander Campbell Dean of Murray, Alexander Gordon Bishop of Galloway, Lord Uchiltrie, Lord Sanquhare, St Jhones, William of Culross,

getting into their hands the possessions of the Church, became greater enemies thereto than any others.”

<sup>1</sup> Mr Petrie very well observes, that the Book of Discipline was approved by the Council for their own part, but not authorised.

<sup>2</sup> Though there be but a small variation only, yet I have made choice to insert the approbation as it is contained in the first printed copy of the Discipline in the year 1621, and reprinted at Edinburgh 1722 ; and to which is prefixed a title, bearing it to be an Act of Secret Council.

<sup>3</sup> It is not easy now to judge whether the date here or in Knox be right ; the mistake of the figure was very casual ; nor is it of any moment to us at all.

<sup>4</sup> Mr Knox says, “ How this promise was illuded from tyme to tyme, we will efter heir.” Thus we see the Noblemen have illuded the Clergy on both sides ; but this writer complains only when the thing hurts himself or his own party. It was an heroic deed when it affected the Anti-christian mass-mongers !

Drumlangrig, Jhone Lord Lindsay, Maister of Lindsay, Bargannie, younger, Lochinvar, Garleiss, Cuninghamehead, James Haliburtoun, Jhone Lockhart of Bar, Jhone Schaw of Halie, Scott of Haning, Maister of Maxwell, George Fentoun of that Ilk, Andro Ker of Fadownside, Andro Hamiltoun of Lerhane.<sup>1</sup>

On the 20th day of December 1560 began the First General Assembly of the Kirk at Edinburgh: And because I could not proceed so regularly in the new ecclesiastical affairs of this Kingdom, as by following forth the Records of this and the subsequent Assemblies, I shall therefore insert the same here, so far as we have access<sup>2</sup> thereunto;

<sup>1</sup> The following *Nota* is subjoined here in the Edition 1722, viz. "The Duke of Chatellerauld, the Earls of Marshal, Monteith, and Mortoun, the Lord Lindsay and the Laird of Garleis are not in the Edition printed 1621. But Knox, Spottiswood, and Calderwood number them amongst the subscribers to this Book of Discipline. The Master of Lindsay is added from Knox and Calderwood." The difference in the subscriptions arises, I suppose from this, that though the Act of Council bears, *we which have subscribed*, yet there have been no more present at first but these only contained in the Edition 1621. The other subscribers may have been purchased at different times.

<sup>2</sup> The readers are here to be informed, that in the Assembly which sat down by the Royal Authority, at Glasgow, in the year 1638, several Books of Register were presented, and voted by the members to be the true original Records of all the preceding Assemblies, according to the tenor of these following Acts agreed upon at that time, viz.—"Act Sess. 6, November 27th, 1638. The testimonie of the Committie for tryall of the Registers, subscribed with their hands, being produced, with some reasons thereof in another paper, and publicly read,—My Lord Commissioner professed that it had resolved him of sundry doubts, but desired a time to be more fully resolved. The Moderatour desired that if any of the Assembly had any thing to say against the said testimonie for the books, that they would declare it; and finding none to oppon, yet he appointed the day following to any to object anything they could say; and if then none could object, the Assembly would hold the Registers as sufficiently approven. Act Sess. 7, November 28th, Act approving the Registers. Anent the Report of the Assemblies Judgment of the Authority of the Books of Assembly; the Moderatour having desired that if any of the Assembly had anything to say they would now declare it, otherwise they would hold all approven by the Assembly. The Commissioner his Grace protested that the Assemblies *approving these Books, or anything contained in them*, be no wayes prejudiciall to his Majestie, nor to the Archbishops and Bishops of this Kingdome, or any of their adherents; because he had some exceptions against these Books. My Lord Rothes desired these exceptions to be condescended on, and they should be presently cleared; and protested that these Books should be esteem-

a thing which hitherto has not been attempted by any Historian : Yet shall I not so rigidly and solely tie myself to

ed authentick and obligatorie hereafter. The whole Assembly, all in one voice, approved these Books, and ordained the same to make faith in judgment, and out with, in all time coming, as the true and authentick Registers of the Kirk of Scotland, conform to the testimonie subscribed by the Committie, to be insert, with the reasons thereof, in the Books of Assembly : Whereof the tenour followeth, We, under subscribers, having power and commission from the Generall Assembly now presently convened, and sitting at Glasgow, to peruse, examine, and cognosce upon the validity, faith, and strength of the Books and Registers of the Assembly under-written, to wit, a Register beginning at the Assembly holden the twentieth day of December 1560, and ending at the fourth Session of the Assembly holden the twentieth-eighth of December 1566. *Item*, Another Register beginning at the Generall Assembly holden the second day of June 1567, and ending at the fourth Session of the Assembly holden at Perth the ninth day of August 1572 ; which Register is imperfect, and mutilate in the end, and containeth no leaf nor page after that page which containeth the said inscription of the said fourth Session, which two Registers bears to be subscribed by John Gray, scribe. *Item*, A Register of the Assembly holden at Edinburgh the seventh day of August 1573, and ending with the twelfth Session, being the last Session of the Assembly 1579. *Item*, Another Register beginning at the Assembly holden at Edinburgh the tenth of May 1586, and ending in the seventeenth Session of the Assembly holden in March 1589. *Item*, Another Register, being the fifth book and greatest volume, beginning at the Assembly holden in Anno 1560, and ending in the year 1590. Having carefully viewed, perused and considered the saids Registers, and every one of them, and being deeply and maturely advised, as in a matter of greatest weight and consequence, do attest before God, and upon our conscience declare to the world and this present Assembly, that the saids foure Registers above expressed, and every one of them, are famous, authentick and good Registers ; which ought to be so reputed, and have publick faith and judgment, and out-with, as valid and true records in all things : And that the said fifth and greatest book, beginning at the Assembly 1560, and ending 1590, being margined by the hand-writs of the clerk and reviser of the Registers, cognosced and tryed, and agreeable to the other foure Registers, in what is extant in them, ought also to be free of all prejudice and suspicion, and received with credit. And in testimonie of our solempne affirmation, we have subscribed these presents with our hands. *Sic subscribitur*, Mr Andrew Ramsay, Mr John Adamson, Mr John Row, Mr Robert Murray, Mr Alexander Gibson, Mr James Boner, Mr Alexander Peerson, Mr Alexander Wedderburn." To these two Acts are subjoined nineteen *Reasons*, proving the five Books and Registers produced before the Assembly to be authentick ; all which Reasons, for brevity, are here omitted. When the restoration of the Royal Family in the year 1660 had restored likewise the Episcopal Government of the Church, the fore-mentioned Books of Register were carefully preserved by some of the Presbyterian form, until one day a search having been appointed within the City of Edinburgh for apprehending of suspected

these Records, as not to intersperse such information besides, as may be gathered elsewhere for the more extensive knowledge concerning these ecclesiastical matters.

*First General Assembly, according to Calderwood.*

“ The first Generall Assemblie of the reformed Kirk of Scotland was holden in Edinburgh the 20th day of this same moneth of December.

“ The names of the Ministers and Commissionars of particular kirks,<sup>1</sup> Johne Knoxe, Minister, James Baron and Edward Houp, Commissionars for Edinburgh; Christopher

persons, these Records, together with many other papers pertaining to the Kirk, chanced to be seized in a private corner. The Bishop of Edinburgh (John Paterson) had allowance by the Privy-Council (of which himself was a member) to convey these Books of Register, &c. to his dwelling-house, and they continued in his custody even till after the Revolution in 1688. Sometime afterward that Prelate put these Registers into the hands of the Honourable Master Archibald Campbell, a cousin of the family of Argile, now residing in London: and to this gentleman those of the present Establishment have lately made proposals for recovering them; but hitherto they are, as I am informed, come to no agreement in the matter. By this account the reader will easily discern that the Registers now in the possession of Mr Campbell do contain all the original Minutes, Overtures, &c. according as they have occurred in the course of business. And from these Books it is that the present Register of Assemblies (abusively so styled) has been extracted, which contains nothing else but an abbreviate of such Acts, Overtures, Minutes, &c. as have been deemed proper for the publick view, digested into form and method. Several MS. copies of this extract (made most probably after the year 1638) are to be found in our publick Repositories and elsewhere, and which, I suppose, will be found likewise to agree pretty uniformly, as having been all copied from one. But then, besides this Register (I call it so still for conformity of speech only) there is another more large than the former which Mr Calderwood, who lived in the time, and inspected no doubt the original Books presented to the Assembly in 1638, has for the embellishment of his large Church History copied out and inserted into the same: Both which Records, viz. that in the publick Repositories, and this of Calderwood, I am here to make use of; yet, as I said before, I shall not confine myself so closely to one or other of these Records, as not to take in likewise the publick Acts of Privy-Council, and any thing else that may come in my way, and can serve for a further illustration of these affairs.

<sup>1</sup> “ The names of the Ministers and Commissioners” [according to the Register; by which I mean the Record of the General Assemblies as it stands in our Libraries, &c.] “ of the particular Kirks of Scotland, conveinit to consult upon these things whilk are to sett fordward God’s glorie and the weill of His Kirk in this Realme, in Edinburgh the 20th day of December, 1560 zeiris.”

Gudman, Minister, David Spence and Mr Robert Kynpont, for St Andrews; Mr Johne Row, Minister, for the Kirk of Perth; Williame Daroch and Williame Norvell, for Stirlin; Charles Drummond, Provost, James Witherspoone and Androw Mill, for Linlithgow; Hew Wallace of Carnall, Johne Foularton of Dreghorne, and Charles Campbell of Skeldum, for the Kirks of Kyle; George Hume of Spott, for the Kirks of East-Lothiane; David Lindsay, Minister, Androw Lambe and Patrik Boyman, for Leith; Williame Harlaw,<sup>1</sup> Minister, and Robert Fairlie of Braid, for the West Kirk, beside Edinburgh; Williame Christiesone, Minister, George Lowell and Williame Carmichaell, for Dundie; Alexander Guthrie of Halkerton and Williame Durhame of Grange, for Forfar; Johne Areskine of Dun and Androw Mill, for Montrose; the Lairds of Tullyvarde and Fethercarne, for the Kirks of the Merns; the Laird of Garroleis, zounger, for the Kirks of Nithisdail; Mr David Wemes, for the Kirk of Carnbie; Mr Walter Balfoure, for the Kirk of Linton; Johne Brown, Thomas Boyd, and James Polwart, for Torphichen; Williame Lambe, Williame Bonkle, for Dunbar; James Douglas, James Moir, for Calder Comitis; Mr Robert Winrame, for Ratho; Johne Kincaid, for Kirklistoun.

“ The names of such as war thocht best qualified for the preaching of the Word, and ministring of the Sacraments, and reading of the commoun prayers publictlie in all Kirks and Congregationis, given up be the Ministers and Commissioners within their own bounds. In Kyle, for reading; Rankene Davidsoun, Richard Bannatyne, Robert Campbell, Hew Wallace, Androw Lokhart, Androw Chalmer, James Dalrumpell, Adame Landels, all readers; and Johne Chalmer apt to teache. In Sainet Andrews, for ministring and teaching; Mr Johne Rutherfordde, Mr Williame Ramsay, Mr James Wilkie, Mr Robert Hammiltoun, Mr Patrik Coustone, Mr Williame Rynde, Mr Williame Skeene, Mr Archibald Hammiltoun, Mr Alexander Artbuthnet, Mr James Kirkaldie, Mr David Collasse, Mr Williame Scott, Mr David Wemes, Mr Thomas Buchanan, Mr David Spence,<sup>2</sup> Mr Robert Kynpont, Johne Winrame of Kirkness,

<sup>1</sup> This is the person I have formerly mentioned, a tailor in Canongate of Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> The four preceding names not in the Register.

Mr Alexander Spence, Mr Johne Wood, Mr David Guild, Mr Robert Patersone.

“ Others thocht apt and able be the Minister and Commissioners forsaide, to minister; Johne Areskine of Dun, Johne Foularton of Kynnaber, David Forehous, Patrik Kininmonth, Mr James Melvill, Richard Melvill, Mr Johne Kello, Mr Robert Montgomerie, Mr Johne Hepburne, Mr Thomas Hepburne, Mr George Hepburne, Williame Lambe.

“ Mr Johne Ramsay was presented be Sir Johne Borthwick as minister for the kirk of Aberdour and Fyvie.<sup>1</sup>

“ Upoun the 21 of December it was found, That the parochiners of Restalrig repaire to Leith kirk, and that the kirk of Restalrig be razed and utterlie destroyed, being a monument of idolatrie.

“ The questioun being proponed anent mariage in the second and other degrees of consanguinitie forbidden by the Pope to be solemnized betwixt parties, it is founden, That by the law of God mariage may be solemnized betwixt parties in the second, thrid, and fourth degrees of affinitie and consanguinitie, and such others as are not prohibite expreslie be the Word; and therefore it was thocht good that the Estaites should interpone their authoritie, and approve the same by law.

“ Upoun the 27 of December this Assemblie appointed the electioun of the ministers, elders, and deacons to be made publickly in the kirk, and the premonitioun to be made upoun the Lord's Day preceding the day of electioun.

“ That parties for carnall copulatioun, betwixt the promise and solemnizatioun of mariage, sall make confessioun publickly of their offense.<sup>2</sup>

“ The Petitioun of Weights and Measures was referred to the Parliament.<sup>3</sup>

“ It was ordained, That such as had borne office in the Popish church, if their conversatioun was honest,<sup>4</sup> that they

<sup>1</sup> The Register carries Aberdour and Torrie, which seems to be most likely, since these two places do both lie on the north side of the River or Frith of Forth, at about eight miles distance. But it is likewise true that Aberdour and Fyvie are two places in the shire of Aberdeen, about twelve miles distant.

<sup>2</sup> “ Public repentance.”—Register. <sup>3</sup> Nothing of this in the Register.

<sup>4</sup> “ Pope's Kirk, good and well-conditioned persons — with the number of poore.”—Register.

sould be supported with the almes of the Kirk as other poore.

“ It was thocht expedient that earnest supplicatioun sould be made to the States in Parliament, and unto the Lords of Seecreit Counsell, That none be suffered to be Lords of the Sessioun, Shireffs, Stewarts, Bailiffes, or other such Judge Ordinar, but these who war professors of the Reformed religioun. <sup>1</sup>

“ *Item*, To desyre the States in Parliament to take order, with the confirmatioun of testaments, that pupils and orphans be not defrauded, and that lawes may be made thereupoun in their favour. <sup>2</sup>

“ *Item*, To ask and desyre the saids States of Parliament and Lords of Seecreit Counsell, to inflict sharpe punishment upoun personis whose names war to be presented to them, and other idolaters and maintainers of idolatrie, in contempt of God, His trew religioun, and Acts of Parliament, who say Masse, or cause Masse to be said, or ar present thereat within the places, the names wherof war to be presented unto them. <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “ Consentit be the Kirk, that nane be put in judicill offices to be Magistrates, as Provest, Baillies, and officers of townes, exceptand thame who is known to be plaine and true professours of the Evangell. It is also thocht expedient that earnest supplication be made to the Estates of this Realme in Parliament, and to the Lords of Seecreit Counsell, that all Sheriffes, Stewarts, Baillies, and uther Judges Ordinarie, be professors of the treuth of the true Word of God; and all Ministers therof, [viz. of the Word of God,] to be removit fra sick offices, according to the civill law.”—Register.

<sup>2</sup> Not in the Register.

<sup>3</sup> “ To aske at the Estates of Parliament and Lords of Seecreit Counsell to eschewing of the wrath and judgement of the Eternall God, and removing of the plagues threatned in His law, that sharp punishment may be made upon the persones underwritin, and uthers, idolaters and maintainers therof, in contempt of God, His true religioun, and Acts of Parliament, which says, and confessis Messe to be said, and are present there, within the places following :—In Nitheisdale and Galloway, the Pryor of Whiteherne and his servants in Crugletoun, the Laird of Corswell in Corswell, the Lord Cairleil, the Laird of Kirmichaell, who causes Messe to be said, and images to be holdin up, and idolatrie to be mantened within his bounds. In Fyfe, the Laids of Balwerie and Lathrisk, and Mr Johne Seryngeour’s wife. In Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham, the Erles of Eglintoun and Cassillis, William Hamiltoun of Cambuskeith, the Abbot of Corsraguell, the parochiners of Mayboill, Girvan, Oswald, Dulay, within the kirk wherof Messe is openly said and mantened. In East Louthiane, Johne Carkettle in Margill causes Messe daylie to be said, the auld Ladie Hoomo in Thorntoun, the Curate of Currie for abusing

“ This Assemblie was continued to the 15 day of Januarie nixt to cum, and it was appointed that one Commissionar at least sould be sent from each kirk for requiring of suche things from the Parliament <sup>1</sup> as sall be thocht profitable for the weal of the Kirk. *Item*, To bring with them a row of the whole tithes, lands annuels, profites, and emoluments of the parish kirk nixt adjacent to them, and of the names of the taxemen, and what duetys they payed for their tack. Everie Commissonar present promised to come to Edinburgh at the said day themselves, or cause some others to be sent from the kirks.”

Notwithstanding the preceding order for Commissioners of the Kirk to attend the Parliament (as it is here styled) or Convention of Estates in the month of January following, yet it is observable that no notice is at all taken in any Record concerning an ecclesiastical meeting in the said month of January. Only Mr Knox has acquainted us that at that time his Book of Discipline was presented to the Nobility, the fate whereof has been already narrated. And in that same Assembly (meaning still I suppose the Convention of the Nobility) he informeth concerning a famous disputation relating to matters of religion, the ground and occasion whereof is better given to us by Bishop Leslie, towards the close of his History. This author then informs that many of the Nobility having continued in Edinburgh the greatest part of the winter which succeeded the Parliament in August 1560, they employed themselves much in establishing the new form of religion. For which purpose, he says, they dispatched public messengers into the principal cities and towns of the Kingdom, to warn in several persons to give an account of their faith and religion. From the University of Aberdeen, he tells, were summoned four persons, namely himself, who was Official or Commissary of the Diocese, Patrick Myretoun, the Thesaurer, James

the Sacramentis. In the Forest of Etrick, the Goodman of Gallowscheilds, who not only causes Messe to be said, but also manteines the sayers therof, who are enemies to God and His trueth, and therefore were exylit out of Edinburgh.”—Register.

<sup>1</sup> This could be nothing else but the Convention in January 1560-1. See the Civil Part.

Strachan, a Canon, and Alexander Anderson, Professor of Theology; these four were brought before the Council of the Kingdom in the Town-house of Edinburgh, and questioned by John Knox, John Willock, and Christopher Goodman. And, he says, that after they had all separately made a most solemn profession of the Catholic faith, and had declared their firm resolution of abiding by it, Mr Anderson discoursed, in particular, so learnedly and piously concerning the verity and ceremonies of the Eucharist and Sacrifice of the Altar, that by means of his discourse the Catholics were greatly confirmed in the faith, and the heretics so stunned, that from that time forth no one of them durst ever attempt a disputation either with him or any other Catholic about the weightier mysteries of religion. Then he tells how the Noblemen ordered these four persons not to stir from Edinburgh, nor to absent themselves from the sermons of their ministers, as if, this author observes, those men could have been driven from the Catholic faith by the painted discourses of their puny orators, who could not only not be shaken by all the batteries of their arguments, but appeared in the eyes of all sensible persons, far superior to them.

Such is the account Bishop Leslie gives of this matter; but Mr Knox relates it indeed in a quite different light: And though it should be alleged that the former speaks too favourably of his own party, surely Mr Knox's narration can by no means be reckoned genuine. He represents Mr Leslie, in particular, as a complete dunce, and ignorant, though that gentleman appears to have been, by many degrees, superior to himself; and his impertinent and satirical reflections on this, as well as on many other heads, seems deservedly to make Bishop Leslie say concerning him, That he had an unbridled licentiousness in speaking, mixed with a virulent fluency of words.

Notwithstanding Bishop Leslie had said that after this time none of the heretics durst venture into disputation with any of the Catholics, yet he so far forgets himself as to tell of two or three several contests that fell out after, the first whereof was at Edinburgh, before the Queen's return into Scotland, in the month of August 1561, between John Willock, formerly a Dominican, and John Black, of the

same Order of Black Friars. The controversy, he says, held two days, concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist and Sacrifice of the Altar; after which space, and a very hot debate, they parted without yielding on either side, insomuch that the common people were at a loss which party to believe. The same author makes mention likewise of a controversy maintained by four of his own party, viz. Ninian Winzet, [Wingate] Schoolmaster at Linlithgow, against John Knox, and John Spottiswood, the Superintendent; Robert Maxwell, Schoolmaster at Glasgow (as would appear), against John Willock; Quintin Kennedy, brother to the Earl of Cassils, and Abbot of Corsraguel, against John Knox; and James Tyrie, a Jesuit, against John Knox: In all which disputations (but this last was only by writ, for the Jesuit was beyond sea all the time), the Bishop assigns the superiority still to his own friends. And particularly, he tells that when Ninian Winzet was busied in printing at Edinburgh a Challenge, &c. against John Knox, the Magistrates came and rifled the printing press, fined and imprisoned John Scot the printer, but that Mr Winzet happily escaped without being apprehended, though they met him at the door of the printing-house.

Mr Knox acquaints us that his disputation against Mr Kennedy (in the harvest-time of the year 1562,) was published in print; and there are two or three pieces of Mr Kennedy's and Mr Winzet's remaining to this day, all of them very rare to be found, some of which at least I may perhaps take the freedom to subjoin as an Appendix to these Church matters. To return now to the Assemblies.

*Second General Assembly, according to the Register.*

To this Assembly Mr Knox, and from him Calderwood, affix such a preamble, that their readers would be ready, I suppose, to reckon it a hasty and tumultuary concourse, as much as anything else. But indeed the Register takes special care not to discover any such matter; and seeing the business of this Assembly (if it must be termed so) as narrated by Mr Calderwood, is in all points the same with Mr Knox's account, I have therefore made choice of the Register, thereby to afford my readers the larger information.

“ At Edinburgh, the 26th of May 1561, the whole Kirks

convenit in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, hes discernit and thought good that ane humble complaint be made and givin in in their names, tuitching the suppression of idolatrie, and uther points after following, to the Lords of Secreit Counsell.

“ In the first, for suppressing of Idolatrie throughout the whole Realme, and punisching the users thereof, maintainers of the samen, haunTERS and frequenterS therto.

“ *Item*, For maintaining and speciall provision to be made for Superintendents, for the erecting and establishing of moe in places convenient, and for punishing of the contemners of the said Superintendents and dissobeyars of them.

“ *Item*, For ordour to be taken anent the abusers of the Sacraments, and contemners of the samen.

“ *Item*, That no letters of the Sessioun be givin to answer or pay to any person their teinds, without speciall provisioun that the parochiners retaines so meikle in their hands as is appointit to the Minister ; and that all sick as are els givin be callit in and dischargit, and likewayes that no Sheriff give precepts to that effect.

“ *Item*, That the Session, nor no uther Judges proceed upon sick precepts or warnings past at the instance of them that hes obtained fews of lait of vicarages, parsonnes mansis, and kirk-yearnds.

“ *Item*, That no letters take place whill the stipends, contained in the Book of Discipline, for sustentation of the Ministers, be first consignit in the hands, at the least, of the principall of the parochiners.

“ *Item*, For ordour to be takin for the punishment of such as purchases and brings home, and executes within this Realme the Pope's Bulles.

“ 28th May 1561, the Kirk convenit after that they heard the supplication and artieles forsaide, beand presented in forme, red in the presence, at lenth advysit therewith, ordanit the samen to be presented to the Secreit Counsell ; and for presenting therof, and obtaining of answers therto, nominat and ordained thir brethren after mentioned to awaite theron : The Master of Lindsay, the Laird of Fernihirst, elder, Thomas Meinzie, Provost of Aberdeen, the Laird of Lochinvar, the Laird of Wittinghame, and George Lovell, Burges of Dundie.

“ Upon the whilk supplication, articles, and sute theroff, was grantit and followit be the Lords of Secreit Counsell ane act and ordinance therupon, with letters therupon, answering to every heid of the said articles and supplication at lenth specified in the Act of Secreit Counsell made therupon, whilk is to be had in the hands of Johne Johnestone, Scribe theroff, and letters and publication past therupon.”

The tenor of the supplication here pointed at, was in these words, as we have it set down by Mr Knox :—

“ PLEIS YOUR HONOURS, and the wisdome of sick as ar presently conveyned with yow in Counsaill, to understand that be mony argumentis we perceave quhat the pestilent generatioun of that Romane Antichrist within this Realme pretendis, to wit, that they wald of new erect thair Idolatry, tak upoun thame to impyre above our conscience ; and so to command us, the trew subjectes of this Realme,<sup>1</sup> and sick as God of His mercy hes (under our Soverane) subjected unto us, in all things to obey thair apetites. Honestie craveth, and conscience movethe us to mak the very secreits of our hairts patent to your honours in that behalf, quhilk is this, that befor that evir these tyrantes and dum dogis impyre above us, and above sick as God hes subjected unto us,<sup>2</sup> that we, the Barones and Gentilmen professing Christ Jesus within this Realme, have fullie determined to hazard lyfes, and quhat soever we have receaved of our God in temporall thingis. We maist humely tharefor beseik your honours that sick ordour may be taiken that we have not occasioun to tak agane the sword of just defence into our handis,<sup>3</sup> quhilk we have willingly (efter that God hes gevin victory bothe to your honours and us) resigned over into your hands, to the end that God’s Evangell may be pub-

<sup>1</sup> This is a very singular manner of speaking, as if their adversaries were not true subjects, though perhaps these adversaries would pretend they had been equally as true, if not truer subjects than their neighbours.

<sup>2</sup> A clause subject, surely, to much disputation. It was not long afterward that their subordination to the Sovereign was very little regarded. But they are fond to talk of subjection to themselves, and to call in God for the author of it.

<sup>3</sup> These true subjects take into their hands the sword of just defence, resign it up, and take it again, to the end that God’s Evangell, &c. A plain acknowledgment that the new form was introduced by the sword.

lietly, within this Realme preiched; the trew preicheours thareof ressonably susteined, idolatry suppressed, and the comitteris thareof punished according to the lawes of God and man. In doing quhareof,<sup>1</sup> your honours sall find us, not onely obedient unto yow in all things lawfull, bot also redy at all tymes to bring under ordour and obedience sick as wald rebell against your just authority, quhilk, in absence of our Soverane,<sup>2</sup> we acknawlege to be in your hands; bespeiking your honours, with upright jugement and indifferency, to luik upoun these our few Artickles, and, by these our brethrein, to signifie unto us sick answer agane as may declair your honours worthy of that plaice<sup>3</sup> quhareunto God (efter sum dangers susteined) in His mercy hath called yow. And let these enemies of God assure thameselfis, that if your honours put not ordour unto thame, that we sall schortely tak sick ordour<sup>4</sup> that they sall neyther be abell to do quhat they list, neyther yit to leve upoun the sweit of the browes of sick as are no detteris unto thame. Let your honours conceave nothing of us bot all humill obedience in God.<sup>5</sup> But let the Papistes be yit ance agane assured that thair pryde and idolatry we will not suffer.

“Direct fra the Assembly of the Kirk, the 18th of Maj 1561. And sent be these brethrein, the Maister of Lindesay, the Laird of Lochinvar, the Laird of Phernihirst, the Laird of Quhittinham, Thomas Menzies, Proveist of Aberdene, and George Lewell, Burges of Dundie.”

It has been seen in the former part of this History, that at this time a Convention of the States was kept in the month of May, in which Archbishop Spottiswoode says an

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* In not doing whereof, your honours sall not find us, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Our Sovereign's just authority was little regarded after she was present.

<sup>3</sup> *viz.* by supporting us in all our demands, otherwise we will quickly find that God hath called yow, not in His mercy, but in His wrath.

<sup>4</sup> A frank profession that these Magistrates were the ministers of a faction, deputed to execute their orders; which, if they should not perform, then ———

<sup>5</sup> A phrase that leaves a back-door for perpetrating all manner of impiety. God's name is profaned by more ways than pronouncing it carelesly in conversation.

Act was passed at desire of the Church ; and because there is some small variation here between the print and the MS. I have therefore made use of the latter. “ ————In the same Convention an Act was passed, at desire of the Church, for demolishing all the abbeys of monks and friars, and for suppressing whatsoever other monuments of idolatrie were remaining in the Realm, the execution whereof in the west-parts was committed to the Earls of Arrane, Argile, and Glencarne ; to Lord James in the north ; and to some others of note and credit in the in-countries. Hereupon ensued a pitiful vastation of churches and church-buildings throughout all the parts of the Realm ; for every man made bold to put to his hand, (the meaner sort imitating the greater, and those who were in authority.) They rifled all churches indifferently, making spoil of every thing they found. The vessels appointed for service of the Church, and whatsoever else made for decoration of the same, was taken away and applied to prophane uses. The buildings of the Church defaced, the timber, lead,<sup>1</sup> bells, put to sale, and alienated to merchants. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared, but digged, ript up, and sacrilegiously violated. Bibliothecks destroyed, the volumes of the Fathers, Councells, and other books of humane learning, with the Registers of the Church, cast into the streets, afterwards gathered in heapes, and consumed with fire. Shortly, [in short] all was ruined, and what had escaped in the time of the first tumult, did now undergo the common calamitie ; which was so much the worse, that the violences committed at this time were shadowed with the warrant of publick authority. Some ill-advised preachers did likewise animate people in those their barbarous proceedings, crying out that the places where idols had been worshipped ought, by the law of God, to be destroyed, and that the sparing of them was the reserving of things execrable ; mistaking the Commandment given to Israel for destroying the places where the Canaanites had worshipped their false gods ; which was given upon a special respect to that people, and

<sup>1</sup> It is most likely this is the Act of Parliament referred to in the Act of Council, 14th February 1567-8, concerning the taking down and selling the lead of the Cathedral Churches of Aberdeen and Murray. See the Civil Part.

did not concern all the nations and people of the world. The report went also, that John Knox (whose sayings were at that time of great authority) should, in one of his sermons, have affirmed that the most sure way to keep these rookes from returning to their places, was to pull down the nests which they had built with such cost and care ; yet his words (if any such he uttered) were to be understood of the cloisters of monks and friars only, according to the Act passed thereof in Councell. But popular fury once armed, maketh no difference ; nor doth it any thing with advice and judgement.”

## CHAPTER II.

CONTAINING ECCLESIASTICK AFFAIRS FROM THE QUEEN'S ARRIVAL INTO THIS KINGDOM FROM FRANCE, IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST 1561, TILL THE BATTLE OF CORRICHIE, IN THE END OF OCTOBER 1562.

It will be remembered that when Lord James (then Prior of St Andrews only,) was appointed by the Convention in January 1560-1, to repair into France to the Queen, immediately upon the news of the death of her husband the King of that nation, and was admonished<sup>1</sup> not to consent that Mass should be allowed either in private or public within this Realm, the Prior should have answered, that "sche suld have Mess publikly, he sould never consent; bot to have it secretly in her chalmer, quha culd stope her?"<sup>2</sup> And accordingly, on Sunday the 24th day of August, being the festival of St Bartholomew, and some two or three days only after the Queen's arrival from France, her Majesty had Mass said in the Chapel of Holyrood-house. "Quhilk perceaved, says Mr Knox, the hairts of all the godlie began to bolden," &c. But a greater piece of mortification it was to these godly, to see the Lord James stand and keep the door of the chapel; under pretext, himself said, to stop all Scottishmen from going to Mess. "But it was," adds this author, and is sufficiently knawin, that the dure was kept, that nane

<sup>1</sup> "By the Assembly of the Kirk then convened at Edinburgh," says Archbishop Spottiswoode, but herein it is most probable this Prelate has been in a mistake, by taking the Assembly of the Nobility which was at that time, for the Assembly of the Kirk. The word Assembly was not as yet become appropriated to the Kirk meetings. See Knox, p. 261, at the top, edit. 1732, where he calls this same meeting of the nobles a Convention and an Assemblie, in the space of two lines. This much is certain, that there is no record of any Church meeting in this month of January, nor in general about this time at all; and yet this instruction to the Prior would indeed appear to smell the air of that quarter. Mr Knox may have been the admonisher.

<sup>2</sup> [So much are things reversed now from what they were previously, that while Mary was the only person in her dominions who was allowed (though, indeed, scarcely allowed) to be a Romanist, her Successor, the present Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, is almost the only person who is forbidden to be one!—E.]

sould have entress to truble the Priest." And after Mass was over and done, the godly had still an additional displeasure to find the Priest committed to the protection of the Lord John, Abbot of Coldingham, and of the Lord Robert, Abbot of Holyrood-house; so that the Queen's three bastard brothers, though otherwise members of the new congregation, were all serviceable in affording her the private use of her own form of religion. "And so the godlie departed with grif of hairt. But in the afternoone, they repaired agane to the Abbey in grit cumpanies, and gave plane signification that they culd not abyde that the land quhilk God in His power had purged from idolatry, sould in thair eyes be polluted agane." The Queen's Council was hereupon called, and some politic persons (Lord James probably might be one), were employed to pacify the complainers with these and the like expressions, "why alace will you chase our Soverane from us? may we not suffer her a little quhyle?" and with these words, Mr Knox observes, the fervency of the brethren was quenched, and an Act was framed and published the very next day; the tenor whereof here follows:—

*Apud Edinburgh, 25th Augusti 1561.*

"FORSAMEIKLE as the Queene's Majestie hes understude the grit inconvenience that may cum throw the divisioun presentlie standing in this Realme, for the difference in matters of religioun, that hir Majestie is maist desyrous to sie it pacyfied be ane gude ordour, to the honour of God and tranquillitie of hir Realme, and meanis to tak the sam be advyse of hir Estaites sa sone as convenientlie may be, and that hir Majestie's godlie resolution tharein may be gritlie hindered, in cais any tumult or seditioun be raysed amongs the lieges, if any alteratioun or novatioun be preassed at or attempted, befor that the ordour may be establisched: Thairfoir, for eschewing of the saids inconvenience, hir Majestie ordains letteris to be directed, to charge all and sundry hir lieges, be open Proclamatioun at the Mercat Croce of Edinburgh, and uther places neidful, that thay and every ane of thame contene thameselfis in quetnes, keip peice and civill society amongs thameselfis; and in the mene tyme, quhill the Estaites of the Realme may be assembled,

and that hir Majestie have takin ane final ordour be thair advyse and publict consent, quhilk hir Majestie hopes sall be to the contentment of the haill, that nane of thame tak upoun hand, privatly or oppinly, to mak any alteratioun or innovatioun of the stait of religioun, or attempt any thing agains the same, quhilk hir Majestie fand publicklye and universallie standing at hir Majestie's arryval in this hir Realme, under the pane of deyth. With certificatioun, that if any subject of the Realme sall cum in the contrare heirof, he sall be estemed and haldin ane seditious persone and raiser of tumult, and the said pane sall be execut upoun him with all rigour, to the exemple of uthers. Attour hir Majestie, with the advyse of the Lords of Secreit Counsell, comands and charges all hir lieges, that nane of thame tak upoun hand to molest or truble any of hir domesticall servands, or persones quhatsumever cum furth of France in hir Grace's cumpany at this tyme, in word, deid, or countenance, for any caus quhatsumever, either within hir Palace or without, or mak any divisioun or invasioun upoun any of thame, under quhatsumever cullor or pretence, under the said pane of deyth. Albeit hir Majestie be sufficientlie persuaded that hir gude and loving subjects wald do the same, for the reverence they bear to hir persone and authoritie, notwithstanding na sick commandement were published."

No sooner was this Proclamation finished, but the Earl of Arran, an imprudent young man, and spirited up no doubt by other people, declared, in the hearing of the herauld, that he nowayassented to the protection of the Queen's domestics; and afterwards gave in this following formal protestation :—

" IN sa far as be this Proclamatioun it is understude to the Kirk of God, and members thair of, that the Quene's Grace is mindit that the trew religioun and worschipping els establisched, proceid fordward, that it may daylie inress, unto the Parliament, that ordour then may be takin for extirpatioun of all idolatrie within this Realme. We rainder maist hairtie thanks to the Lord our God for hir Grace's gude mynd, earnestlie praying that it may be encessed in hir Hienes, to the honour and glory of His name, and weill of His Kirk within this Realme. And as twiching the molestatioun of hir Hienes' servands, we suppone that nane

dare be sa bauld as anes to move thair finger at thame, in doing of thair lefull busines : And as for us, we have leirned at our maister, Chryst's schole, to keap peace with all men. And thairfore, for our part, we will promise that obedience to hir Majestie (as is our duety) that nane of hir servands sall be molested, trubled, or anes twiched be the Kirk, or any member thairof, in doing thair lawfull effaires. Bot sen that God hes said that the idolater sall dye the deyth, we protest solemnedlie, in the presence of God, and in the eares of the hale peple that hears this Proclamatioun, and specialie in presence of yow, Lyoun Herauld, and the rest of your collegues, &c. makers of this Proclamatioun, that if any of hir servands sall comitt idolatrie, specialie say Mess, participat thairwith, or tack the defence thairof (quhilks we war laith suld be in hir Grace's cumpany), in that case, that this Proclamatioun be not extended to thame in that behalf, nor be a save-guard nor girth to thame in that behalf, na mair nor if they comitt slauchter or murther, seing the ane is meikle mair abhominable and odious in the sight of God then is the uther : Bot that it may be lefull to inflict upoun thame the paines contained in God's Word against idolaters, quhairever thay may be apprehendit, bot favour. And this our protestatioun we desyre yow to notifie unto hir, and give hir the copy heiroyf, lest her Hienes suld suspect an uproar if we suld all cum and present the same. At Edinburgh, the day and yeir foirsaid."

Mr Knox, to whom we owe the copies of both the preceding papers, takes notice, that this boldness in the Earl of Arran did somewhat exasperate the Queen ; but he takes notice likewise, that the very principal persons of the Congregation, even the most fervent among them, seemed to be willing that the Queen should not be restricted from having a private Mass, for some time at least ; yet all this moderation which that party shewed was no way sufficient to restrain that preacher's tongue, who, on the last day of August, being Sunday, inveighed in his sermon against idolatry, and said, among other things, that " one Mass" and he owns that no more was then suffered, " was more frightful to him than if a thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the Kingdom to suppress the whole religion." &c. at which

words, he says, “the gyardars of the Court mocked,” *i. e.* some of his own party ; for he had before told that in the Queen’s Council Papists had neither power nor vote,) and plainly spake, “that such fear was no poynt of thair fayth ; it was besyde his text, and was a very untymely admonitioun.”<sup>1</sup> This sermon made so much noise in the Court as well as in the city, that the Queen thought proper to send for Mr Knox, with whom she expostulated, both with respect to the present sermon and some of his former performances.<sup>2</sup> The conference which passed between her Majesty and him on this occasion is set down by himself at great length ; and seeing there is no other author besides, that pretends to give an account thereof, nor indeed could do it to so good purpose, we must rest satisfied with the detail he gives of it.

Another bustle there was about a high Mass having been celebrated on All Saints’ Day, the 1st of November following ; and the same author informs us, that when the Ministers declared the inconvenience that thereupon should ensue, the Nobility and others, who seemed to be very firm men before, began now to call in doubt a point wherein very lately they had seemed to be most clear on the affirmative side, viz. “Whether the subjects might put hand to suppress the idolatry of thair Prince ?”

On the 10th day of September we see the following remarkable Act of Privy-Council, viz. :—

*Apud Palatium S. D. N. R. prope Edinburgum, 10 Septembris,  
Anno 1561.*

“FORSAMEKLE as be occasioun of the lait troublis, the maist part of the Clergy and Ecclesiastical Estait hes, in thair pretendit maner, set the lands, unite and annexit to the

<sup>1</sup> Let Mr Knox form what judgment he will concerning the advice and deportment of his friends at this juncture, yet we are informed by Bishop Leslie, who was not inferior to the other in judgment, and understood very well the situation of his own party, that from the foregoing Act of the 25th August ensued the entire ruin of the ancient form of religion within Scotland ; the new modellers supporting themselves and their novel form afterwards by the royal authority, which hitherto had ever been wanted.

<sup>2</sup> Probably his book called the “Blast of the Trumpet against the Regiment of Women,” and his Letter to her Majesty’s mother, the Queen Regent.

Kirk in few-ferme and heretage, to the greit hurt noch onlie of the Quenis Majestie, bot als of the pure tennentis thairof, hir liegeis of this Realme; and the personis obeternaris of the saids fewis thinkand to mak thame the mair suire thairof, dailie sendis to Rome, and bringis hame Commissionis for confirmationis of the saids fewis, consunand, waistand, and thairthrow in vane spendand the gold, sylver, and uther money quhilk suld have course, passage, and change within the Realme, to the greit hurt of the comone weill thairof, and hail liegeis of the samyn, and expres agains justice: Thairfoir the Quenis Majestie ordanis letteris to be direct to Messingeris, Sheriffis in that part, chargeing thame to pass to all mercat croces of the burrowis of this Realme, and utheris places neidfull, and thair, be oppin proclamation, in hir Hienes name and autoritie, command and charge hir liegeis, that nane of thame tak upoun hand to purchess or send for commissionis to Rome for confirmatioun of ony fewis maid of Kirk-lands, to quhatsumevir personis, sen the vi day of Marche, the zeir of God 1558 zeiris: And als, to charge all maner of personis to quhome the saids commissionis ar, or sall happen to be direct, to desist and ceis fra all accepting of the samyn upoun thame, proceding or using of ony proees, or confirming of ony of the saids fewis be vertew thairof; and all utheris personis fra all suting or persewing of the saids confirmationis, under the pane of barratrie.<sup>1</sup> With certificatioun to thame, and thai failzie, thai salbe declarit barrators, and the saids fewis and confirmationis salbe of nane avale, force, nor effect in tyme cuming."

By this Act we can plainly decern the method which the beneficed Clergy of the ancient form had fallen upon to secure to themselves so much of their benefices as goodly they could. They foresaw, by this time, what would be the upshot of the new Reformation, and that themselves would be thrust, by an overflowing spate, from their benefices; and therefore they began to dispone their lands in the manner mentioned in this Act. All this was agreeable enough to the Nobility and gentry, who had always had it in their

<sup>1</sup> This is a sort of simony, the punishment whereof was banishment and infamy.

view to get into their hands the rents of the Church ; but the manner of securing the dispositions made by the Clergy, namely, the obtaining confirmations thereof from Rome, could not fail to be displeasing to many, since thereby was kept up a dependence upon, and intercourse with the Pope or Bishop of that See, whose authority was now declared to be usurped and unlawful. The fewing therefore of the Church rents is, by this Act, very evidently sustained. <sup>1</sup>

When the Third General Assembly was to convene in

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Spottiswoode, in the close of his reflections concerning Mr Knox's Book of Church Policy, has these words :—"The Popish churchmen, who were in a foolish pity suffered to enjoy their livings, (partly out of malice to religion, [he means the Reformation,] and partly of a fear they conceived to be spoiled of their benefices), made away all their rents, manses, glebes, tithes, and whatsoever else belonged to the Church, unto some great ones that were their friends and kinsmen, who found the means, by making corrupt laws, to strengthen their titles ; and so from time to time have, under colour of right, defrauded the Church of her due patrimony."—MS. Besides that fewing might be the readiest way for the great ones to get into the benefices, the foolish pity has been all in the Queen, without whose consent in Parliament the Clergy could not be deprived. The rents of the Church were destroyed by the Titular Bishops and Abbots after the great change of religion fell out ; that is, by presenting laymen to the Bishopricks, &c. a more flagrant and shameful instance whereof can be nowhere afforded than in the advancement of Alexander Campbell, a son of the Family of Ardkinlas, to the Bishoprick of Brechin after the death of Bishop Sinclair, whose grant to the Bishoprick contains this new and hitherto unheard of power, viz. "*Ac cum potestate sibi, dare et disponere singula beneficia [tam spiritualitatis quam temporalitatis,*" as the preceding clause bears], "*dignitatis, aut alia infra Diocesin Brechinen. nunc vacan. aut quando eadem vacare contigerit, quæ arius donationi Episcoporum Brechinen. pertinuerunt ;*" that is, "And with power to him to dispone and alienate the benefices, as well of the spirituality as temporality of the Bishoprick," &c. This grant from King Henry and Queen Mary is dated the 6th May 1566, and is to be seen in the Registers of the Privy Seal, where is likewise to be seen a licence to the Bishop by the Queen, the 7th May 1567, to depart and continue forth from the Realm the space of seven years. And, conformable to this licence, there is a particular instruction in the Book of Assumptions, now in the hands of the noble Family of Panmure, that this Titular Bishop was abroad at his studies in Geneva so late as the year 1573 ; so the reader may judge what age he has been at the time of the extravagant grant of the Bishoprick of Brechin : and what unaccountable management has been used in dilapidating of the church rents. And indeed this gentleman made sufficient use of this power invested in him, for he alienated a great part of the lands and tithes of the Bishoprick to his chief and patron the Earl of Argile, who had very likely obtained this grant for him.

December,<sup>1</sup> the Courtiers and some Noblemen refused to assemble with the rest of their brethren. About this difference a sharp altercation arose, which I think not necessary to be inserted here, since Mr Knox has taken care to represent it after his manner. Hereafter was the Book of Discipline desired to be ratified by the Queen; but this likewise was neglected, and Secretary Lethington uttered some vilipending words concerning it.

As there had been a Convention of several Noblemen at this time in Edinburgh, "The Barons," (says Mr Knox, meaning those only that sat in the Assembly of the Kirk, though he speak in these general terms,) "perceaving that the Buik of Discipline was refused, presented to the Nobility certane Artickles, requyring idolatry to be suppressed, the kirks to be planted with new Ministers, and some certane provisoun to be maid for thame, according to equity and conscience; — And so devysed thay, that the kirkmen, [*i. e.* the former Clergy] sould have intromissioun with the twa parts of thair benefices, and that the third part sould be lifted up by sick men as thairto sould be appointed, for such uses as in these subsequent Acts ar more fully expressed."<sup>2</sup> But for the satisfaction of my readers, I have put into the Appendix<sup>3</sup> more complete copies of these Acts,

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood's account of this Assembly is precisely the same with Knox's; and the Register contains nothing at all, except the Supplication alone concerning the Marquis d'Elbeuf, without so much as the Queen's answer being annexed.—[There were other transactions in the General Assemblies of the Kirk besides those given by Bishop Keith, which are to be found in the "Booke of the Universal Kirke of Scotland," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB. I do not transcribe them, because they would multiply my notes unnecessarily, and because they may be seen in the Work referred to.—E.]

<sup>2</sup> [This remaining third was given partly to the Reformed Preachers, and partly to the Queen, for defraying the expenses of her household. This division of the spoil was far from being agreeable to Knox, who thought the Preachers entitled to a larger share. He therefore publicly declared, that "the measure could never prosper; for that two-thirds were thus given to the devil, and one-third divided between God and the devil: and ere it be long, the devil shall have three parts of the thirds; judge ye then what God's portion shall be."—Calderwood, ii. 171. Even these thirds, or rather their share of them, the Preachers had the utmost difficulty in obtaining; so truly, as Mr Tytler observes, did the Barons, who had been zealous promoters of the Reformation, "love its plunder rather than its principles."—E.]

<sup>3</sup> Number I.

and from a surer canal than Mr Knox ; and by the perusal of them the readers will easily decern from what fund it was resolved to support the new Ministers, whose stipends were appointed to be modified by the Earls of Argile, Morton, and Mar [Prior of St Andrews], Secretary Lethington, the Justice-Clerk, and Clerk of Register, and Wishart, Laird of Pitarrow, in the shire of Mearns, was named to be the paymaster. All these persons were known to be first-rate men among the godly, earnest subverters of the ancient establishment, and keen prompters of the new Discipline. And “ quho wald have thoct, that quhen Joseph reulled in Egypt, his brethren sould have travellit for victualles, — so busie and circumspect wer the modifiers that the Ministers sould not be over-wanton, that thre hundreth merks was the hiest that was apoynted to any, ” &c. <sup>1</sup>

Much more to this purpose, and many sore grievances, may be seen in Mr Knox, who might now have perceived his own error in not hearkening in time to the good and wholesome advice offered him by the Primate ; but that preacher was too wise in his own conceit, and his blood boiled too hot in his veins, ever to listen to another, or allow himself to think soberly on the head. When he is talking of this matter, he roundly says, “ That none of the Church-rents pertained to any of the Queen’s predecessors within this Realme these thousand yeirs bypast ; ” but I am afraid he has herein been a bad chronologer.

He observes likewise, “ That the Bischops begane to grip agane to that quhilk most unjustly thay called thair awn. ” If there be any thing in the world that can be called own or property, certainly the rents of the Clergy were so, as having been invested in their persons by all the forms of right and property a Nation is able to confer ; and it is equally certain that the donors of these rents meant they should be paid to such Clergy as professed and believed all or most of those Articles which were now condemned, and for the maintaining of which the present Bishops within Scotland were deprived of their livings and benefices.

Besides the former business of this General Assembly,

<sup>1</sup> Mr Knox is not at all here diminishing the sum ; for the original books of Assignment to the Ministers, which now lie before me, ascertain the truth of what he says.

with which Mr Calderwood shuts up his account thereof; besides that, I say, Mr Knox sets down a supplication to the Queen (contained likewise in the Register) upon account of a sort of disturbance raised within the town of Edinburgh, in the night-time, by her Majesty's uncle the Marquis d'Elbeuf, &c. "This winter" (says he) "the Erle Bothwell, the Marquess d'Albuf, and Lord Jhone of Coldinghame playit the ryote in Edinburgh, misordoured the hole tounne, brak Cuthbert Ramsay's yetts and dures, socht his house for his gude-dochter, Alisone Craik. And this was done in despyt of the Erle of Arrane, quhose hoore the said Alisone was suspectit to have bene. The horroure of this fact, and the rarity of it hiely comoved all godly hairts. The Assembly, and also the Nobility, for the maist pairt wer in the tounne; and so they concludit to crave justice, as that thay did, as by this subsequent supplicatioun does appeare.

*"To the Quenes Majestie, and hir Secrete and Grit Counsall, hir Grace's faythfull and obedient subjects, the Professours of Christ Jesus, His holie Ewangell, wisch the spirit of rychteous judgement.*

"THE feare of God conceaved of His holie Word, the naturall and unfeaned love we beare unto your Grace, the dewtie quhilk we aw unto the quyetnes of our countrey, and the terribill threatnings quhilk our God pronounces against every realme and ciety in the quhilk horribill crymes ar comitted oppinly, and then be the comitters obstinatly defended, compell us, a grit pairt of your subjects, humlie to crave of your Grace uprycht and trew judgement against sick persones as have done quhat in thame ly to kendle God's wrath against this hole Realme. The impiety be thame comitted is so heynous and so horribill, that as it is a fact most vyle and rare to be hard of within this Realme, and principally within the bowells of this ciety, so sould we think ourselves gilty in the same, if negligently, or yit for warldly fear, we pas it over with silence; and thairfore your Grace may not think that we require any thing (quhill that we crave oppin malefactours condingly to be punished) bot that quhilk God hes comandit us to crave, and also hes comandit your Grace to give to every ane of your subjects; for by this link hes God knit togidder the Prince and the

peple, that as He comands honour, fear, and obedience to be gevin to the powers establischid be Him ; so doeth He, in expresse words, comand and declare quhat the Prince aweth unto the subjects, to wit, that as he is the Minister of God, bearing the sword for vengeance to be takin on evill doers, and for the defence of peacible and quyet men, so aucht he to draw the same without partiality, so oft as in God's name he is requyred thairto. Seing so it is, Madame, that this cryme, so recently comitted, and that in the eyes of your hole Realme now presently assembled, is so heynous (for quho heirtofore hes hard within the bowells of Edinburgh yettes and dures, under silence of nicht, brust up, houses ryped, and that with hostility, seaking a woman, as appeareth, to oppresse hir ?) seing, we say, that this cryme is so heynous, that all godly men fear not only Goddis sore displesour to fall upoun you and your hole Realme, bot also that sick liberty breads contempt, and in the end seditioun, if remedie in tyme be not provydit, quhilk in our jugement is imposibill, if severe punischment be not executed for the cryme comitted. Thairfore we maist humlie beseich your Grace, that all affection sett asyde, you declare yourself so uprycht in this case, that ye may give evident demonstratioun to all your subjects that the fear of God, joyned with the love of comoun tranquility, hes principall seat and dominioun in your Grace's hart. This farther, Madame, of conscience we speik, that as your Grace, in God's name, does crave of us obedience (quhilk to rander in all things lawfull we ar most willing) so in the sam name do we, the hole professours of Chryst's Evangell, within this your Grace's Realme, crave of yow, and of your Counsaill, scharp punischment of this cryme ; and for performance thareof, that without all delay the principall actours of this most heynous cryme, and the persewars of this pretendit villany, may be called befor the Cheif-Justice of this Realme, to suffer ane assyse, and to be punished according to the lawes of the same. Your Grace's answer maist humlie we beseich."

To this supplication the Queen returned such answer as might (some people would think) have been deemed satisfactory, namely, " that hir uncle was a stranger, and that he had a young company ; bot 'sche suld put sick ordour unto

him, and unto all uthers, that heirefter they suld have no occasioun to complene." And Mr Randolph, in one of his Letters, takes notice that the Queen reproved the doers in words sharp enough.<sup>1</sup> But Mr Knox's observation on the Queen's preceding answer is, "And so deludit sche the just petitioun of hir subjects." And then that writer proceeds to insert such unseemly and offensive trash as, in my opinion, did little become his character to repeat, and far less to introduce into a Book of History, but especially into the History of an Ecclesiastical Reformation. Such scandal might have passed better in a book of the amorous intrigues of a Court.

On the last day of May this year, I find this proclamation in the Register of Privy-Council, whereof Mr Knox has not thought fit to take the least regard.

"*Apud Edinburgh, ultimo Maij 1562.*

"THE quhilk day, the Quenis Majestie remembring that sone eftir hir first arryvell and hame-cuming in this cuntrie, and understandand the greit inconvenientis that mycht cum from the divisioun standing in this Realme be difference in materis of religioun, and being desyrous to se the same pacifit be ane gude ordoure, to the honoure of God and tranquillitie of the Realme, mynding to tak the same be the advyis of the Estaitis sa sone as convenientlie thai mycht be assemblit: Directit hir Majestie's letteris, proclamationis, and chargeis throughout hir haill Realme, straitlie comand-ing all hir lieges, that thai, and every ane of thame, suld contene thameselfis in quietnes, and kepe peace and civile societie amangis thameselfis: And in the mein tyme, quhill the Estaitis of the Realme mycht be assemblit, and that ane finall ordoure be thair advyis and publict consent mycht be takin in the saids materis, that nane of the saids liegis suld tak upoun hand, privatlie nor oppinlie, to mak ony alteratioun or innovatioun of the stait of religioun, or attempt ony thing aganis the forme quhilk hir Majestie fand publictlie and universallie standing at hir arryvall in this Realme, under the pane of deid: with certificatioun, that gif ony suld cum in the contrair thairof, he suld be haldin ane seditious persoun and raser of tumult. And albeith the

<sup>1</sup> See page 210.—[ii. 130.]

same wes dewlie proclamit, sua that nane can pretend ignorance thair of, nochtt theles it is quhisperit and murmurit that sum suld forzett thair devoyr sa fer as to attempt to contravene the same, be innovating of the religioun and ministratioun of the sacramentis, utherwyis than be the publict forme foirsaid, quhilk wes at hir Majesties arryvall: And becaus the controventioun, gif it be permittit to proceed unpunissit, may nocht onlie engander maist hie contempt of hir Majesties authoritie, but als rais tumult and seditioun within the Realme, to the greit hinder of hir Hienes gude mind and purpois intendit for pacifying of sik materis, and taking of ordour thairin be advyis of the Estaitis, as said is; thairfoir ordanis letteris to be direct, chargeing zit as of befoir, all and sundry hir liegis of quhatsumevir estait, qualitie, or conditioun thai be of, be oppin proclamatioun at the mercate-croces of all Burrowis of the Realme, and utheris places neidfull, that thai, and every ane of thame, sa fer as in thame lye, endeavour thameselfis to observe and keip the said former proclamatioun in every point and conditioun, and that nane of thame presume to attempt or to do ony thing that may tend to the violatioun or breking thair of, be the meanis foirsaid, or ony utheris, privatlie or quietlie, under the paine contenit in the same: Certiefying thame, that as hir Majestie maist lovinglie will imbrace all hir subjectis obeyand hir comandmentis, sa can scho nocht of hir honour and dewtie bot hait and punische the contemptnaris and transgressouris thair of, specialie in this point quhair the mater concernis the keeping of gude ordour, comoun peace, and mutuall societie, quhair of thai may maist certanlie assur thameselfis quhen thai sall feill the samyn, and obtene the reward that is dew unto subjectis that makis ony defectioun from thair Soveranis obedience.”

*Fourth General Assembly.*

Register.] “The Convention of the Kirk of Scotland gatherit in Edinburgh the penult day of Junij 1562, in the quhilk wer present the Superintendents, Ministers, and Commissioners after-written.

“Superintendents; Mrs. Johne Spottiswoode of Louthiane, Johne Wynrham of Fife, John Willock of Glasgow, Johne Areskine of Dun and Angus, Johne Carswell of Argyle.

“ Ministers and Commissioners ; Johne Knox, Minister of Edinburgh, James Barron and Edward Hope, Commissioners ; James Zong, Mr David Lindesay, Minister at Leith, Patrick Cockburne and Johne Brown, Commissioners ; Mr Johne Craig, Minister at Halieruidehouse, Johne Hart and Williame Oswald, Commissioners ; Williame Harlaw, Minister of St Cuthbert’s Kirk, Johne Barroun, Minister of Mussilburgh, Mr Thomas Cranstoun, Minister at Tranent, Alexander Forrester, Minister of Libertoun, Mr George Fuir, Minister of Dummanie, Mr David Weymis, Minister of Ratho, David Cunninghame, Minister of Lanerick, James Walker, Minister of Steinstoun, Paul Methven, Minister of Jedburgh, Mr George Hay, Minister at Eddilstoun, Christopher Gudman, Minister at St Andrews, Mr George Leslie, Minister at Strathmiglow, Richard Melvill, Minister at Inchbruoek and Marit ; Johne Douglas of Pumferstoun, and Johne Douglas in Howden, Commissioners of the Kirk of Calder ; the Laird of Spot, Commissioner for Dunbar, and diverse in the Merse ; James Fleyming, Elder and Commissioner of Glasgow, the Laird of Lye, Commissioner of Lanerick, the Laird of Barre, Commissioner of Kyle, Johne Catheart of Cariltoun, Commissioner of Carrick, Mr Robert Pont, Elder and Commissioner of St Andrews, Thomas Scott of Hayning, Commissioner for Selcraig and Melros.<sup>1</sup>

“ The quhillk day the fornameit convenit in Mr Hendrie Law’s house, and after prayere the Heids and Articles following wer treated.

Calderwood.] “ In the first Session, for the tryell of Ministers and Superintendents, it was ordained that Ministers sould be first tryed in their lyfe and conversation and doctrine ; and therefore after the tryell of the Superintendents, the Elders of everie Kirk to be charged in God’s name to declare their conscience what they know tuiching their Ministers’ doctrine, lyfe, maners, diligence in execution of their office. If anie be accused or convicted of anie notable crime, he must be subject to the censure of the Kirk and suffer punishment and admonition as the Assemblie sall think good. 2. After the Ministers, the Elders of everie Kirk must be tried, if anie man have ought to lay to the charge of anie of them. 3. The accused, whether he be

<sup>1</sup> This list is more large than that in Calderwood.

Minister or Elder, is to be removed out of the Assemblie till his cause be tryed: If he be convict, he sall have no vote till the Assemblie receive satisfaction.

“After tryell taken of the whole number, then must everie Superintendent, with the Ministers and Elders within his Diocie, expone to the Assemblie the estate of the Kirks in their bounds, the offences and crimes they know, to the end some remedie may be divised, at least supplication made to the superior Powers for redresse of the same: And for avoiding confusion, lotes are to be cast what Diocie should first be heard; what nixt, and so furth of the rest.

“It was ordained that if Ministers be disobedient to Superintendents in anie thing belonging to edification, that they must be subject to correctione.

“It was ordained that ane charge sould passe from everie Superintendent to all Ministers within their bounds, to warne their Kirks of the order taken, to witt, that the said Superintendents, Ministers, Elders, and Deacons doe willinglie subject themselves to discipline; and if anie man have anie thing to laye justlie to their charge, that they doe the same at the nixt Assemblie, which is to be holden in December: And that no Minister leave his flock for coming to the said Assemblie, except he have complaints to make, or ellis be complained upon, or at the leist be warned thereto be the Superintendent.

“In the second Session, holden the last day of June, it was answered be the Assemblie, to the petition of Mr Alexander Gordon, anent the Superintendentship of Galloway; 1st, That they understand not how he hath anie nomination or presentation ather by the Lords of Secret Counsell or Province of Galloway. 2dlie, Albeit he had presentation of the Lords, yet he hath not observed the order kept in the election of Superintendents, and therefore cannot acknowledge him for anie Superintendent, lawfullie called for the present; but offered unto him their aid and assistance, if the Kirks of Galloway sall sute, and the Lords present: And requireth that before he depart that he subscribe the Book of Discipline. Further, it was concluded that letters sould be sent to the Kirkes of Galloway, to learn whether they required anie Superintendent or not, and whom they required.

“ It was enacted that Ministers sall be subject to the Superintendents in all lawfull admonitions, as is prescribed as well in the Book of Discipline as in the maner of admission of Superintendents. 2. That so manie Ministers as have been accepted of their Kirks, after triall offered and libertie granted to them to receave or refuse, sall remaine as lawfull Ministers, unless from that tyme they have been found criminall in life or doctrine: And that such as serve in the Kirks without publict and free admission, it sall be free for the Kirks to receave or refuse them as they be able to render the cause why they refuse. 3. That the examination of all these who have not been examined alreadie, sall be in the presence of the Superintendent, and the best reformed Kirk within his bounds, nearest the place where the Minister is to be established; providing alwayes, that the judgment of the best learned being present be sought in the examination and admission; and that he who sall be so admitted, sall not be removed, according to the order of the Booke of Discipline. 4. That Superintendents tak accompt what bookes the Minister hath in store the time of their visitation, and how the said Minister and everie one of them doe profite from time to time [in reiding and audying the saymen, *Register*.]

“ In this Session the Assemblie ordained the Superintendent of Louthaine to summond Michael Smith, pretended Minister of Strabroke, to purge himself of certaine crimes layed and to be layed to his charge; and Mr George Hepburn, Parsone of Hawick, to answer to suche things as should be laid to his charge. The slander raised upon Mr Robert Hamilton, Minister of Hamilton, was remitted to the triall of the Superintendent of Glasgow, to remove him out of the Ministrie, if he thocht expedient. The Assemblie decernes letters to be directed to the Elders, Deacons, and whole Kirk of Craill, to require them, as they would answere in the presence of God, to signifie to the Assemblie with all diligence, whether Mr Johne Melvill their Minister, was accused be the whole Kirk, or be anie private faction; whether the whole Kirk requireth his removall, or the most part, or onlie some particular persone.

“ In the third Session, holden the first day of Julie, concerning the dissobedience and negligence of Elders in assist-

ing Ministers to correct offenses, and sometimes the whole people refusing to be subject to discipline, it was concluded that the Minister sall diligentlie require his Elders, and everie one of them, to assist him in all their lawfull meetings; wherein if they be found negligent, then sall he proceed to admonitions according to Christ's rule; which if they, or anie of them obey not, then sall the Minister, with sa manie of the Kirk as will subscribe with him, notifie the same to the Superintendent; and if he, be his admonitions, can profite nothing, that then be his advice the disobedients be excommunicat; and that the Magistrates, subjects to Christ's rule, be not exeimed from the same punishment.

2. Tuiching persones to be nominat to Kirks, that none be admitted without the nomination of the people, and dew examination and admission of the Superintendent, and who have been otherwise intrusted, since the year 1558, to make supplication for their provision, according to the for-said Act.

“After the Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers had complained of the smalnes of their stipends, it was concluded, that everie one of them sould give in their particular complaint to their Superintendents, showing as wiel the valour of their stipend, as why they cannot live reasonable there-upon, that the Assemblie may make supplication to the Queen's Grace and Counsell for redresse of the same; and this to be done before the last day of September nixt to come. And in like maner, becaus manie Ministers complaine of not payment of their stipends, in default of the thrid of diverse persones given be the Queen's Grace to these who are in possession of the Kirks presentlie, it was thoght good to require of her Hienes and Counsell, order might be taken how the saids complainers might be payed. Alsua, in consideration that the ministrie in certain burrowes complaine for want of their stipends allowed unto them, becaus of the smalnes of the thrid part of the teinds given to her Hienes, pertaining to the saids burrowes, it was thoght good to crave at her Majestie and Counsell how the said Ministers sould be sustained. Attour to make supplication for the manse, and akers or glebe, where the Ministers may make residence according to the Book of Discipline. *Item*, that decayed Kirks be repaired, according to the

Act of the Lords of Secret Counsell, made before her Hienes home-coming. In like manner, to prefer supplication for the poore and their support, for maintenance of Schooles for instruction of the youth in everie parish, and the samen to be taken off the twa-part of the teinds, and within burrowes of the annualrents, and other such things as before served to idolatrie.

“ In the fourth Session, holden the second day of Julie, at the desire of the Assemblie, compeared Mr Johne Scharp ; and after long reasoning be the said Mr Johne, it was asked whether he wold serve in the Kirk of God in such place as the Assemblie wold place him into ? He answered, he was content to bestow the gifts he had to the comfort of the Kirk of God ; bot for so much as that charge required the preaching of the Evangell and ministration of the Sacraments, the consideration of his presente ignorance in the Scriptures, could not accept the same till the time of farther knowledge. The Assemblie finding him able to preache the Word and minister the Sacraments, as he had done before times, charged him to re-enter to the ministrie, the place where he sould minister being reserved to farther deliberation. In this Session it was ordained that Mr Craig sould be joined with Mr Knox in the ministrie of Edinburgh ; that Mr James Greg sould assist the Superintendent of Glasgow till Michaelmas next to come, and thereafter to teache in the parishes belonging to the Lord Areskine, till the next Assemblie. Mr George Hay, the Superintendent of Glasgow, Mr Robert Hamilton, Minister of Machlin and Uchiltree, war appointed to preache in the unplanted Kirks of Carict successivelie, one after another monethlie, till the next Assemblie. Mr James Pont was appointed to minister the Word and Sacraments in Melros till the next Assemblie. Mr Robert Pont appointed to minister till the next Assemblie, in Dumblaine. The raritie of labourers, and the greatness of the harvest, required at this time such a kind of supplie and help.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [ Even in the year 1572, there were only 252 Ministers, 157 Exhorters, and 508 Readers (all laymen except three or four), for the whole of Scotland. See a Register of Ministers, &c. for that period, printed by the MAITLAND CLUB. It is there stated, that so scarce was the first-named class of instructors, that one individual was appointed to “ minister the

“In the fifth Session, David Forrest was requested to take on the ministrie. Mr Johne Scharp and Robert Wilson war ordained to serve in such Kirks as the Assemblie sould appoint in the next Session.

“In the sixth Session it was concluded that Mr Johne Scharp sould re-enter in the ministrie, and to serve in the Kirk which the Superintendent of Lowthian sould appoint; and if he refused, that the censures of the Kirk be execute against him. David Forrest’s answare was referred to the Superintendent of Lowthian and Kirk of Edinburgh. Mr Patrick Cockburne, Mr Thomas Hepburne, Mr David Lindsay, or ellis Mr Johne Craig, was appointed to teache in the unplanted Kirks of the Merce their moneth by course.

“Johne Douglas of Pumferstone, complaining in name of the Kirk of Calder, that they ar defrauded diverse times of the preaching of the Word since their Minister was elected Superintendent of Lowthian, desired the said Superintendent to be restored to them again, or some qualified Minister to be provided to them. It was answered, the profite of manie Kirks was to be preferred to the profite of one particular, and that the Kirk of Calder sould either be occupied be himself, or be some other qualified persone in his absence, which culd not be otherwise helped in this raritie of the ministrie; and they sould have complained when the public Edict was sett forth twentie dayes before his admission.

“The Assemblie being informed that Mr David Spence gave institution, be vertew of the Pope’s Bulles, to Mr Robert Auchinmoutie, of the Prebendrie of Russell, the 25 of June last bypast, ordained that the Superintendents of Fyfe and Lowthian take order respective with the forsaid persons, and to enforme the Justice-Clerk to call them to particular dietts, for breaking of the Quein’s Acts, if they find the mater cleerlie tried; and that the Superintendent of Lowthian signifie the mater to the Duke.

“It was concluded that supplication sould be given to Sacraments to the haill shyre of Peebles!” It was many years before the country could adapt itself to the new order of things; and in the interval, great religious destitution and incalculable disorder and immorality prevailed. In truth, Scotland may be said to have been under the sentence of a religious interdict during the whole of that period; and its state worse than ever it had been before.—E.]

her Hienes for removing of idolatrie, bot the matter how, they referred to the advise of the godlie of her Majestie's Privie-Counsell. *Item*, that supplication be made to her Hienes for punishing of all vices commanded by the law of God to be punished, not punishable by the lawes of the Realme, to witt, blasphemie of God's name, contempt of His Word and Sacraments, profanation of the same by such as war not lawfullie called to the ministration thereof; perjurie, and taking the name of God commonlie in vain; breache of the Sabbath by keeping common mercats; adulterie, fornication, filthie speeches: And further, that transgressors of the last Proclamation made against Messengers and hearers of the Messe, be punished accordinglie. *Item*, that sute be made to the Justice-Clerk for order to be taken with Mr William Scott of Balwerie, for disobedience to the Superintendent of Fife; and Mr James Makvert, in Bute, for disobedience to the Superintendent of Argyle. *Item*, that supplication be made to the Secret Counsell for assistance of the Superintendent of Angus to visite the Sherifdomes of Aberdeen and Bamf, according to the commission given to him be the Assemblie in December last bypast. This Assemblie joyned to him as associates, Mr Christopher Gudman and Mr Johne Row. Anent the action of Divorcement, it was thoght good to make supplication to the Secret Counsell, that ather they transferre the Judgement of Divorcement to the Kirk and their Sessions, or ellis establishe men of good lives, knowledge, and judgement to order the same, providing the saids Lords provide how the guiltie persons divorced salbe punished.

Register.] “And swa dissolves this Assemblie, and appointit to convenie agane the 25 of December nixt to cum, in Edinburgh. “*Sic Subscribitur*, JONNE GRAY.

Calderwood.] “The tenour of the supplication which was to be presented to the Quein's Majestic and her Counsell, was read in open audience of the Assemblie, and approved.”

The tenor of this supplication may be seen in Mr Knox, as drawn up by himself, together with the objections made against the same by several persons in the Assembly: I shall here only take notice that Secretary Lethington, objecting much against the harsh expressions couched

therein, it was agreed the Secretary should make another form of supplication, which was delivered to the Queen by the Superintendents of Lothian and Fife ; and her Majesty said concerning it, “ Here are many fair words, I cannot tell what the hearts are.”

By authority of this Assembly, Mr Knox informs, that himself was sent into Kyle and Galloway, (as was Mr George Hay into Carrick and Cuninghame). Besides preaching, and a disputation held with Mr Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crosraguel, this politic Minister acknowledges he spirited up the people in these bounds to subscribe the following bond :—

“ WE, quhais names ar under-written, do promise, in the presence of God, and in presence of His son, our Lord Jesus Christ, that we, and every one of us, sall and will manteyne and assist the preaching of His holly Evangell, now of His mere mercy, offered unto this Realme : And also will manteyne the Ministers of the same against all persons, power, and authority, that will oppone the self to the doctrine proponed, and by us receaved. And further, with the same solemnity, we protest and promise that every ane of us sall assist uthers, yea, and the hole bodie of the Protestants within this Realme, in all lawfull and just actions, against all persones : So that quhosoever sall hurt, molest, or truble ony of our body, sall be reputed enemy to the hole, except that the offendare will be content to submitt himself to the judgement of the Kirk now establisched amongst us. And this we do, as we desyre to be accepted and favoured of the Lord Jesus, and reaccompted worthie of credite and honestie in the presence of the godlie. At the Bourgh of Aire, the ferd day of September, the yeir of God 1562. Subsercyved be all thir, with thair hands, as follows :—

“ Mr Michaell Wallace, Provost of Air, James Lockhart, William Montgomery, Johne Crawford of Wolstoun, Johne Mure in Wole, Hew Wallace of Carnell, James Chalmer of Gathgirth, Hew Montgomery of Heshelhead, Johne Fullartoun of Dreghorne, Sir William Cunninghame with my hand, Skledoun, Fargushill, Maister of Boyd, Johne Lockhart of Barr, William Cunninghame of Caprintoun, younger, Robert Ker of Carsland, Robert Crawford, David

Crawfurd, William Cunninghame, Charles Campbell, Burges of Air, James Dalrymple of Stayre, Mungo Mure, James Reid, James Kennedie, Burges of Air, George Lockhart, Burges there, Robert Schaw, Burges there, Johne Dunbar of Blantyre, Robert Chalmer of Martuein, Robert Hunter of Hunterstoun, Robert Rankin, Archibald Boyle, Alexander Nysbet, James Lockhart, William Stewart of Halrig, Hector Dunbar of Cloustang, James Campbell of Houthley, Adam Cathcart of Bardarot, George Reid of Chapelhous, Hew Wallace of the Meanfurd, Glencairne, R. Boyd, R. Failfurd, Matthew Campbell of Lowdon, knight, Allane Lord Cathcart, Johne Cunninghame of Capringtoun, Cunninghameheid, Uchiltrie, George Crawfurd of Lefnorceis, Johne Mure of Rowallane, Hew Cunninghame of Watterstoun, Robert Cunninghame, Akynharvy, Myddiltoun, Johne Wallace of Cragie, Johne Boyd of Narstoun, Robert Campbell of Kingzeancleuch, Gilbert Eales, Thomas Cathcarte with my hand, Allane Cathcarte of Clawance, Adam Reyd of Barskyng, Johne Cathcart of Gibisyard, Johne Reid with my hand, Johne ———, Robert Boyd of Pemont, William Campbell of Horseleuch, William Cathcart, brother to the Lord Cathcart, Johne Mackqusidaill, George Corry of Kelwood, William Kennydie of Ternganoth, Johne Kennydie of Kirkmichaell, Thomas Mackalexander of Corseclais, Robert Campbell of Craydow, Andro Neven of Monkredde, William Cathcart, David Crawfurd of the Kers, Johne Kennydie of Ternganothe, Patrick Kennydie of Daljaroeh, Allane Cathcart of Carloun. With mony uther gentlemen of worth, and burgesses."

## CHAPTER III.

CONTAINING CHURCH AFFAIRS FROM THE BATTLE OF CORRICHIE  
IN THE END OF OCTOBER 1562, TILL THE PARLIAMENT IN  
DECEMBER 1564.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of the Earl of Huntly in the battle of Corrichie, and the execution of his son at Aberdeen, the Queen left the North, and came to Dundee, St Johnston, Stirling, and then to Edinburgh, where the Court remained for the most part of the winter. In which time “the Precheours, Mr Knox says, wer wonderous vehement in reprehensioun of all manner of vice, quhilk then began to abound,<sup>1</sup>” &c. This made the courtiers (who he owns were Protestants) pick quarrels against the Preachers, and affirm that all their preaching was turned into railing. And that there has been very probably too good ground for this complaint, it will be remembered that the Resident of England even took notice in his letters that Mr Knox deborded too far in the pulpit from decency and sobriety. However, this author, after he has narrated the present story in hand is at pains, after his wonted manner, to make his readers take up the matter in such sort as if himself had been endued with the spirit of prophecy. But we may all know how easy a matter it is to denounce judgments; and still easier so to frame a posterior narration as to make denunciations and judgments correspond together: and yet neither will it be found that Mr Knox’s pretended prophecies were always attended with corresponding events.

*Fifth General Assembly.*

Calderwood.] “The Generall Assemblie conveined the 25 of December 1562, where war present Superintendents, Ministers, and Commissionars in Edinburgh, in the old Counsell-house. [Johne Knox, Minister of Edinburgh, callit upon Godis name for the assistance of His holie spirit, *Register.*]

<sup>1</sup> [What a singular admission that in the third year of Reformation, “all manner of vice began to abound” !—E.]

“In the first Session, Mr Robert Cuming, Schoolemaster of Arbrothe, was complained upon be the Laird of Dun, Superintendent of Angus and Mearnes, for infecting the youth committed to his charge with idolatrie.

“In the second Session, [28th of the said moneth, *Reg.*] according to the order taken at the last Assemblie, becaus the Superintendent of Lowthian was absent, who sould first have been tried, the Superintendent of Fyfe was removed, and the Ministers and Commissionars of the said Diocie, who war present for the tyme, war required, if they, or anie of them, had anie thing to lay to his charge tuiching his maners, conversation, doctrine, and execution of his office, that they wold declare it. It was murmured by sundrie Ministers, that he was somewhat slacke in his visitations, and remained not at the Kirks for ordering such things as war necessar for the same; that he was too much given to worldlie affairs, slacke in preaching, rashe in excommunication, sharper nor became him in making acts for payment of small tithes. The Superintendent of Angus was removed nixt: It was layed to his charge that there war manie Popish priests, unable and of wicked life, admitted to reading at Kirks within his Diocie. 2. That some young men war rashlie admitted to the ministrie, and to be Exhorters, without such tryell and examination as is required in the Booke of Discipline. 3. That gentlemen of vitious life war chosen to be Elders in divers Kirks. 4. That sundrie Ministers, under his jurisdiction, remaine not at their Kirks, visite not the sicke in their extremitie; and als, that the youth is not instructed. 5. That some Ministers come over late to the Kirks where they should preache on the Lord's Day, so that the peiple doeth wearie staying upon them; and incontinent, the sermon being ended, they depart. 6. That the Ministers resort not to the exercise according to the order sett down in the Book of Discipline. The Superintendent, after he come in againe, randered up the Commission he received frome the Assemblie for visiting the North, and establishing Ministers, Elders, and Deacons in the Kirk. Therafter the Ministers of Fyfe war removed, and the Superintendents and Commissionars war required to declare what they knew to be layed to their charge. Then the Ministers of Mernes and Angus war removed and tried.

Then the Superintendent of Lowthiane now being present, was removed and tryed. It was required be the Commissioners of Edinburgh, that he wold sometimes preache in their Kirks, as the principall rounge within his jurisdiction : and others required, that he wold visite Mussilburgh and Stirling oftener. Therafter the Ministers of Lowthiane and Stirlingshire war removed and tried.

“ It was concluded that the Superintendent sall cause present the names of Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers, to the lords appointed be the Queen’s Majesty for assigning of their stipends, and that in thir presentations be specified the entrie of these that ar presented, to be at Alhallowmes, Lambmes, Candlemes, or Beltan, togither with the year of God, that they may receive payment at the terme after their entrie, sua furth quarterlie. And if it sall happen that anie Minister, Exhorter, or Reader depart at the pleasure of God, the intrant sall receive payment *pro rata servitii* ; that the executors of the defunct sall receive payment for the time he hath served : And this order to be observed hereafter. Anent the sustentation of Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers within Burrowes, the Comptroller required the Commissioners of Burrowes who war present to signifie to him be word or writt, within a competent space, what relief they wold make to the sustentation of the Ministers forsaid, in respect they war before burthened with upholding of suche as called themselves Ministers in the abused Kirk.

“ In the third Session [29th December, *Reg.*] it was ordained, according to the fourth head of the Book of Discipline, that all persons serving in the ministrie who had not entred into their charges according to the order appointed in the said book, be inhibited ; that is to say, if they have been slanderous before in doctrine, and have not satisfied the Kirk ; if they have not been presented be the people, or a part thereof, to the Superintendent ; and he, after examination and tryall, hath not appointed unto them their charges. And that this Act have strenth als weill against these who ar called Bishops as others : And ordaineth the same Act to be promulgat be the Superintendents in their Diocies ; and where there ar not Superintendents, be Commissioners sent from the Assemblie, the copie thereof to be affixed upon the principall kirk-doores. And if anie person,

after inhibition made, contemptuously continue in his ministrie, the Assemblie ordaines to proceed against him be censures, to excommunication, unless be his letters to the Commissioners, or nixt Superintendent, he give signification of his obedience, and promise to accept the same charge according as they sall command him. And in that case the Assemblie decerned, that with libertie and freedome of conscience, and also without danger of the former paine, he may continue in his ministrie till the nixt Assemblie; at which time it is ordained that they present themselves before the Assemblie. And that this Act comprehend also Exhorters and Readers.

“ Becaus it is complained that the north countrie, for the most part, was destitute of Ministers, and that the order of the election and admission of the Superintendent of Aberdeen was not putt in execution, the Assemblie appointed Mr George Hay, Mr Johne Row, and Adam Heriot, to be proponed in lites to the said Kirk, and edicts to pass furth thereupon with all expedition; and committed the charge of inauguration of the person elected, to the Superintendents of Fyfe and Angus, and suche learned men as they sall choose; and appointed the Kirk of Old Aberdeen to be the place of admission. And in case ather Mr Johne Row and Adam Heriot sal be elected to the said office, the Assemblie nominat Mr James Wilkie, Patrick Couston, and Robert Hamilton, to be proponed in lites to the Kirks destitute of their ministrie.

“ A commission was given to Mr Johne Hepburne, Minister of Brechin, to pass to Murray, and there to preache the Gospell; and if it sall chance that he sall find anie qualified persons apt to be Ministers, Exhorters, or Readers, that he send them to the Superintendent to be appointed for Aberdeen and Bamf, to be tried, and admitted to their offices *respective*: And it was ordained this commission sould endure till the nixt Assemblie.

“ David Forrest, notwithstanding he objected his owne inabilitytie, was charged by the whole Assemblie, as he wold avoide disobedience to their voices, without farther delay, to addresse himself to enter in the ministrie where he sal be appointed, seing it was knowen sufficientlie that he was able for that function. He and Mr Patrick Cockburne war pro-

poned in lites for the superintendentship of Jedburgh. It was decerned that edicts sould be sett furth for their admission against the first Lord's Day of Marche nixt to come, in the Kirk of Jedburgh. The Superintendent of Lowthiane, Mr Knox, and such other learned men as they sould choose to assist them, war appointed to inaugurate the person elected.

“ For the planting of Kirks in the shirefdomes of Dumfries, Galloway, and Nithisdail, and the rest of the west dails, the Assemblie nominat in lites for the superintendentship, Mr Alexander Gordon, entituled Bishop of Galloway, and Mr Robert Pont, Minister of Dunkell : Ordained edicts to be set furth for the admission upon the first Lord's Day of Aprile, and appointed the Superintendent of Glasgow, Mr Knox, Minister of Edinburgh, Mr Robert Hamilton, Minister of Uchiltrie and Mauchlin, and other learned men, to be present at the inauguration of the person elected ; the place of admission to be the parish-kirk of Dumfries. In the meane tyme the Assemblie giveth commission to Mr Alexander to admit Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers, and to doe such other things as war before accustomed in planting of Kirks.

Register.] “ Mr Archibald Keith, Minister of Logie and Balmerinoch, was discernit be the Kirk to be translated fra the foirsaid Kirks to sick place as where his stipend sould be more abundantlie given him, in cais he be not reasonable satisfiet be the Lords appointit to modifie the Ministers' stipends ; provyding that he change not at his awin privat opinioun, bot to have thairin the judgement and appointment of the Kirk, who sall give thair judgement heir or this Assemblie be dissolvit.

Calderwood.] “ In the fourth Session, [30 December Reg.] commission was given to Mr Knox to goe to Jedburgh, and to take triell upon the thrid day of Januarie nixt to come, of the slander raised against Paul Methven, late Minister of the said burgh ; and after triell to report to the Session or Consistorie of the Kirk of Edinburgh, to whom, with the Superintendent of Lowthiane, the Assemblie giveth power to decerne and pronounce sentence.

“ This Assemblie giveth power to every Superintendent within their own bounds, in their Synodall Assemblies, with

consent of the most part of the Elders and Ministers of Kirks, to translate Ministers from one Kirk to another, as they sall consider the necessitie; and in like manner chargeth the Ministers to obey the voice and commandement of their Superintendent anent their translating. It was ordained further, that Superintendents indiet their Synodall Conventions twice in the year, to witt, in the moneth of Aprile and October, at such days within the said moneths as the Superintendents sall think good; and that they give sufficient advertisement to the particular Kirks, that the Minister, with ane Elder or Deacon, may repaire toward the place appointed be the Superintendents, at the dayes that salbe affixed be them, to consult upoun the commoun effaires of their Dioces.

“ In this Session some Ministers war appointed for particular places; Mr James Pont for my Lord Areskine, Mr James Foullis for Dunkell, Mr James Wilkie, or Mr Patrick Couston, if he be not chosen for St Johnston, for Aberdeen, Mr Robert Hamilton for Hamilton, Mr Johne Keith to be placed by the Superintendent of Aberdeen in Buchan, Mr Robert Narne for Deir, Mr Arthure to be placed at the discretion of the Superintendent of Fyfe and Rector of St Andrews, Mr James Greg for Carict, if the Lord Areskine could be moved to consent.

“ In the fifth Session [last day of December, Reg.] commission was given to the Superintendents of Angus, Lowthian, Glasgow, Fyfe, and David Forrest, to travell with the Lords of the Secreit Counsell, to know what causes sall come in judgement to the Kirk, and what order of executioun sall be taken therein. *Item*, To travell for abolishing of mercats holding upon the Lord's Day throughout the Realme. *Item*, Commission given to Mr Knox to make supplication both by word and writt to the Queen's Majestie, for support of the poore.

“ Notwithstanding of the nomination of Superintendents for Aberdeen, Bamf, Jedburgh and Dumfries, made before in the third Session, the Assemblie remitted farther advisement and nomination of the persons to the Lords of Secreit Counsell, providing the days for the admission be not altered.

“ It was concluded that ane uniforme order should be keeped in ministration of the Sacraments, Solemnization of

Mariages, and Buriall of the Dead, according to the Booke of Geneva.<sup>1</sup> *Item*, That the Communion be ministred foure tymes in the yeere within burrowes, and twise in the yeere in countrie parishes. The Superintendents war appointed to confer with the Lords of Secreit Counsell anent the charges to be bestowed for the Elements at the Lord's Supper. It was concluded that na Minister, nor others bearing office within the Kirk, take in hand to cognosce and decide in the actions of divorcement, except the Superintendents, and these to whome they sall give speciall commission betwixt speciall persons. After invocation of the name of God made be Mr Knox, Minister of Edinburgh, the Assemblie dissolved.

“ In this Assemblie great complaints war made that Ministers lacked stipends, and Kirks lacked Ministers. The Comptroller, Justice-Clerk, and Clerk-Register, required everie Superintendent to give to them the particular complaints, that their stipends might be augmented. Where the thrids war remitted to the possessors be the Queen's Majestie, they promised to cause charge the principall intrometters and possessors of the teinds to pay the Ministers' stipends, becaus the manses war ather detained be Parsones or Vicars, or sett in feu or otherwayes to gentlemen. The Clerk of Register and Justice-Clerk desired the Superintendents to signifie unto the Clerk of the Rentalls where the said manses lay, and in what cuntrie, to the end they might be assigned to the Queen's Grace thrid part, that so the Ministers might come to the possession of them.

Register.] “ Forsameikle as it was heavilie lamentit be the maist pairt of the Ministers that they can have no dwelling-places at their Kirks, because the mansis are either deteinit be the Parsons or Vicars of the samen, or els sett in feu, or utherwayes to gentlemen; the Clerk-Register and Justice-Clerk desyres the Superintendents to signifie to the Clerk of the Rentales where the saids mansis are, and in what countrey, to the effect that the saids mansis may be assignit to the third part; and thereafter that the saids Ministers complein, and may be staked and helped to

<sup>1</sup> “ By this book (says Mr Petrie) is meant that the book called The Common Order, which was conform to the English Church in Geneva, and was usually printed before the Psalms in Metre.”

the samen for their commoditie and remaining with their flocke.

Calderwood.] “ It was complained that idolatrie was erected in diverse places of the Realme: For redresse hereof, some thought best that humble supplication sould be presented to the Queen, others demanded what answere was received to the former. The Superintendent of Lowthiane, who presented it, said he received no answere. It was answered for the Qucen’s part, (for her supports war ever there,) that it was well known to the whole Realme what trubles had fallen furth since the last Assemblie; and therefore it was no wonder that the Queene had not answered; bot betwixt and the nixt Parliament, which was to be holden in May, they doubted not but suche order sould be taken as sould content all honest men.”

The readers will observe, that by the Act of Privy-Council, 22d December 1561, it is statuted, “ that na maner of persone nor persones,” &c. (as in the Appendix, Numb. 1.) In consequence of the which Act, there is another to the same purpose, as here followeth:—

“ *Apud Edinburgh, 11 Februarij 1562-3.*

“ SEDERUNT—*Jacobus Dux de Chatellaraunt, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Jacobus Moravice Comes, Alexander Comes de Glencarne, Joannes Dominus Erskin; Thesaurarius, Rotulator, Secretarius, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciarie.*

“ FORSAMEIKLE as be Act and Statute maid be the Quenis Majestie, with avyis of the Lordis of hir Secrete Counsale and Nobilitie thairin assemblit, it wes ordanit of befoir, that na maner of persone nor personis suld be removit fra thair rowmes or steidingis, of quhatsumevir kirk-landis set in few sen the vi day of Marche, the zeir of God 1558 zeris, bot bruke and jois the samyn without danger of violence, qubill the feist of Whitsunday, the zeir of God 1563 zeris, that in the mein tyme ordour mycht be takin thairin be the Estatis in Parliament, for the weill of the cuntrie, as the said Act beris. And becaus of sik besines as hes occurrit sen the making of the said Act, and that na Parliament sensyne hes bene haldin, nor ordoure as zit is takin thairanent;

thairfair the Quenis Majestie, with avyis of the saidis Lordis of hir Secreit Counsale, zit as of befoir, statutis and ordanis, That na maner of persone or personis be removit fra thair rowmes and steidingis of quhatsumevir kirk-landis set in few sen the said vi day of Marche 1558 zeris, bot bruke the samyn without danger of violence, quhill the feist of Whitsunday 1564 zeris, that in the mene tyme ordoure may be takin thairin be the Estaitis in Parliament for the weill of the cuntrie, as said is. And ordanis the Lordis of Sessioun, and utheris Jugeis of this Realme, to desist and ceis fra all proceeding aganis ony of the saidis personis callit for violent occupationis of the saidis landis set in few sen the said vi day of Marche, as said is, quhill the feist of Witsunday, the zeir of God 1564 zeris, dischargeing thame thairof, and of thair offices in that part in the mene tyme; and ordainis letteris to be direct heirupoun, gif neid beis."

At the feast of Pasch or Easter this year 1563, the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Prior of Whiterne, and some others, were delated for having said Mass, and were brought before a Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh on the 19th day of May, the Earl of Argile, hereditary Lord High Justice, sitting himself in judgment, by the particular solicitation of John Knox. The result whereof was, that the panels surrendered themselves up to the Queen's will, and her Majesty committed them to ward in different places.

On some one or other of the following days, of the same month of May, the Parliament of this Kingdom met,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> During the sitting of this Parliament Mr Knox made a speech to the Lords from the pulpit, concerning the Queen's marriage, which he records himself, and which he acknowledges gave much offence both to Papists and Protestants, and that for it his most familiar friends disdained him. In that part of it wherein he undertakes to defend the lawfulness of the Parliament in August 1560, and the settlement of religion in that Parliament, he seems indeed to argue in a very particular manner—"Our religioun being commanded," says he, "and so established by God, is accepted within this Realme in publict Parliament." The same very thing could have been said in defence of the ancient form of religion a hundred years before. "— That Parliament was als lawfull as ever any that passed before it within this Realme," &c. It might be so, or not so; but in every event, that Parliament was expressly tied down from doing any thing as to religious matters, and consequently what that Parliament acted therein was altogether illegal. However, be the matter as

wherein four several Acts were passed relating to Church matters, as may be seen in the printed Acts of Parliament, viz. 1. Gleibes or manses may not be set in few or lang tackis; the manse pertanes to the Minister; 2. Anentis adultrie; 3. Anentis the reparelling and uphalding of paroche-kirkes, and kirk-zairdes of the samin for buriall of the dead; 4. Anent tennentis and uther lauchfull possessions of kirk-landes, and selling of fewis of the samin kirk-landes for the space of thrie zeirs thairefter.<sup>1</sup>

it will, I suppose if the sanction of a Parliament had gone against Mr Knox, he would have been ready enough to exclaim against the power or right of a Parliament to appoint the form of religion; and for the verification of this, the readers may consider the whole tenor of his book during the former administration; and yet no man is fonder than he to build upon the force of an Act of Parliament when it makes for him. Strange that men should thus waver in their ratiocinations! Upon account of this sermon Mr Knox was called to the Queen's presence, and in his conference with her Majesty he sets down these remarkable words—"without [out of] the preiching-place, Madame, I think few have occasion to be offended at me; bot there, Madame, I am not master of myself, bot man [must] obey him who commands me to speik plane," &c. Mr Knox would fain make us fancy that in the pulpit he has been always under the influence of the Holy Ghost, and consequently that all his ribaldry has proceeded from that source. What a low estimation does this preacher force men to have of the dictates of the Holy Ghost by his talking so extravagantly! And what a pity is it that mortals should so deceive themselves, and be deceived!

<sup>1</sup> The Nobility and Gentry who obtained from the Clergy feu-farms of the kirk-lands had, by virtue of those feus, warned the tenants and kindly possessors of these lands, (*i. e.* such tenants as had easy leases of their rooms and steadings), to remove from thence, with a view that they might let out these possessions at a higher rate. And this Act prohibits any of the new feuars to oblige the kindly tenants to remove, but that all such possessors shall remain in their rooms for the space of three years, viz. until Whitsunday 1566. And it prohibits likewise all the Clergy, and such new feuars as possessed kirk-lands under name and title of kirkmen (though in reality they were only laymen) to let any kirk-lands in feu during the foresaid space of three years. As the kirk-lands were a great part of the whole lands of the Kingdom, so the Clergy had been always in use to let their lands to farmers (who were generally the younger sons of gentlemen) at a moderate price. These farmers being a great body of men dispersed up and down in all parts of the Nation, began now to murmur against the new lay-feuars of the kirk-lands, who wanted either to remove them from their possessions, or raise their farms; and it has not been judged advisable to irritate this great body. Some people think that the easy leases granted by the kirkmen to the kindly tenant, (*i. e.* such as possessed their rooms for an indetermined space of time, provided they still paid the rents,) is the reason that the kirk-lands throughout the Kingdom were generally the best grounds.

*Sixth General Assembly.*

Calderwood.] “The General Assemblie was holden at Sanct Johnston the 25 day of June 1563.

“In the first Session, after invocation of the name of God, made be Mr Willocke, Superintendent of the west, the Superintendents war tried. The triell of the Superintendent of Fyfe was delayed till the day following, at the desire of the Ministers and Commissioners of Fyfe. Mr Alexander Gordon, stiled Bishop of Galloway, having gotten Commission before to plant Ministers, Exhorters, Readers, and other office-bearers requisite for a reformed Kirk within the bounds of Galloway, was removed to be tried. The Laird of Gairlies, younger, complained that the said Commissioner had not ministred justice to Margaret Murray complaining upon her husband Godfride Makulloch, for non-adherence. Bot the Commissioner could not satisfie the Assemblie with anie sufficient excuse. In the triell of the Ministers, Mr Knox reported the triell of Paul Methven, his removall from the ministrie, and how he was excommunicate. David Ferguson, Minister of Dumfermline, reported how sorrowfull he was, and how that he had offered to underly anie punishment for his offence, suppose it war the losse of some member of his bodie. After long reasoning, it was agreed that he should have a comfortable answer, and that the Lords of Privie-Counsell sould be spoken thereanent. Mr Johne Balfour usurping the place of a Minister of a Kirk whereunto he was not admitted, was removed and placed in an obscurer congregation, according to the measure of his gifts.

“Commissions war given to the Bishops of Galloway, Orkney, and Catness,<sup>1</sup> for the space of a yeere, to plant Kirks, &c. within their owne bounds, and that the Bishop of Galloway haunt asweill the shirefdome of Wigton as the stewartie of Kirkubrich, reckoned to be within his owne bounds. It was ordained lykewayes, That qualified men sould be putt in election for a superintendentship in Teviotdaill, Nithisdaill, Annandaill, and Selkirk; or that Com-

<sup>1</sup> These were Alexander Gordon, Adam Bothwell, and Robert Stewart. They had joined the Congregation, but none of them had been consecrated Bishops except the first.

mission be given to some qualified men for the yeere nixt to come to plant Kirks in the said bounds ; and in like maner to requiest the Secreit Counsell to provide for Superintendents or Commissioners to plant Kirks in the south parts.

Register.] “ Prayer is made be Mr Johne Willock, Superintendent of the west. Superintendents and Ministers are tryed.

“ The same day Johne Knox, Minister of Edinburgh, having Commission given to him and certane Elders and Deacons of the Kirk of Edinburgh, to take cognitioun of the slander raisit agains Paul Methven, late Minister at Jedbrut, anent adulterie comitted be the said Paul with ane ——— his servant, the said Mr Knox declairit the haille cause, quhat he had found in the foirsaid slander, viz. The said Paul to have comitted the said abominable cryme of adultere, and therefor, with advyce of the Kirk of Edinburgh, Superintendent of Lowthiane, and colleagues above-mentioned, had removed him fra all ministrie, and also excommunicat him, &c.; and swa having putt his said commissioun to execution, rendred up the same to the Generall Assemblie, fra quhom he received it.

“ Mr Johne Rutherford, Principal of Salvator’s Colledge, complained, That Mr Johne Balfour usurpit the ministrie at Cultis, being unqualifiet to discharge the same ; and seing the Kirk pertaint to him as Principall, he offerit himself to minister according to the talent given him be God. The Kirk heiring his complaint and offer, ordainit the said Mr Johne to accept the office, quho in presens of the Assemblie, accepted the same.

“ The said day David Fergusone, Minister of Dumfermling, declared in the publict Assemblie that he had spokin to Paul Methven, latelie excommunicate, quhom he fand verie sorrowfull for his grievous offence committed be him in maner above rehearsed ; and also sick repentance for the same, that he wald underly whatsoever punishment the Kirk of God would lay upon him, even if it were to lose any member of his bodie, to satisfie the same. After long reasoning of the whole Assemblie of the said repentance and offer, reportit be the said Minister, the Kirk condescendit, that the said Paul sould have a confortable answer ; and

attour, that they in the meane tyme sould speake the Lords of the Privie-Counsell thereanent.

Calderwood.] “In the second Session [26 June, Reg.] it was ordained that no contract of mariage alledged to be made secretlie, carnall copulation following, sall have faith in judgment in time coming, till the contracters suffer as breakers of good order, and offensive to the Kirk by their slander; and thereafter, that faith sall not be given to that promise, till famous and unsuspect witnesses affirme the same, or ellis both the parties confesse it: And in case that probation or confession follow not, that the saids offenders be punished as fornicators.

“Concerning appellations, it was ordained that if anie person findeth himself wronged be anie sentence given be the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of their Kirk, it salbe lesume to the partie so wronged to appeale to the Superintendent of the Diocie and his Synodall Convention within ten dayes after; and the said Superintendent sall take cognition, whether it was weill appealed or not, and give sentence thereupon. Iff the partie yitt alledge himself wronged be the Superintendent and his Convention, it salbe lawfull to appeale to the Generall Assemblie of the whole Kirk, immediatlie thereafter following, within ten dayes as before; and that the said Assemblie take cognition of the said appellation, whether it was weill appealed or not, and thereafter pronounce sentence, from the which it sall not be lawfull to the said partie to appeale, bot that the said sentence sall have execution according to the tenor of the same. *Item*, If the appellant justifie not his appellation before the Superintendent and his Convention foresaid, that he sall inflict a paine upon the said appellant as he sall think good, above the expensis to the partie; which penaltie salbe delyvered to the Deacons of the Kirk where the first sentence was given, to be distributed to the poore. And in like maner the Generall Assemblie finding it evill appealed be the said partie frome the foresaid Superintendent and Convention, sall as of before, impose a penaltie arbitrarie, to be distributed as said is; together with the expensis to the partie, as is above specified.

“It was ordained that the instruction of the youth be committed to none within the Realme, nather in nor out of

Universities, bot to suche as professe Christ's true religion now publicklye preached; and that suche as now occupie the places in that profession, as said is, be removed from the same; [and that sic as now occupie the places, not professing as said is, be removed fra the samen: And to remember that same ordour be made for the sustentatioun of poore scholers, Reg.]

“ Anent the execution of the Act of Parliament tuiching the repairing of Kirks, it is thocht necessar that letters, conforme to the said Act, be delivered to the Superintendents *gratis*; and that everie Superintendent sall consider what Kirks within his bounds need reparation or re-edifieing, and thereafter deliver the saids letters to the collectors of the *thrids* within the same bounds, to be executed be an officer of armes at suche Kirks as salbe needfull, and the Superintendent sall think good: And thereafter the said collector sall deliver the saids letters duellie executed, to the Superintendents foresaids, to the effect that they may, where the disobedience sall happen to be, crave remeed from the Lords of Secreit Counsell.

“ Commission was given to Mr Johne Hepburn, Minister of Brechin, to plant Ministers, Exhorters, Readers, Elders, Deacons, and other members requisite and needfull for a reformed Kirk, in Murrey, Bamf, and the countries adjacent, and to place schoolmasters. The like commission was given to Mr Robert Pont to plant Kirks in Invernesse, and to Mr Donald Monro to doe the like within the bounds of Rosse, and to assist the Bishop of Cathnes in preaching of the Gospell and planting of Kirks. And these commissions war to endure onlie for a yeere.

“ Supplications ordained to be made to the superior powers for constituting judges in everie province to heare the complaints of parties alledging adulterie to be committed be the husband or the wife, and the said judges to take cognition in the mater, and punische according to the Act of Parliament. *Item*, That when anie benefice sall vaikie, qualified persons may be presented to the Superintendent of the province where the benefice vaiketh, that they may be admitted in the places destitute. *Item*, That where two or three Kirks at distant two or three miles, they may be united, and the inhabitants caused to resort to the said

Kirks, to heare the Word and receave the Sacraments; becaus the rare numbers of Ministers suffereth not everie Kirk to have a severall Minister, and the smalnes of the parishes require not the same. *Item*, For remitting the thrids, or a part thereof to the Bishops appointed be the Assemblie to be Commissioners to plant Kirks within their owne bounds. The Comptroller being present, was requested to assume and assigne to himself so much of the thrids of the benefices remitted by the Quene to the possessors as may sufficientlie sustaine the ministrie; and to cause his collector to intromitt therewith, and distribute the same to the Ministers, asweill for times bypast as to come. The Colledges and Kirks of Universities, whose thrids are remitted, not to be herein comprehended, which he promised to doe. The Comptroller, Justice-Clerk, and Clerk-Register being present, promised to give letters *gratis* to all Ministers requiring the same, and cause to be executed upon the Comptroller's expensis, to charge all possessors of mansis to restore the same to the Ministers, or to build a sufficient house to them against a sett day, as the partie sall desire, under the paine of horning.

“ In the third Session [27 June, Reg.] it was ordained that no work sould be sett furth in print, or published in writt, tuiching religion or doctrine,<sup>1</sup> before it be presented to the Superintendent of the Diocie, revised and approved be him, and such as he sall call of the most learned within his bounds; and if they, or anie of them, doubt in anie point, so that they cannot resolve cleerlie in the same, they sall produce the said worke to the Generall Assemblie, where order salbe taken for resolution of the said doubt.

“ Commission given to the Superintendent of the west to visite Nithisdaill, and plant Kirks there for a yeere. To Mr Thomas Drummond, Minister at Creich, John Duncan-sone, Minister of Stirling, *conjunctim et divisim*, for a yeere, to plant Kirks in Monteith.

“ The Superintendents of Angus and Fyfe war desired to draw the townes of Dundie and Sainet Johnstone to agreement.

<sup>1</sup> If this had any view to the prohibiting the publication of controversy in matters of religion (such as Mr Ninian Wingate had published this same year), it would be construed to proceed from a consciousness of something we need not name.

“ The Superintendent of Lowthiane, the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of the Kirks of Edinburgh, *conjunctim et divisim*, Mr James Makgill, Clerk of Register, Sir Johne Spence of Condie, the Queen’s Advocate, Thomas Makealzeane, David Borthwike, Clement Littill, Richard Strang, or anie two of them, war appointed to take cognition of Mr Magnus Haltra and Margaret Sinclair’s appellation from the Bishop of Orknay’s sentence in a cause of divorce.

“ In this Session the Assemblie, after mature deliberation and discussing of the Articles, for the which processes war led, and sentence given be umquhill James Bishop of Rosse, Commissioner to James Archbishop of Sanct Andrews, at Halyrudhous the 26th of August 1534,<sup>1</sup> against James Hamilton of Kincavell, Shireff of Linlithgow, pronounced the said Articles to be good and godlie, and nowise hereticall; and sentence given be the said James Bishop of Rosse, Commissioner, to have been wrongously led, and given against the said James in *pœna contumacie*, and therefore to be casse and null, with all that followed thereupon, and he to be restored *in integrum* to his honour, fame, and dignitie. [The Articles for which he was condemned war these, ‘ that umquhill Mr Patrik Hamilton died a good Christian and Catholie man, howbeit he was condemned as an impenitent heritick, and burnt be them, and was content to die the death: That there is no Purgatorie: That we ought not to pray for the deid: That man hath not free-will, as the Papists meane: That he used the Lord’s Prayer in the vulgar tongue publictlie: That he had books condemned and suspected of heresie: That he contemned and caused to contemne the preaching of preaching Friers,’ and so furth.] Afternoone compeired James Gibb of Carruder, one of these who wer summoned for their interest, to heare the said Articles to be approven: He protested whatsoever thing were done in this Assemblie in favours of James Hamilton of Kincavell, Sheriff of Linlithgow, should not be prejudiciall to him and his rights whatsoever.

“ In the fourth Session [28 June, Reg.] commission was given to Mr Gudman, Minister at Sanct Andrews, William

<sup>1</sup> This passage will at least serve to discover, if not rectify, the wrong account of former historians, on whose credit I have narrated this matter in a different manner. See p. 8, &c. Book I. [i. 14.]

Christiesone, Minister at Dundie, Mr Williame Cock, Mr Williame Scott, and Mr Johne Douglas, Rector of the Universitie, to take cognition of the complaint given in be the Superintendent of Fyfe, against Mr George Leslie, Minister of Strameglo, and to decide therein; and to notifie their sentence and decreitt to the Superintendent of Angus. The Superintendent of Fyfe had complained that he had not execute his summons against some persons in Auchtermochtie, where he was also Minister, and that he had not ministred the Sacraments since December last bypast. [Where we may see that Ministers war appointed Judges betwixt Superintendents and Ministers.]

“ It was ordained that everie Superintendent within his owne jurisdiction sould cause warne the shires, townes, and parish-kirks to send their Commissioners to the Assemblie in times cuning, declaring to them the day and place; and that the Superintendents repaire to the Assemble the first day, under the paine of a certaine penaltie to be distribute to the poore. [Fourtie Shillings to be distribute to the poore without remission therof, Reg.]

“ Mr Knox was requested to putt in order the forme and maner of excommunication. He was requested be the Superintendent of Angus to visite the north, and preache the Word in these countries for a season, becaus the preaching of the Word was pretious in these places.”

On the 13th day of September this year, is the following Act of Privy-Council, viz:—

“ *Apud Striviling, 13 Septembris, Anno 1563.*

“ SEDERUNT—*Jacobus Moraviæ Comes, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Joannes Dominus Erskin; Secretarius, Rotulator, Clericus Registri.*

“ THE quhilk day, the said Lordis of Secreit Counsale understanding that the parochie-kirkis of this Realme, partlie in sleuth and negligence of the parochinaris, and partlie be oversicht of the parsonis, dailie decayis and becumis ruynous, and part of thame ar alreddy fallin down, the parochinaris nawyis causand the samyn be mendit, nor zit the parsons doand that apperteins to him for uphald

thairof; quhairthrow the preiching of the Word of God, ministratioun of the Sacraments, and reiding of the Comone Prayers ceissis, and the people thairthrow becumis altogidder without knowlege and feir of God: Thairfoir the saids Lordis ordanis all paroehe-kirkis within this Realme quhilkis ar decayit and fallin downe, to be repairit and upbiggit; and quhair thai are ruynous and faltie, to be mendit: And eftir that thai be sufficientlie mendit in windowis, thak, and uther necessars, to be mentained and uphaldin upoun the expensis of the parochinaris and parsone, in maner following; that is to say, the twa-part of the expensis thairof to be maid be the parochinaris, and third-part be the parsone: And that the samyn may tak effect with expeditioun, ordanis letteris to be direct to Officiars of the Quenis, Sheriffs in that part, to pas and charge the parochinaris of the paroehe-kirkis within this Realme, to elect and cheis certane of the maist honest qualifit men within thair parochins, to taxt every ane of thame efferand to thair substance, for furnesing of the twa-part of the expensis to be made in bigging and repairing of thair saids paroehe-kirks, and that the saids taxtaris to be chosin mak the said taxations to the effect fairsaid, within twelve dayis nixt eftir thai be chargit thairto; and eftir the said taxations be maid, that the saids parochinaris mak payment of the sowmes that thai salbe taxt, to the Kirk Masters and Deaconis of the parochin, to be appointit be thame for ressaving thairof, to the reparatioun of the saids paroehe-kirkis; sicklike within twelve dayis nixt eftir thai be chargit thairto, under the pane of rebelloun; and failzieing thairof, to put thame to the horne. And als, that the said messengeris pas and sequestrat the fruits, teinds, and profitis of the saids parochins, sa fer as may extend to the parsonis part of the samyn, to remane in the parochinaris hands, quhill the said parsone depone and put in the hands of the said Kirk Maisters and Deaconis his part of the expensis to be maid upoun bigging and repairing of the said Kirk, extending to the thrid-part thairof; and the saids sowmes being put in the said Kirk Maister or Deaconis hands, that thai incontinent thaireftir caus the saids Kirkis, ilk ane within thair awin parochins, be repairit, biggit, and mendit sufficientlie, efferand to the sowmes that salbe consignit and put in thair hands to that effect, under

the said pane of rebellious, and failzieing thair of, to put thame to the horne."

*Seventh General Assembly.*

Calderwood.] "The Generall Assemblie conveyed at Edinburgh the 25th of December 1563,<sup>1</sup> in the New Tolbuith, where war present, James Duke of Chatterault, Archibald Erle of Argile, James Erle of Murray, James Erle of Morton, Alexander Erle of Glencarne, Williame Erle Marshall, Williame Matlande of Lethington, Secretare, Sir Johne Wishart of Pitarrow, Comptroller, Sir Johne Bannatyne of Auchnoull, Justice-Clerk; the Superintendents of Angus, Lowthiane, Fyfe, and the West; Alexander stiled Bishop of Galloway, Adam Bishop of Orkney; Ministers and Commissioners, Barons, Burgesses and Gentlemen in a great number.<sup>2</sup> The exhortation was made be Mr Willock, Superintendent of the west.

"The just petitions of the Ministers and Commissioners war despised at the first with these words, as Ministers will not follow our counsell, so will we suffer Ministers to labour for themselves, and see what speed they come. But it was answered be the Commissioners, If the Queene will not

<sup>1</sup> [It will be remarked here, that on this and other occasions, the Reformers held their Assemblies on the anniversary of the Saviour's nativity.—E.]

<sup>2</sup> [Professor Ferrier of St Andrews (in his "Observations on Church and State," p. 11) says—"No doubt the General Assembly was designed, even in its earliest institution, to embody a considerable infusion of the clerical order. But we believe that any Reformed person of respectability and station in the Kingdom might have taken his place, and given his vote there,—and been welcome. At any rate, we know that it was *de facto* an Assembly consisting of persons drafted from all classes of the community. We know that its system, if not strictly representative, was laid down upon the most liberal scale. We know, in short, that it was a *National*, and not an *Ecclesiastical* board. We know, moreover, that it was the intention of our Reformers—the intention of the General Assembly itself—that it should continue to be a *National*, and that it should not be suffered to become an *Ecclesiastical* institution." Mr Ferrier might have added, as a proof of the non-ecclesiastical character of this body, that within the first seven years of its existence it had two men for its Moderators, who could have no pretensions to the character of ecclesiastics—George Buchanan, and John Erskine, laird of Dun, "Knycht." And this shows, too, what I have before remarked, that John Knox's Church policy differed widely from the Presbyterianism subsequently introduced by Andrew Melville.—E.]

provide for our Ministers, we must ; for both two-parts and the thrid ar rigorouslie taken from us, and from our tenents. ‘ If others,’ said one, ‘ wold follow my counsell, the guard<sup>1</sup> and the Papists sall complaine as long as our Ministers have done.’ Then the former answer was coloured, and the speaker alledged he meant not of all Ministers, but of some to whome the Queene was no debter : For what thrid receivd she of burrows ? Christopher Gudman answered, my Lord Secretare, if ye can show me what just title ather the Queene hath to the thrid, or the Papists to the two-parts, then I think I sould resolve you whether she war debter to Ministers within burgh or not. Bot he returned this answer—‘ Ne sit peregrinus curiosus in aliena republica ;’ that is—‘ lett no stranger be curious in a strange Commounwealthe.’ Mr Gudman answered—‘ albeit in your policie I be a stranger, yet so am I not in the Kirk of God ; and therefore the care thereof appertaineth no less unto me in Scotland then if I were in the mids of England.’ Manie wondered at Mr Knox his silence in the time of these quicke speeches ; he himself declared the cause of his silence. ‘ I have travelled,’ said he, ‘ right honourable and beloved brethren, since my last arrivall within this Realme, in ane upright conscience before my God, seeking nothing more, as He is witness, then the advancement of His glorie and the stabilitie of His Kirk within this Realme ; and yitt of late dayes I have beine accused as a seditious man, and as one that usurped to my self power which becometh me not. True it is, I have given advertisement to the brethren in diverse quarters of the extremitie intended against some honest men for looking to the Priest going to the Messe, and for observing of these that transgresse this law ; bot that therein I have usurped farther power then is given to me, till that by you I be damned, I utterlie deny ; for I say that by you, that is, by charge of the Generall Assemblie, I have als lawfull power to advertise the brethren from time to time of dangers appearing, as I have to preache the Word of God in the pulpit of Edinburgh : For by you I was appointed to the one and the other ; and therefore, in the

<sup>1</sup> This might be a life-guard for the Queen, which might have been intended to be supported out of the thirds of the Church-rents. King James VI. had a horse-guard maintained out of the same sort of revenue.

name of God, I crave your judgements. The danger which appeared in my accusation was not so fearfull as the words which come to my eares war dolorous to my heart ; for these words war plainlie spoken, and that by some professors, ‘ What can the Pope doe more than send furth his letters, and command them to be obeyed?’ Lett me have your judgements therefore, whether I have usurped anie power to my self, or have onlie obeyed your commandement? The flatterers of the Court, amongst whom Sir Johne Bellenden, Justice-Clerk, was then not the least, beganne to storne, and said, ‘ sall we be moved to justifie the wrong doings of men?’ ‘ My Lord,’ said Johne Knox, ‘ ye sall speake your pleasure for the present ; of you I crave nothing ; bot if the Assemblie here present do not ather absolve me or condemn me, never sall I, in publict nor in privat, as a publict Minister, open my mouth in doctrine or in reasoning.’ After longer contention, he being removed, it was found that charge was given to him to advertise the brethren in all quarters, as oft as danger appeared ; and therefore the fact to be not onlie his, but the whole Assemblie’s. The Queen’s placeboes war more angrie then before, for some of them had promised to the Queen to gett him convict both be the Counsell and be the Assemblie ; bot being frustrate of both, she and they thocht themselves not a little disappointed.

Register.] “ Anent the question moveit be Johne Knox, Minister of Edinburgh, to the haill Assemblie, whether he receivit charge of the haill Kirk convenit in Edinburgh after the beginning of the Reformatioun, to advertise the brethren to conveyne at what tyme any member of the Kirk sould chance to be troublit, and that for thair counsell to be had?

“ To the quhilk the Lord Lindesay, Lairds of Kelwood, Abbottishall, and Cunighameheid, the Superintendents of Angus, Fyfe, Louthiane, West and Galloway, Mr Johne Row, Williame Christiesone, Mr Robert Hamiltoun, Mr Christopher Goodman, Ministers, with the most part of the whole Assemblie, made thair declaratioun, that they remembrit verie well that the said Johne Knox wald have had himself exonoured of the foirsaid charge, and that the Kirk then present wald nawayes suffer him to refuse the same,

bot that he sould continue as befor to advertise fra tyme to tyme, as occasioun salbe givin.<sup>1</sup>

Calderwood.] “ In the first Session, when the Superintendents war to be tried, Mr Johne Spottswod, Superintendent of Lowthiane, was removed ; when he was called in again, he requested the Assemblie to give him libertie to returne to his former cure, becaus he was not able to discharge so great a burthen as he was burthened with. The Superintendent of Fyfe being removed, it was complained that he preached not in his visitations, bot caused the Minister of the Kirk to occupie the rowme. The Commissioners of Fyfe desired a diett to be appointed, wherein to give in complaints against him, which was granted. The Superintendent of the West being removed, it was complained that he did not his endevoire to procure the extirpation of idolatrie in his bounds ; he layed the blame upon the Duke and the Erle of Cassils. Farther, he desired to be disburthened of the great charge layed upon him, which he had undertaken onlie for a time, and requested the Assemblie to lay no greater burthen upon him then he was able to beare. The Superintendent of Angus and Mernes being removed, it was said plainlie that no discipline was used in manie of the Kirks of Angus and Mernes ; that there was no Convention of Elders and Deacons at Kirks for correction of faults ; that he preached not in his visitations. [He answered,] that being burthened with the visitation of the North, he might not attend upon the charge allotted to him. The question whether Superintendents ought to preache in all the Kirks where they did visite ? was reserved to be discussed at the end of the Assemblie.

“ For avoiding confusion in reasoning, it was agreed that a Moderator sould be appointed to moderate during the

<sup>1</sup> The ground of this long story concerning Mr Knox was a letter written by him on the 8th of October last, which is also inserted in his book, for convening the lieges at Edinburgh to defend or rescue from justice two men who had raised a disturbance within the Queen's Palace of Holyrood-house in the month of August, upon occasion of a Mass, while the Queen was absent at Stirling. See Knox's History. The letter was surely very seditious ; and to grant Mr Knox a liberty to write letters of such a strain was nothing less than to keep a trumpeter of rebellion on daily wages. How would the Civil Governments in this time brook such a proceeding.

time of everie Assemblie. Mr Johne Willock, Superintendent of the West, was appointed during this Assemblie.

“ In the second Session<sup>1</sup> Mr Johne Hepburne, Commissioner of the North, excused his not visiting be reason of his great sicknes. Mr Alexander Gordon, Commissioner of Galloway, being removed, the Laird of Gairlies, younger, delated him for retaining in his house two persons after their publict repentance for their fornication. He denied he retained the woman ; and as for the man, after he had removed for a time, knowing no offense to him, he receaved him. Mr Donald Monro, Commissioner of Rosse, being removed, it was complained that he was not so apt to teache as his charge required : Therefore the Assemblie ordained the Superintendent of Angus, Mr Robert Hammilton, Mr Johne Row, Mr Robert Pont, Mr Christopher Gudman, Mr Johne Wood and Mr Clement Littill, to take a tryell of his gift, and to report to the Assemblie. Mr Robert Pont, Commissioner of Murrey, Ennernesse, and Bamf, declared how he had travelled in these parts, but confessed his inability in respect of the laicke [ignorance] of the Irish tongue, and therefore desired the Assemblie to appoint ane Commissioner expert in the Irish tongue.

“ In the third Session [28 December, Reg.] Mr Thomas Drummond and Johne Duncansone, Commissioners for visitation of Menteith, presented their commission, and a roll who war to be continued, according to the tenor of the commission.

“ Complaints war made upon Robert Gibson for saying Messe everie Sabbath-day in Fishwicke, maintained be the Laird of Blacader ; Sir Robert Achesoun, Preest, for saying Messe in Cranston ; Johne Pilcor, Preest, for saying Messe in the Chappell of Fosse beside Dow ; Robert Patersone, for saying Messe at Logyraitt, and for Messe daylie said in Sayfield. The Justice-Clerk desired the relations to be qualified and delivered to him, and he promised to call them to particular dietts.

“ It was ordained that all Ministers sould give in their supplications to the Superintendent, to the effect the Superintendent might present their supplications to the Lords of Secreitt Counsell, that order might be taken for payment of

<sup>1</sup> This Session is omitted altogether in the Register.

their stipends, speciallie where the thrids war remitted to the possessors be the Quein's Majestie. *Item*, that supplication sould be presented to the Secreitt Counsell, that everie Minister may have his stipend assigned in the bounds where he serveth the cure. *Item*, that the Act of Parliament anent manses and glebes be more speciallie condiscinded upon. The Nobilitie there present, and others having interest, war required to condiscend, that the poore labourers might have the tithes of the ground, which they manured for a reasonable composition ather in money or victuall, to be paid to the Erles, Lords, Barons, or other takismen. A full answer was differred till a further Convention: Notthelesse my Lord Duke's Grace, the Erles of Argile, Murrey, Marshall, Glencarne and Rothesse, the Lords Areskine, Ruthven, Lindsay, and the Comptroller, there present, consented for their own parts. It was farther ordained, the Superintendents sould travell with Erles, Lords, Barons, and other takismen within their bounds, to the same effect, and to report their answeres to the nixt Assemblie.

“ In the fourth Session [29 December, Reg.] it was thoght needfull, for farther confirmation of the Booke of Discipline, the Erle Marshall, Lord Ruthven, Lord Secretaire, the Commendatare of Kilwinning, the Bishop of Orkney, the Clerk of Register, the Justice-Clerke, Mr Henrie Balnaves, David Forrest, and Mr George Buchanan, or anie three or foure of them, revise the said Booke, and diligentlie consider the contents thereof, note their judgements in write,<sup>1</sup> and report the same to the nixt Assemblie: Or if a Parliament be holden in the meane tyme, that they report their judgements to the Lords of the Articles, and that they beginne immediatlie after the dissolving of this Assemblie, at the least in the sext day of Januarie nixt to come, and thereafter continue till the said Booke be thoroughly revised. It was concluded that offenders, whose offences war published, sould make their publict repentance, without exception of persons; and if they refused, that, after due admonitions, the censures of the Kirk sould strike upon them: And therefore it was ordained that Mr Robert Richardsone sould

<sup>1</sup> This is a new probability, that the Book of Discipline, as it was formed by John Knox, had not met with universal approbation.

make his publict confession for his whoredome, and satisfie the Kirk of Edinburgh.

“ Mr Andrew Johnstone, brother-german to umquhill Mr William Johnstone, humblie required processe for reduction of the sentences pronounced by umquhill James Archbishop of Sanct Andrews, and his Commissioners, against him and his brother, for alledged heresies ; as also edicts to that effect, as effeirs. The Assemblie ordained the Superintendent of Lowthiane, with the assistance of the Session of Edinburgh, to tak cognition in the premisses, to give and lead processes therein, as hath been led in the Shireff of Linlithgow, Sir Johne Borthwick, and others, for the like edicts, and other summons necessarie and requisite, to grant; and after summare processe led therein, to pronounce and give finall sentence. [This complainer was redacted to great povertie through want of his patrimonie, whereof he was robbed be the Archbishop and his Commissioners in tyme of Papistrie.]

“ Johne Baron, Minister of Gastone, complained that his wife Anne Goodacker, had deserted him and fled to England : The Assemblie ordained letters to be directed to the Archbishops of Yorke and Canterburie in name of the Assemblie, subscribed be the Superintendent of Lowthiane, Mr Knox and Mr Craig, Ministers of Edinburgh, and the scribe, requesting them to cause edicts to be proclaimed in either of their bounds, or personall citation to be executed against the said Anne, that she might compeir before the Superintendent of Lowthiane and Session of the Kirk of Edinburgh, the sextie day after the citation, be herself, and be no procutor, to answeare as law will ; with intimation, if she compeir not, the said Superintendent and Session sall proceed against her at the said Johne's instance.

“ The paroshiners of Calder complained that Mr Johne Spottiswood, presented to the parsonage of Calder fifteen yeeres since be the Laird of Calder, had beene promoted three yeeres since to be Superintendent of Lowthiane, without their knowledge ; and that be reason of his publict office and exercise, he was abstracted from his cure at the said Kirk the most part of the yeere : Desired therefore, as before, to cause him renounce his office of superintendentship, and returne to his former vocation, or ellis to demitt

the said parsonage, to the effect ane other qualified man might be presented, in consideration that it is impossible that one man may brooke and exerce two offices in the Kirk of God, bot one of them must be neglected, otherwise we sall differ little frome the Popish Kirk, where one persone had pluralitie of benefices, as in the said complaint at length was contained. The Assemblie judged the former answer given, 4th Julie 1562, sufficient.

“ In the fifth Session [30 December, Reg.] Mr George Hay, Minister to the Privie-Counsell, had summoned certaine Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers of the north, to compeir in this Assemblie to answeere for their doctrine and maners. David Ray, Minister of Forrest, compeired, and was admonished be the brethren to observe a decent order and forme in doctrine, with such gravitie as becumeth the preachers of God’s Word, and to follow the text, without inveying otherwise than the text sall require. Other Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers not compeiring, war suspended from their offices till farther triell to be taken be some Superintendent or Commissioner to be sent to these parts.

“ The Commissioners and brethren of Fyfe presented a row, wherein war diverse complaints given in against the Superintendent of Fyfe; his answeere was, that some of these things layed to his charge lay not in his power to amend. The complainers war commended for their zeale in delating things worthie of redresse, and admonished the Superintendent to be diligent in preaching and execution of his office.

Register.] “ Forsameikle as Ministers, Exhorters, and Reidars remaines not at the Kirks quher their charge lyes, bot dwells in townes farre distant fra the saids Kirks, quherthrow the peiple wants the continuall comfort quhilk their daylie presence sould give, be mutuall conference of the Minister with the flocke: Heirfor the Kirk ordanes the Ministers, Exhorters, and Reidars having mansis to dwell in, that they make residence at the same, and visite the seik as they may; and quher the parochin [is large], that the Minister crave the support at the Eldars and Deacons to help him in the said visitatioun.

“ Touching the buriall of the poore in every parochin to landwart, it is ordainit that a beere be made in every paroch

to carry the dead corpses to buriall; and that the village or house quher the dead lyes, with the nixt house adjacent thereto, or a certaine number of every house sall convey the dead to the buriall, and eird it sax foote under the eird: And that every Superintendent within his awin bounds requyre the Lairds and Barrones within the same, to make an Act in their Court tuiching this ordour, and cause their officers warne the narrest neighbours quher the dead lyes, to convey the samen to buriall as said is, according to their said Act; and farder, that the Superintendents take ordour heir as occasioun sall serve.

Calderwood.] “3. Because divers times Superintendents ordaine certaine notorious offenders to make publict repentance in the Kirk where the offense was committed, and yitt give not signification of the same to the Ministers and Elders of the Congregation, wherethrough offenders may easielie escape the making of their repentance in due time: Therefore it was ordained, that when anie Superintendent enjoyneth anie person to mak publict repentance for anie offense deserving the same, that he sall signifie to the parish where the offense hath beene committed, what he ordaineth to be done be the offender, to the end the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of that Congregation may notifie again to the Superintendent whether the said offender obeyed the Superintendent's ordinance or not, that order may be taken with him in case of disobedience.

“In the sixth Session [31 December, Reg.] foure women war delated for witchcraft, be the Superintendents of Fyfe and Galloway. The Lords of Privie-Counsell war requested to take order therein: The complainers war ordained to give in their informations. It was ordained that everie Superintendent within his bounds sould cause a collection to be made for sex brethren taken at Rowan, and detained in the galeys for want of ransom. The Erle of Glencarne was requested to concurre with the Superintendent of the West to visite the Hospital of Glasgow, and consider how the revenues pertaining to the same ar bestowed or possessed, that order may be taken for support of the poore; and that they report the same to the Lords of Privie-Counsell and to the Assemblie.

“Commissions war renewed for a yeere to Mr Robert

Pont, to plant Kirks from Nesse to Spey; to Mr John Hepburn, Minister at Brechin, to plant Kirks in Bamf from Spey to Aithan, comprehending Strathbogie-land; to Mr Patrick Couston, Minister at Seres, to plant Kirks from Dee to Aithan. Mr Robert Pont accepted of the commission, bot with provision that he sould not be burthened with the Kirks speeking the Irish tongue in the said bounds.

“ Robert Ramsay was accused for entering in the ministrie within the Superintendent of Angus his bounds, without election, or his admission, and that he had affirmed there was a mid-way betwixt papistrie and our religion; <sup>1</sup> that he had borrowed some money from the town of Ennerness upon caution, alledging that he wold buy bookes with the same, bot did not returne nor pay the summe: He was suspended from his ministrie till farther tryell was taken. Commission was given to the Superintendent of Fyfe to try him, and he ordained to compeir the 19 of Januaire at Sanct Andrews.

Register.] “ Anent the determination of the Kirk tuiching Thomas Duncansone, schoolmaster and reidar in Strivel-

<sup>1</sup> [Nothing could be more true than that there is a “mid-way” between ultra-Protestantism and Popery: and this way must be sought where only it can be found, in the well-known rule of Vicentius, namely, that next to the New Testament, we are bound to adhere to that which was held in the primitive ages of the Church, “always, every where, and by all;” a rule equally opposed to the Romanists, who substitute their own authority for that of the early Church, and to the modern sects who disregard that authority altogether. Had John Knox and Andrew Melville understood and acted on this rule, they would have reformed the Church of their country after a very different model from those which they adopted; and so have prevented those disorderly proceedings and repeated changes which followed close upon their so-called reformations, and are far from having yet subsided. The following tabular view of the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, since the year 1560, will show the many alterations to which a mismanaged Reformation has given rise:—

1. The Knoxian or Superintendent system, . . . . .	A. D. 1560–1571
2. The Tulchan system, . . . . .	1571–1590
3. The Melvillian or Presbyterian system, . . . . .	1590–1603
4. Titular or nominal Episcopacy, . . . . .	1603–1610
5. Pure Episcopacy, . . . . .	1610–1639
6. Presbyterianism restored, . . . . .	1639–1650
7. Presbyterians divided into Resolutioners and Protesters, . . . . .	1650 1661
8. Pure Episcopacy restored, . . . . .	1661–1688
9. Presbyterianism restored, . . . . .	1688–1843
10. Presbyterians divided into Established and Free, . . . . .	1843 ?
11. ?—E.]	

ing, quho had committed fornicatioun, and thereafter had made publick repentance; whether he sould be restorit to his office in the Kirk or not, after his publick repentance? It was ordainit that he sould abstaine fra the said office untill sick tyme as the Kirk of Striveling made request to the Superintendent for him; and that he sould present the said sute or request in the nixt Generall Assemblie. Attour, if the woman was a maiden with quhom he had committed the fornicatioun, that he sall marie her, if she requyre the samen, in part of satisfacioun to the Kirk.

“ Tuiching the questioun proponit be the Superintendent of Fyfe, anent Alexander Jarden, Minister of Kilspindie, Inchsture, and Raitt, quha had committit fornicatioun with a virgine, and therafter had married her, and had satisfiet the Kirk; whether he sould be admittit agane to the ministrie or not? The Kirk suspends the said Alexander fra all function of the ministrie within the Kirk quhill the nixt Assemblie, and then to receive answer.”

*Eighth General Assembly.*

Calderwood.] “ The General Assemblie holden at Edinburgh, the 25th of June 1564. The exhortation and invocation of the name of God was made be Mr Knox.

“ In the first Session of this Assembly nothing was treated publictlye, becaus they conveened not till foure afternoone, but onlie diets appointed when to meet during this Assemblie.

Register.] “ The General Assemblie haldin at Edinburgh the 25 Junij 1564, haldin and begun in the Neither-Tolbuith, at foure houres afternoone. Exhortation and prayer made be Mr Johne Knox, Minister at Edinburgh. In the quhilk were convenit the Superintendents, Ministers, and Commissioners of Provinces of Kirks.

Calderwood.] “ In the second Session, [26 June, Reg.] Mr Willock, Superintendent of the West, was continued Moderator. The Erle of Glencarne, and the Superintendent of the West, war inquired what they had done in the visiting of the Hospitall of Glasgow? The Superintendent of the West answered, he did nothing, for lacke of conference with the Erle of Glencarne, but promised to visite betwixt and the nixt Assemblie, providing the Lords of the Privie-Counsell give letters according to the ordinance of

the Assemblie. At the request of the Laird of Lundie suting a Minister to Largo, the Assemblie requested Mr Robert Montgomerie, Minister at Couper, to make some supplie at Largo everie Sabbath till farther order war taken ; and ordained the Superintendent of Fyfe to deale with the town of Couper for licence, and to appoint the Schoolmaster of Couper to read and exhort in the Kirk of Couper in his absence.

Register.] “ The Assemblie requestit Mr Robert Montgomerie, Minister at Couper, to support every uther Sunday the Kirk of Largo, quhill farther provisioun be made ; and ordanit the Superintendent of Fyfe to labour with the towne of Couper, for licence to the said Mr Robert for the purpose forsaide ; and to take ordour with the Schoolemaster of Couper, to reid and exhort in the Kirk of Couper.

Calderwood.] “ The Laird of Lundie and the Superintendent of Lowthiane war appointed to request the Lords of Seecreit Counsell to assist the Assemblie with their presence and counsell.

“ In the third Session, at the request of the Erle of Menteith, craving some Minister understanding the Irish tongue for Menteith, Johne Ure, Minister of Leuchars, was transplanted, and appointed Minister there.<sup>1</sup>

Register.] “ Sessioun fourth, 28 Junij, the hail Assemblie made, constitute, and ordainit the Commissioners under-written—for Fyfe, the Laird of Lundie and Thomas Scott of Abbottishall ; for Lowthiane, the Lairds of Spot and Elphinstone ; for the Westland, the Lairds of Carnall, Carse, and Kelwood ; for the Suthland, the Lairds of Wedderburne and Andrew Kar of Foudonsyde ; for Galloway, the Laird of Gairlies, zonger, and Methine, with Mr George Gordoun ; for Angus, the Provost of Dundee ; and for the Northland, the Laird of Craig : That they sall altogether repaire towards the Lords of Seecreit Counsell, and there present the Articles under-written perteinand to reformatioun of maners, punischment of certaine crymes, mantaining of justice, and uthers concerning the universall Kirk of this Realme ; and to reason therupon with the saids Lords, and report the answers therintill to this present Assemblie.

<sup>1</sup> This Session is wanting in the Register.

*“Tenour of the Articles.*

“*First*, That it is thocht good, and alsweill conforme to the Acts of Parliament immediatlie befor the Quein’s Majesties arrivall promittit, as her Hienes awin ordinance, with consent of her Nobilitie, decreit and appointit after her Grace’s arrivall,<sup>1</sup> Chryst’s religioun be *de novo* establischid, ratified, and approved throughout the whole Realme, and that all idolatrie, especially the Masse, be abolischid over all ; so that no uther face of religioun be permittit, or thoilit to be erected.

“And for this effect, that the Ministers be provydit decentlie with ane assurit appointment, quher they sall receive their livings asweill bygane as to come, and not to live as beggers, as presentlie they doe ;<sup>2</sup> and in lyk maner, to desyre, and with all humilitie to requyre that the transgressours againis the ordinances, asweill from tyme foorth, might be punished according to the saids lawes and ordinances, and especially againis them that contemnes and committis inobedience againis the saidis lawes in Aberdein, in the Carse of Gowrie, in Seafeld, and in sundrie uther places as salbe specifiet.

“After the fairsaids Articles war notified and declared to my Lords, the Erles of Murray, Argyle, Glencarne, and to

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood says, “conform to the Acts of Parliament made before the Queen’s Majesty her arrival, and approved since her arrival ;” whereby he would insinuate that the Queen had approved and ratified the Parliament in August 1560. But it is evident from the Register here, that it has not been so worded in the original Record ; especially since we are certain the Queen never ratified the Acts of Parliament in August 1560 before her arrival. She only, by her authority, confirmed the form of religion subsisting in the Kingdom at her arrival, without any consideration of that pretended Parliament.

<sup>2</sup> [This was most true. The Ministers were half starved ; and when they complained, were most contemptuously treated by the Lords and Lairds who had secured to themselves the “patrimony of the Kirk,” and refused to part with it. Many of those Ministers were obliged to leave their parishes for want of sustenance, where there had been good endowment before the Reformation. Wishart of Pittarrow, a zealous Reformer, was the person appointed Comptroller, to pay the Ministers their stipends ; but so much inconsistency was there between the profession and the practice of this gentleman, that it came to be a current saying of the time—“God bless the Laird of Pittarrow for a godly professor, but deil tak the Comptroller for a most niggardly paymaster.”—E.]

my Lord Secretar, being present, and send be the Quein's Hienes to the Assemblie, to know quhat things war proponit therin; thocht the saids Articles, as they wer conceivit, not so convenient to be proponit as appertained, and therfor thocht it meitt to collect twa heids therof, quhilk they themselves wald propone to the Quein's Majestie; quhilk heids follow:—

“ And *first*, They wold declare to her the good mynds and obedience of them there assemblit.

“ And as tuiching the estate of religioun, seing it tuichit the said Lords most specialle, being members of the said Kirk, they wald labour at her Grace's hands that the same might be observit according to the ordour establischt at her Hienes arrivall; and doubtit not to obtaine sick gentle answer and aggriment of her Majestie in that behalf, as might satisfie the said Assemblie.

“ The uther heid, tuiching the sustentatioun of the Ministers, the saids Lords in lyke maner promised to labour at her Hienes hands that they might have appointment of the said stipends; and hoped to dresse her Hienes so that they sould be ressonable satisfiet of their desyre in that point.

“ Therafter the saids Lords declarit be the mouth of my Lord Secretarie, how they had proponit the saids heids to the Quein's Majestie, and how they were not only accepted be her Hienes in good part, but als gentlie answerit, and accordit to the performance therof; and therefore the saids Lords promised, in her Majesties name, to the hail Assemblie, the accomplisment of the saids desyres, of the quhilk they neid not in any wayes to doubt; for if they had been surely persuadit in their awin hearts that her Hienes had meant utherwayes nor they had declared, her Grace sould have found uther messengers than they, to have schawin the same in her Hienes name. Quhilk being be them declared, the haill number present first thanked God and her Majestie that their reasonable desyres were so generallie answerit; and for recognosceing of their awin duetie, desyrit the saids Lordis reciprocally to promise to her Majestie, in their behalfe, all ductifull obedience, love, and submissioun, quhilk can be lookit for be any Christian Prince of most faithfull, humble, and loving subjects; promising therewithall, if any of their number sould happin to forget the duetie of a good subject, or offendes her Majesties lawes, that they all

afaldlie wald concurre to the punitioun of the offendour according to the qualitie of the trespass, as they sould be commandit.

“Anent the satisfeing of the complaint of pure labourers of the ground, anent the unmercifull exaction of their teynds, [it was inquired what the Nobilitie, and others there present, would freele promise.—Cald.] John Maxwell of Terrisglis, knycht, frielie promiseit, that quhat tyme the Superintendent of the West sould resort toward the pairts quher he hes any teynds, he sould choose unto himself sax, sevin, or aucht of the most wise and discreit persones within the saids bounds quher he has the saids teynds; and quhatsoever the said Superintendent and honest persones sould advyse him to doe, asweill tuiching the intromissioun as prices of teynds, he promises to fulfill the same: So that the pure labourers sould feile at his hands ease and support within his rowmes.

“In lyke maner, my Lord of Murray was content, and for his teynds within Fyfe, nameit the Laird of Lundie, that sall modifie either money or victuall.

“Also Alexander, Bishop of Galloway, promised to doe [the like—Cald.] how soone the tack of his teynds comes in his awin hand, and beis run out.

“The Erle of Monteith, my Lords of Lindesay and Ochiltre, my Lord Secretarie, the Superintendent of Fyfe, the gentlemen in the West, and among them the Laird of Kars, and the Goodman of Leathem, all of their awin frie will promised to doe according as the said Maister of Maxwell had promised.

“Tuiching the Act of Parliament anent the gleib and mansis, the haill Assemblie requeist Mr James MacGill, Clerk-Register, to extract the samein, and subscryve it, to the effect it may be produceit befor the Lords of the Secreit Counsell, the morne, or how soone guidlie he may doe the samen, that ordour may be tane theranent for the ludging of the Ministers.

Calderwood.] “The Superintendent of Angus, the Abbot of Culros, Mr Johne Spence of Condie, Advocat, Mr George Buchanan, and Mr Robert Pont, war appointed to goe apart and consider whether it were expedient that Mr Andrew Simson sould remaine Minister at Dunning and Cargill, or

be removed to Dunbar, according to his own promise made to Dunbar. It was decerned be them that he sould be removed.

Register.] “Session fifth, the penult of Junij. Anent the causes of the whole Kirk and jurisdiction therof, the Assemblie appointed thir persones under-written, to wit, the Laird of Dun, Superintendent of Angus and Mernes, Mr Johne Wynrhame, Superintendent of Fyfe, Mr Johne Spottiswood, Superintendent of Lowthiane, and Mr Johne Willock, Superintendent of the West, with the assistance of Mr Johne Row, George Hay, Robert Pont, Christopher Gudman, Thomas Drummond, Johne Knox, Johne Craig, Johne Rutherford, George Buchanan, Robert Hamiltoun, Clement Littill, the Lairds of Lundie, Elphingstoun, Carnell, Kers, and Thomas Scott of Abbotishall: And ordained thir foirnamed persones to conveyne the morne after the sermoun, and to reason and conferre anent the saids causis and jurisdiction pertaining to the Kirk, and to report their opinions againe to the nixt conventioun.

“Anent the questioun moved, Whether a Minister anes lawfullie placed at a Kirk may leave his ministrie at the said Kirk and pass to another at his awin pleasure? It was concludit be the haill Assemblie that he may na wayes leave the Congregation, being anes placed, without knowledge of the flocke, his Superintendent, or haill Kirk; and that the cause why he wald leave that Kirk be considerit be the Superintendent or haill Kirk, whether it be lawfull or not.

“The haill Assemblie, in one voyce, choose James Makaitney to be Soliciter to the Kirk. [James Makeaitney was chosen Solicitor for the actions of the Kirk to be pleaded before the Lords of Secreit Counsell or Session, to proceed with advice and counsell of Mr Thomas Makealzeane, David Borthwik, and Richard Strang, Advocates.—Cald.] Becaus Mr Alexander Jarden, Minister of Inchsture, Kilspindie, and Rait, was in last Assemblie suspendit from all functioun of office within the Kirk, for causes conteinit in the second Sessioun of the last Assemblie, to this Conventioun, quher he sould receive answer whether he sould return to his office or not. The haill Kirk, in consideratioun of his mariage, and publick satisfacioun of the

Kirk quher the offence was committit, ordainit to make humble request to my Lord of Murray to be content that the said Mr Alexander sould be received againe to his ministerie, in respect to the premissis; and thereafter, that the Superintendent of Fyfe sould restore him againe to his ministrie as of befor.

“ Anent the request of Mr Patrick Couston, Minister of Syres, desyreing that the licence to pass to France and uther countreys for augmenting of his knowledge, for a tyme, the hail Assemblie in ane voyce dissentit therfra, and ordanit that he sould not passe out of this countrey, nor zet leave his congregatioun quher he travells, without speciall licence of the hail Kirk, if they sall heirafter think it expedient or necessarie.

Calderwood.] “ It was appointed that a request sould be presented to the Queen for obtaining the gift of the Friers Kirk of Kirkubright, to be holden hereafter the parish Kirk of Kirkubright.

“ In the sixth Session [30 June, Reg.] Mr Donald Munro his Commission to plant Kirks, &c. within Rosse, was continued for a yeere. Commission was given to Mr Knox to visit the north, and to remaine there six or seven weeks, becaus the north parts war destitute of Superintendents or Commissioners for visiting of their Kirks, and overseeing of Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers alreadie placed. Mr George Hay, Minister to the Secreit Counsell, was appointed to visite the Kirks of Renfrew, and to remaine there twentie dayes. Mr Craig was ordained to visite the south parts for a moneth, and Mr Gudman, Minister at Sanct Andrews, to teache in his absence at Edinburgh.

Register.] “ Forsamikle as it was complanit be the Commissioner<sup>1</sup> of Murray upon William Sutherland, Parson and Exhorter at the Kirk of Moy, That he had not only disobeyit his charge, commanding him to marie the woman with quhom he befor had committit fornicatioun, but also had, in despyte of the said Commissioner, ryveing [rending] his letters of charge therto, and had not obeyit his summons chargeing him to compeir to this Generall

<sup>1</sup> The readers will easily observe that this was a sort of temporary Superintendent appointed by the Assembly in such bounds as there was not a fixed one.

Assemblie : In consideratioun of this despytefull ryveing of the Commissioner's letters, and also not compeiring to this Assemblie, the Kirk depyves him fra all ecclesiasticall function ; and also ordaines the censure of the Kirk to proceede agains him for his contempt.

Calderwood.] “ It was ordained that the Superintendent of Lowthiane sould proceede to censures against Mr Patrick Cockburne, Minister at Hadingtoun, in case he resorted not to the Generall and Synodall Assemblies.”

## CHAPTER IV.

CONTAINING CHURCH AFFAIRS FROM THE PARLIAMENT IN  
DECEMBER 1564, TILL THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE IN JUNE  
1566.

ON the 15th day of December in the year 1564, the Parliament of this Kingdom sat down. I have already taken notice in the Civil Part, that our Historians do all affirm that the ground of its meeting was solely to reduce the forfeiture of the Earl of Lennox. The Register of this Parliament is lost. Yet besides that reduction of forfeiture, which no doubt might pass at that time, we find two other printed Acts, viz. the first “A Declaratioun of our Soverane Ladyis perfite Age;” the other, “Anent the Confirmatioun of Fewes.”<sup>1</sup> Mr Knox also says, “There wer some Articles gevin in by the Kirk, especially for abolisching of the Mess universally, and for punischment of vice; bot,” adds he, “thare was little thing granted, save that it was statute ‘That scandalous livers sould be punished, first by prisoun, and then publictly schawn unto the peple with ignominy.’ Bot,” he observes, “the sam was not put in executioun.” And yet, in direct opposition to the above testimony, it is said in the abstract of one of Mr Randolph’s Letters,<sup>2</sup> “Mass made forfeiture of goods, lands, and life, except in the Queen’s Chapel.”

*Ninth General Assembly.*

Register.] “The Generall Assemblie of the Kirk gatherit and conveinit at Edinburgh the 25 of December 1564, haldin in the Over-Tolbuith therof; in the quhillk were the Superintendents and Ministers present, with the Commissioners of Shyres and particular Kirks. The exhortatioun being made be Johné Knox, Minister of Edinburgh.

<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this last Act is to declare the Queen’s confirmation of infeftments of feus given by the Prelates to be as valid as if the same had been obtained from the Pope; also, that no infeftments of kirk-lands, not confirmed by her Majesty, shall be of any avail.

<sup>2</sup> See page 268. [ii. 259.]

“ *First*, For eschewing of confusioun, and every brother sould speake in his awin rowme with modestie, it was thocht good that ane Moderator sould be appointit; and swa, with full consent of all the brethren present, was Johne Erskine of Dun, Superintendent of Angus and Mernes, appointit to be Moderator for this Assemblie, who acceptit the office upon him.

“ Ordanit that no question be proponit be any brother unto the tyme the affairs of the Kirk, and ordour therof, be first treatit and endit; and therafter, if any brother have a question worthie to be proponit, that the samen be put in wryte and presentit; and if the samen requyres hastie resolutioun, it salbe deeydit in this present Assemblie befor the end therof, utherwayes the decision of the samen salbe referrit to every ane of the Superintendents within whose bounds the question is proponit; and they, and every ane of them, with ane certane number of the Ministers as they sall think meitt to appoint for assisting to hear the reasoning of the saids questions, and therafter their reasons to be put in wryte, affirmative or negative, quhilks every ane of them sall report to the nixt Assemblie.

Calderwood.] “ William Wallace of Carnall, and Andrew Ker of Fadownside, war sent to the Lords of Seceit Counsell, to request their Honours to assist the Assemblie with their presence and counsell. When the Superintendents of Lowthiane and Angus, the Commissioners of Galloway and Orknay war removed to be tried, it was proponed be some of the brethren that the Commissioners of Galloway and Orknay sould be demanded, whether in their consciences they judged that they might both dewlie use the office of a Superintendent and the office of a Lord of the Session and Colledge of Justice. The Superintendent of Fyfe was challenged for slackness in visitation of his Kirks: He alledged age, evill payment of his stipend, and a great number of Kirks within his bounds, as excuses; howbeit otherwise he was diligent.

Register.] “ The same day the haill Assemblie causit to present to the Lords of Seceit Counsell the Heids and Articles following, and requyrit their honours to obtain answer therof at the Quenis Grace, and to signifie unto them her Majesties pleasure therintill.

*“ Tenour of the Articles.*

“ 1. The haill Assemblie requyres humblie their honours to signifie to the Quenis Majestie, that the transgressours of the Proclamations past againis the heirars and sayers of Messe, together with the abusers of the Sacraments, are now so commoun, that it may be greatlie feared that jugements sall suddenly follow, except remeid be provydit in tyme.

“ 2. To requyre payment to Ministers of their stipends for the tyme bypast, according to the promise made; and to lett the Assemblie know how the Ministers salbe sustaint in tyme to come.

“ 3. To requyre Superintendents to be placed where none are within this Realme, viz. in the Mers, Tevidaill, Forrest, Tweddal, and the rest of the Dails in the south not provydit, with Aberdein and the uther parts in the north lyke-ways destitute.

“ 4. To requyre punischment of sick as hes steikit the doores of the paroch-kirks, and will not open the samen to preachers that presentit themselves to have preachit the Word, sick as Paisly, Aberdein, Curry, Duplin, and Aberdagie.

“ 5. Humblie to requyre of the Quenis Majestie what the Kirk sall looke for tuiching provisioun of benefices vaikand and to vaik.

“ 6. To crave ane resolutioun and declaratioun of the mansis and gleibs, whether they be sett in feu or not; and be what meanes the Ministers sall come to the use and possession therof.

“ 7. The Actis tuiching the reparatioun of the Kirks to be putt to executioun.

“ The answer to every ane of the particulars, the General Assemblie humblie requyres.

Calderwood.] “ In the second Session [26 December, Reg.] it was ordained that the same persones who war nominat for election to the superintendentship of Aberdeen, December 1562, sould now againe be putt in leitts; that edicts be served, and the person chosen be inaugurat in the New Kirk of Aberdeen the second Sondag of Marche nixt to come; and that the Superintendents of Angus and Fyfe,

with such Ministers as they sould choose, be present at the said inauguration.

“ Becaus it was murmured that manie ignorant men, and of bad conversation, war admitted to be Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers ; it was ordained that the Superintendent of Angus sould visite the Kirks in Nithisdail, Galloway, Carriet, Kyle, Cuninghame, and Cliddisdail ; the Superintendent of Lowthiane, the Kirks of Angus and Merns ; the Superintendent of the West, the Kirks of Lowthiane, Merce, and Teviotdail ; Mr Knox, the Kirks of Fyfe, Stratherne, Gowrie, and Menteith ; and try Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers, everie one within the forsaid bounds respective, to suspend for a tyme, or depose for anie cryme or ignorance and inability, as they sall find them guiltie or unable ; and for that purpose that commission be given to everie one of the said visitors, and that they report their diligence to the nixt Assemblie in writt.

“ It was ordained that everie Minister, Exhorter, and Reader sall have one of the psalme bookes<sup>1</sup> latelie printed in Edinburgh, and use the order contained therein in prayers, marriage, and ministration of the Sacraments.

Register.] “ Anent ane supplicatioun presentit be Beatrix Levingstoun, tuiching ane promise made to her be Patrick Hardie, to have solemnizat the band of matrimonie with her a long tyme since, his wyfe Katherine Rutherford being on lyfe, and no divorcement past betwixt them ; bearing also, and makeand mentioun of ane decreit and decisioun of the said promise, and nullitie therof, given and pronouncit

<sup>1</sup> [This was otherwise called the “ Book of Common Order,” which Knox and Goodman drew up for the use of the Reformed Kirk. Hitherto they had used the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI ; but finding it, no doubt, too *Catholic* for them, they soon abandoned it in favour of one better adapted to their views. The contents of the “ Psalme Book ” are as follow : — A Confession of Faith — Form of Electing Superintendents, Ministers, Elders, and Deacons — Order of Excommunication and Absolution — Visitation of the Sick — Burial — Godly Prayers — Administration of the Lord’s Supper — Form of Marriage — On Fasting — The Psalms of David. The Lord’s Prayer often occurs in the “ Booke ; ” it contains the Apostle’s Creed ; and several of the prayers are borrowed from the English Liturgy. This book was never wholly laid aside by the Presbyterians till the Rebellion ; after which they adopted the Westminster Directory, and from that they gradually fell into their present extemporaneous mode of performing Divine service.—E.]

be Johne Erskine of Dun, Alexander Guthrie of Halkertoune, Robert Cambell of Kinzeancleugh, and Mr Robert Hamiltoune ; for verification wherof the said Beatrix producit the said decreit, subscrivit be the forsaides persones in presence of Johne Willock, Superintendent of the West, Christopher Guidman, and Mr George Hay, of the dait at Edinburgh the 1 day of Julij 1563, bearing in effect, That the said promise made be the said Patrick to the said Beatrix, on na way might be sustainit be the law of the Evangell ; and therfor the said Patrick to quytt therfra in all tyme cuming, in respect of the marriage standing betwixt him and his wyfe forsaid undissolvit, and that the said promise was not only null in the self, but also unjust and unlawfull, and that the makers therof had offendit, and was worthie of punishment at the discretioun of the Kirk. Quhilk supplicatioun being red and considerit, the hail Assemblie in ane voyce authorized and allowed the said decreit pronounceit be the saids brethren ; and als pronounceit the saids Patrick and Beatrix to be frie fra the said pretendit promise in tyme cuming, requyring [*f. remitting*] that punishment, for makeing of the said promise, heirafter to the Kirk and discretioun therof.

Register.] “ Session third, 27 December. Anent the supplicatioun presentit to the Assemblie in name of Paul Methven, and tuiching diverse petitions therein contenit ; wherewith the Assemblie being ryplie advyseit, and after long reasoning had therein, with mature deliberatioun, gave their answer as followis :—

“ Anent his receiving to repentance, &c. The hail Assemblie with one voyce are content to receive the said Paul to repentance, he alwayes presentand himself personallie before them, declaring evident signes of unfained repentance, willing to obey sick injunctions as the Kirk sall please to appoint him to doe and fulfill.

“ Tuiching his desyre to delete his proces out of their bookes, &c. Thereto the Kirk can na wayes condescend ; neither think they that sick a petition can proceid of the Holie Ghost, seing David a notable servant of God, was not aschamed to write his awin offence, to God’s glorie and his awin confusion.

“ Anent his admission to the ministrie within the Realme :

That was thocht no wayes sufferable unto sick tyme as the memorie of his former impietie be more deiple buried, and some notable Kirks within this Realme make earnest request for his new acceptation. In lyke maner the Kirk signifies unto him that his entrie in the ministrie in the parts of England, he being excommunicat and unreconciled, hes grevouslie offendit them. As also the last part of his wryting wher he accuses false witnesses, quha hes deponit na uther thing, in effect, nor he hes confessed with his mouth in wryte. Farther, the Assemblie requyrit the brethren to quhom the said Paul wrytes, that amongs uthers their answers, they signifie unto him that he may safely repaire toward this Realme, notwithstanding the law latelie proclaimed agains adulterers.

Calderwood.] “ Mr Andrew Johnstone complaining that the Judges deputed to tak cognition of the articles for which his brother Mr William was condemned be the Popish Bishops, wold not proceed to declaration whether the said Articles war repugnant to the holie Scripture. The Assemblie decerned the articles not to be hereticall, so that a godlie interpretation be admitted in everie one of them; therefore ordained the Judges to proceed to the finall decision of the said action.

“ Full commission was given to the Superintendent of Fyfe, the Bishop of Galloway, Mr Johne Row, Mr Christopher Gudman, to tak cognition of the mutuall complaints of the Provost and Bailiffes of Coupar, upon Mr Robert Montgomrie their Minister, and of his upon them, and to decide therein; and that their decreit be in readiness to be shewed to the visitor-depute for Fyfe, when he shall come in those parts.

“ It was statute and ordained that no Minister sall admit to public repentance persones relapsed the thrid time in fornication, drunkenness, or the like crymes, bot that he send them to the Superintendent of the Diocie where the cryme is committed, who sall enjoyne them, as they sall think good, to make their offense to be abhorred; bot cheiflie that they cause the offender satisfie the Kirk where the offense was committed, moe dayes than one, as the said Superintendent sall think good.”

The Queen's marriage with the Lord Darnly being now

become the subject of much talk in both nations of Scotland and England; all her enemies, who were otherwise averse to the marriage, for other reasons, and upon different views, found means to give her much disturbance, and to throw many traverses in the way thereof, upon account of that young Nobleman's being of the Popish perswasion. "During this tyme," says Mr Knox, "thare wer certane letters directed to the brethren of Edinburgh, to Dundie, Fyfe, Angus, and Mernes, and uther places, from the brethren of Kyle, and uther places in the west countrey,<sup>1</sup> desiring the professours of the Evangell in all places, to remember what the Eternall God had wrocht, and how potently — admonished the brethren to strive and avert the evil. By these letters mony brethren wer animated, and thair spirits wakened, mynding to provyde, as God sould give thame grace."<sup>2</sup> And first of all he tells of a supplication being made by the Superintendent of Lothian, reminding the Queen how that the Church had often craved that the committers of idolatry should be punished, but that nevertheless they continued in their wickedness, and intended to put the same in practice the Easter following. This supplication the Secretary received from the hands of the Superintendents of Lothian and Glasgow, and told them in the Queen's name, "That thare sould be such provisioun maid, as sould serve to thair contentment." And this writer acknowledges that the Queen did write to the Archbishop of St Andrews and Bishop of Aberdeen, and into all suspected places, "that they sould not do ony such thing as was feared by the Protestants."

After this Mr Knox proceeds to give an account of the scurvy treatment a priest received in Edinburgh by order of the Magistrates; and how that the Queen, who was then in Stirling, being informed that the man was dead by the bad handling of the mob, took a resolution to chastise the town of Edinburgh by armed force; and until that could be got done, sent her advocate to take a sure trial of the whole

<sup>1</sup> This has been the fruit of Mr Knox's labours in these places in the year 1562. See p. 515. [iii. 59.]

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* In other words, to make war against the Queen, as the event testified. But whether the grace of God would operate this, or if something else would not be the mover, I leave to the reflexion of others.

matter. That hereupon the Provost and Council dispatched to the Queen the process of the Court's proceeding against the priest; and that the Queen, being thereby more surely informed of the truth, countermanded the forces she intended to bring against the city, and only wrote the following grave (I suppose Mr Knox means angry) letter to the Provost, Bailiff, and Council of Edinburgh:—

“ Proveist, Bayliffe, and Counsaill of our citie of Edinburgh, we received your letter from our advocate, and understand by this report quhat diligence you tuk to stay the tumult in the late disorder attempted at Edinburgh; quharein, as you did your duty in suppressing the tumult, so can we not tak in good part, nor think our self satisfied of so notorious a thing, without certain seditious persons, quho wer pleased to do justice perforce, and without the Magistrates authoritie,<sup>1</sup> be condignly and really punished for thair raschnes and misbehaviour; for if all private persons sould usurpe to tak vengeance at thair awin hands, what lies in ours? And to quhat purpose hath gude lawes and statutes bene establisched? Since thairfore we have never bene obstinate to the due punishment of any offenders, prescribed by the lawes, bot have alwayes menteinied justice in that case without respect of persons: It is our will, and we command you, as you will answer to us upoun your obedience and allegiance, that you will tak before you certane of the most responsall persons which ar declared authors of the said seditioun, and usurpers of our authoritie, and to administer justice upoun them, in such sort as we may know a sincerity on your parts, and our authoritie nowayes slighted. Bot if you faile, perswaid your selfis (and

<sup>1</sup> Though Mr Knox, by his way of narrating the story, would make it appear to have been all done by the authority of the Magistrates, yet we are here rendred certain that the first time the priest was fixed to the market-cross in his holy vestments, and the chalice in his hand, it was done by the insolence of the *godly* brethren only. It is true, indeed, the present law inflicted death on the sayers of Mass: But the brethren might reflect with what minds they would have received the like treatment of one of their number some few years ago. Nobody indeed ought, nor can apologize for the cruelty used in the former time; but two blacks, we say, will never make one white. The more heavily we ourselves complain of persecution, the more censurable we are, if we repay it in our turn. O that we men could learn this one lesson only—“To do as we wish to be done by.”

that schortly) we will not oversee it, bot will account this contempt, not onely to be in the committers thair of, bot in your selfis, quho ought to punish it, and relieve us on our part; remitting the rest to your diligence and executioun, which we look for so soon as reason will permit. Subscrivit with our hand at Strivling this 24th of Aprile, anno 1565."

*Tenth General Assembly.*

Register.] "The General Assemblie conveyit at Edinburgh in the Nether-Tolbuith therof, the 25th day of Junij 1565, in the quhilk were present the Superintendents, Ministers, and Commissioners of Shyres and Kirks. The invocatioun of the name of God being made by Johne Willock, Superintendent of the West. [He was chosen Moderator, Cald.]

Calderwood.] "In the first Session it was ordained if anie Superintendent had anie thing to lay to the charge of anie Minister, Exhorter, or Reader within his bounds, that he present the same in writt this day and the morne; and sicklyke, if anie person had anie thing to lay to the charge of anie Superintendent.

"The Superintendent of Lowthiane and Mr Knox gave account of their visitations, according to the commission given to them in the Assemblie immediatelie preceding. The Superintendents of Angus and of the West alledged lawfull impediments which occurred since the last Assemblie: They wer ordained to putt in execution their commission against October.

"Mr John Frude, Minister of Dummenie, and Patrik Craigh, Minister of Ratho, being complained upon for not repairing to Linlithgow to the exercise of propheeying, excused themselves with want of charges, be reason their stipends were not duelie payed unto them. Mr Patrik Cockburn being complained upon for obstinat refusing to come to the Synodall and Generall Assemblies, it was ordained that he sould be summoned to compeir upon Wedinsday. The Superintendent of Fyfe complained that the Kirk of Kilmannie, pertaining as a common Kirk to Sanct Salvator's Colledge in Sanct Andrews, wanted a preacher: Mr Johne Rutherford, Provost, and William

Ramsay, one of the Masters of the said Colledge, war content to stand to the decision of the Superintendent of Angus, the Superintendent of Fyfe, Christopher Gudman, and Mr George Buchanan. The parochiners of Tinninghame complained that they payed their tithes to the New Colledge in Sanct Andrews, and wanted not the lesse the ministrie of the Word, and ministration of the Sacraments: The Rector of the Universitie, and Mr Johne Douglass, Master of the said Colledge, promised to satisfie the complainers. The Superintendent of Fyfe complained upon William Heriot, Reader at Monyvaird, for removing to Strathardail without licence obtained be him or the parochiners: The Assemblie ordained the Act made Junij 1564, to be putt in execution. The parochiners of Kilconquhar complained upon Mr Alexander Spence, Minister, for not ministring the Communion these six years bypast: The Superintendent of Fyfe and Christopher Gudman were appointed to have a care that the Communion sould be ministred in the said Kirk before Candlemes nixt to come.<sup>1</sup>

Register.] “Session second, haldin the 26 of Junij, the hail Kirk present for the tyme humble requyrit the nobilitie present to be humble suters at her Hienes, for the executioun of the Law and Actis latelie made agains violaters of the Sabbath-day, committers of adulterie and fornicatioun; and desyred every Superintendent to sute for commissionis to Judges within their jurisdictionis, giveand power to them to execute punischment agains the committers of the saids crymes, according to the tenour of the saids Lawis and Actis, &c. And in lyke manner, to requiest her Hienes to cause thankfull payment be made of the Ministers’ stipends throughout all this Realme. As also, to complaine to her Grace, that wher of befor the Kirk of Commonell in Carriet was assignit for payment of the Ministers’ stipends in Kyle and Carriet, is now given be her Hienes to the zoung Laird of Skeldoun; and in lyk maner, the parochiners of Dalry shew that the lands of that Kirk was assignit to the Ministers of the parochin, and now was given to the Lord Provand: And to understand her Grace’s will heiranent.

“Ordanes, for ordouring the Articles to be sent to the Quein’s Majestic, Johne Erskine of Dun, Superintendent of

<sup>1</sup> This Session is wanting in the Register.

Angus and Mernes, Johne Willock, Superintendent of the West, Christopher Gudman, Minister at Sanct Andrews, and Mr Johne Row, Minister of Sanct Johnstoun, to convein after eleven houres, and sett them foorth, and present them to the Assemblie this day after noone; whilk ordinance the saids persons obeyit, and presentit the Articles to the Assemblie.

*“ Tenour of the Articles.*

*“ Imprimis,* That the papisticall and blasphemous Messe,<sup>1</sup> with all papistrie and idolatrie, and Pope’s jurisdictionis, be universallie suppressed and abolished through the hail Realme, not only in the subjectis, but also in the Quein’s Majestie’s awin person, with punishment against all personis that sal be deprehendit to offend and transgress the same; and that the sincere Word of God and His trew religioun now presentlie receivit, be established, approved, and ratified throughout the whole Realme, alsweill in the Quein’s Majestie’s awin person as in the subjectis, without ony impediment; and that the people be astrictit to resort upon the Sondays at least, unto the prayeris and preaching of God’s Word, lykeas they were astrictit before to resort to the idolatrous Messe: And thir heids to be providit be Act of Parliament, with consent of the Estates, and ratificatioun of the Quein’s Majestie.

*“ Secondlie,* That sure provisioun be made for sustentatioun of the Ministers, alsweill for the tyme present as for the tyme to come; and that such personis as are presentlie

<sup>1</sup> [There was little good taste in those men thus to designate the Mass in a petition to their Queen, who had been taught from her childhood to view it in a totally different light—a light in which the petitioners themselves had viewed it a few years before. See a great deal more to the same effect a few pages farther on, in their “Supplication to the Queen’s Majesty of Scotland.” The Reformers do not seem to have considered that what they called “the idolatry of the Mess,” was neither more nor less than a belief in the doctrine of Transubstantiation. If the doctrine be true, the adoration of the Host is not idolatry, but only the worship of a visible Saviour; and even if it be not true, it is still no idolatry, but only the belief of that which is contrary to the evidence of the senses. This is, no doubt, a very absurd belief; but it is, at the same time, very harmless, so long as it is not enforced upon others under penalties. At any rate, it might have been fairly enough retaliated by the Romanists that if the Reformers abhorred idols they did not scruple to commit sacrilege. Rom. ii. 22.—E.]

admittit to the ministrie may have their livings assignit to them in the roumes where they travell, or at the least, nixt adjacent therto, and that they have no occasion to crave the same at the hands of any uthers: And that the benefices now vaikand, or hes vaikit since the moneth of March 1558, or that heirafter sall happin to vaike, be disponed to qualified and learned personis, able to preach God's Word, and to discharge the vocation concerning the ministrie, be the tryall and admissioun of the Superintendents: And that no Bishoprick, Abbacie, Pryorie, Deanrie, Provestrie, or any uther benefices haveand many Kirks annexit therto, be disponit altogether in any tyme coming, to any one man, but at the least, the Kirks thereof be severallie disponit, and to severall personis, swa that every man having charge may serve at his awin Kirk, according to his vocation; and to this effect, that the gleibs and mansis be given to the Ministers, that they may make residence at their Kirks, wherthrow they may discharge their conscience conforme to their vocation; and also, that the Kirks may be repaired accordingle, and that ane law may be made and established heirin be Act of Parliament, as said is.

“*Thridlie*, That none be permittit to have charge of Schooles, Colledges, or Universities, or zit privatelie or publicklye to instruct the zouth, but such as salbe tryed be the Superintendents or Visitors of the Church, found sound and abill in doctrine, and admittit be them to their charges.

“*Fourthlie*, For sustentation of the poore, that all lands foundit to hospitalitie of old, be restored againe to the same use; and that all lands, annualrents, or any uther emoluments pertaining any wayes sometyme to the Freiris of whatsumevir ordour, or annualrents, alterages, obits, and the uther dewties pertaining to Priests, be applyit to the sustentation of the poore and uphald of the Schooles, in the townes and uther places where they ly.

“*Fyftliie*, That sick horrible crymes<sup>1</sup> as now abound in the Realme, without any correction, to the great contempt of God and His holie Word,—sick as idolatrie, blaspheming of God's name, manifest breaking of the Sabbath-day, witchcraft, sorcerie and inchantment, adulterie, incest, manifest

<sup>1</sup> [Who would have expected all this in the fifth year of Reformation?—E.]

whoredome, maintenance of bordellis, murther, slaughter, reife and spulzie, with many uther detestabill crymes, may be severely punished ; and Judges appointit in everie Province or Dyocie for the executioun therof, with power to doe the same, and that be Act of Parliament.

“ *Lastlie*, That some ordour be devysit and establishit for the ease of the poore labourers of the ground, concerning the unreasonabill [reasonable, Cald.] payment of teynds, tane over their heidis without their advyse and consent.

Calderwood.] “ Walter Lundie of that Ilk, William Cunninghame of Cunninghameheid, William Durham of Grange, George Hume of Spott, James Baron, Burgess of Edinburgh, war appointed to present these Articles to her Hienesse, and to report ane answeare before the dissolving of the Assemblie, if they may convenientlie ; if not, to report to the Session of Edinburgh, that they may signifie the samen to the Superintendents.

“ Adam, Bishop of Orkney, Mrs. Johne Craig, Christopher Gudman, Johne Row, George Buchanan, and Robert Pont, were ordained to conveene and sitt from sex till eight in the morning, to decide questions proponed or to be proponed ; and to report their decision to the Assemblie, that the samen may be insert in the Register.

“ The Commissioners appointed to trie the qualification of Johne Lynd, Minister at Irwing, reported that he was unsufficient for the charge in that place.

“ Becaus sundrie Ministers complaining of none payment of their stipends, desired libertie to remove, and passe to suche places destitute of the Word, where they might be reasonablelie sustained be the godlie, it was statute and ordained that no Minister, Exhorter, or Reader, placed presentlie at anie Kirk, sall attempt to remove himself till answeare be receaved againe from the Queen’s Majestie to the Articles directed to her ; and that therafter none remove himself without the advice of the Superintendent of his Diocie, and his licence in writt, under the paine of deprivation from his office.

Register.] “ The same day the Lairds of Carnell, Sornbegg, and Dreghorn, requeisting humblie for support of a ministrie for their Kirks of Ricartoun and Dundonald in Kyle, promisit, of their awin frie will, that they sould pro-

vyde stipends sufficient, according as the Kirk wald appoint, and that they sould not remove from their Kirks for seiking payment of the same: Quhilk requiest of theirs the hail Kirk praisit, and promisit satisfioun of their godly desyre.

“ Session third, 27 Junij.—Anent the question proponit, whether children may contract mariage, and marie without consent of their parents; and in speciall, whether the promise made betwixt Robert Paterson and Jenat Littill, without the consent of her parents, may stand? It is found, That the said Robert and Jenat hes not ordourlie proceidit in the said promise, in sa farre as they neither obtainit the consent of the parents, nor zett the lawfull ordour; repairit to the Kirk of God to lament that cause, and seik the ordinaire meane thairat by the Word of God appointit: and therfor the Commissioners appointit be the Kirk for decision of questionis, decernis they have not lawfullie proceidit in making the said promise of mariage; and they sould of dewtie thus have proceidit, first to requyre the consent of the parent, quhilk being refusit, then to make their sute unto the Kirk to concur with them in their lawfull proceedingis, according to the ordour observit in God’s Word. And for the offence and unlawfull proceeding by-past, to make satisfaction to the Kirk as they salbe appointit therto. And heirupon ane generall ordour to be sett foorth, as the Generall Assemblie sall think good, to be observed in all particular Kirks in tyme comeing. This was subseryvit be the Commissioners underwritten, Mrs. Johne Douglas, Rector of the Universitie of Sanet Androes, Christopher Gudman, George Buchanan, Johne Craig, Minister, Johne Row, Robert Pont.

“ Ane uther question, Whether if a learned man, having a benefice given in Papistrie, or latelie sen the Word hes bein preached in this Realme, may leave the parochin wher he is Parson, destitute of preaching of the Word, and enter Minister to serve in ane uther place for larger stipend? The foirsaidis Commissioners concludit as followes:—It is thocht aggricable to the Word of God, that no faithfull preacher of God’s Word may enjoy ane benefice or living pertaining to the Kirk, except he remaine at the said Kirk to discharge his office, for the quhilk he receavit the

said benefice ; and that if he be transportit be the Kirk or Superintendent to any uther place, wherby he may not discharge his dewtie in baith, that he be depryvit of the ane, and it to be bestowit upon ane uther, provideing alwayes the fairsaid person be sufficiently answerit of his stipend.

“ Ane uther question, Whether if a man abuseing his cousignes,<sup>1</sup> his father’s brother’s daughter sevin zeiris, and begottin children, and presentlie wald marie her, and underly correctioun, may marie or not ? The degries are second of consanguinitie ; thogh this be not found contrair to the Word of God, zet becaus it hes not bein publickly reveilit in this Realme, and that diverse inconvenients are perceivit to ensew of this libertie, thinks it good that it be offered to the Civil Magistrate, or else to ane Parliament, for ordour to be takin therin in the mean tyme, that men take not libertie to themselves according to their fleshly affectioun. Nottheless that the persons in whose name this question was proponit, be joynit in mariage after their publick repentance for the offence bygane, without any hope that uthers have the lyke licence, quhyll farder ordour be tane be the Civill Magistrate, as said is.

“ Anent the complaint given in be the Superintendent of Fyfe, for the want of a preacher at the Kirk of Kilmanny, pertaining as ane commoun Kirk to Sanct Salvator’s Colledge in Sanct Androes ; Mr Johne Rutherford, Provost, and Mr William Ramsay, ane of the Masters, was content that the Superintendents of Angus and Fyfe, Mr Christopher Gudman and Mr George Buchanan, sould consider this complaint, and whatsoevir they decydit therin and ordainit to be done, they sould fulfill the same in sick sort that no complaint sould be heard hereafter.

“ Ane complaint was given in be the parochiners of Tininghame who payes their tynds to the New Colledge of Sanct Androes, and hes no preaching nor ministration of the Sacramentis. Mr Johne Douglas, Rector of the Universitie, and Master of the said Colledge, promised to the

<sup>1</sup> It was the custom to say cousigne for the male, and cousignes for the female.—[The marriage of a man to his deceased wife’s sister or niece, as also the marriage of first cousins, was forbidden, under the Roman Catholic system, without a dispensation from the Pope.—E.]

Kirk to satisfy the saids complainers reasonable, that heirafter the Kirk sall not be troubled with farder complaint.

Calderwood.] “ Tuiching the requeist of the Commisars of Edinburgh, that everie Minister or Reader sould have a register of the names of the deceased of the place where they dwell, the day of the moneth and yeere, and deliver the copie thereof to the Procutor-Fiscall, that pupills and creditors be not defrauded. It was answered, They could not lay such a charge upon their brethren, in respect none or few of the ministrie had manses and gleebes to make residence in; but how soone they obtained their manses, they sould exhort them as they salbe required to doe, conforme to the said request.

Register.] “ Session fourth, 28 Junij.—Anent the complaint given in be Mr Donald Munro against Mr Johne Robertsons, Thesaurer of Ros, Minister of Urquhart, and Johne Watson, Minister of Alves; that quher they both accepted the ministrie on them, and received their stipends therfor, and now hes left their vocation, requyrit the Kirk to tak ordour heirin: The hail Assembleie ordainit the saids personis to repaire toward their charges in the ministrie, and entir againe therto incontinent after they be chargeit, under the paine of dissobedience of the Kirk, and dischargeing of their allowance and stipends.

Calderwood.] “ Mr Robert Pont, Commissioner of Murrey, was appointed to trie if Williame Rosse, Donald Adamsons, Johne Murquhonsone, and Alexander More, were worthie to be admitted be Mr Donald Munro as Exhorters, to baptize, and solemnize mariage.

“ Commission was given to Mr George Hay, Parson of Ruthven, to visite Kirks, Schooles, and Colledges, from Dee to Spey, to plant, remove simpliciter, or for a season, Ministers, to eradicate idolatrie, &c. till a Superintendent be admitted in the north, or at least till the nixt Generall Assembleie.

“ The Superintendent of the West was enjoyned to visite the Kirks betwixt Ure and Neth, as he doeth other Kirks within his jurisdiction of Glasgow, becaus these Kirks pertained to that Diocie of old; yitt the bounds of Superintendents charge was not conforme to the limits of the

old Diocies, for the Diocie of Sanct Andrews was divided, and all the countrie dailes belonging to Glasgow of old.

Register.] “The haill Assemblie, with one voyce and mynd, choose Johne Knox, Minister of Edinburgh, to receive the answers of the Articles send from the Assemblie be the Commissioners therof to the Quein’s Majestie, and to advertise the Superintendents of the same; and als, that he advertise the faithfull of things necessar that sall happin betwix this and the nixt Assemblie. Thanks beand given to God be Johne Willock, Superintendent of the West, and the 25 of December nixt to cum appointit for the nixt Assemblie to convey in Edinburgh, this Assemblie was dissolved.”

N. B.—The Articles contained in this Assembly, together with the Queen’s Answers, recorded in the next following Assembly, and also the Kirk’s Reply to her Majesty’s Answers, are to be found in the Cotton Library, under the year 1560 and 10th July. We see also that Mr Knox delays this Assembly, and consequently these Articles, till the 24th July this year 1565: But that he is herein mistaken, will appear by Mr Randolph’s letter, 2d July, p. 285,<sup>1</sup> &c. (see also p. 300.<sup>2</sup>) And since Randolph makes mention of a supplication at the same time to the Queen by the Assembly, I here set down that which I suppose is intended by him, and is also in the Cotton Library under the same false date of 1560.

“*The Supplication to the Queen’s Majesty of Scotland.*

“*To the Queen’s Most Excellent Majesty, her Grace’s humble Subjects professing the Evangel of Christ Jesus within this Realm, wish long prosperity, with the spirit of righteous judgment.*

“IT is not unknown to your Majesty, that within this Realm the Evangel of Jesus Christ was lately so planted, the true religion so established, idolatry, to wit the Masses, and all that thereto appertaineth, together with the usurpation and tyrannical power of that Roman Antichrist, called

<sup>1</sup> [ii. 296.]

<sup>2</sup> [ii. 330.]

the Pope, so suppressed, as well by the mighty power and hand of God, as by just laws and devices of Parliament, that none within this Realm durst in publick have gainsaid the one, nor maintained the other. It is further known that such, as in whose hands God of His mercy had prospered the beginning of this His work, were going forward to an exact and perfect reformation concerning the policy of the Church according to the Word of God, and the sustentation of them that travel in the same : But these our most just and godly beginnings have now been stayed and troubled near the space of four years, to the great grief of all godly hearts within this Realm. Shortly after your arrival, was that idol the Mass erected up again ; and thereafter were wicked men, enemies to Christ Jesus and His holy Evangel, repos'd in the places which they never possess'd, and were permitted to receive the fruits that by no just law can appertain to them, and that under colour they should pay their thirds to your Majesty's comptroller, and such as he should depute for the receiving of the same ; to the end, as we understand, that our Ministers and ministry might have been planted and sustained according to God's commandment. And albeit we were plainly forewarned that such beginning would have an unhappy end ; yet the love that we bare to the tranquillity of your Realm, and esperance and hope that we had that God of His mercy would mollify your Highness's heart to hear His blessed Evangel publicly preached, we quietly passed over many things that ever in our hearts (as also many times by our supplications unto your Majesty) we desired to have been redressed : But how little we have profited to this day, both great and small amongst us begin now to consider ; for laws we see violated ; idolatry increased ; your Highness's own gates, against proclamations, made patent to the foolish people to commit idolatry ; the patrimony of the Church we see bestowed upon persons most unworthy, and to the other uses than was first intended,<sup>1</sup> and thereby the tyranny of that Roman Antichrist to be obtruded upon us again ; our Ministers brought to extreme poverty ;<sup>2</sup> some of them troubled in their function ; some

<sup>1</sup> It was surely never intended by the first donors to be bestowed to the Ministers of the new form.

<sup>2</sup> Because Mr Knox slighted Archbishop Hamilton's wholesome advice.

preachers hurt, and no redress made ; fornication, adultery, incest, murder, sorcerers, bewitchers, and all impiety so to abound universally within this your Highness's Realm, that God cannot long spare to strike the head and the members, unless speedy repentance follow. We therefore now, continuing in our former humble suit, most humbly require of your Majesty a speedy reformation of the enormities aforesaid, and a favourable answer of our just petitions, as more fully your Majesty please to receive in Articles : Most humbly beseeching your Highness to have this opinion of us, that as to this day your Grace has found nothing in us but due obedience to your Majesty's laws and authority, which we have given because we are the only part of your people that truly fear God ;<sup>1</sup> so to esteem of us, that God, His Christ Jesus, and His true religion, which we profess and (by his grace) shall be to us more dear than lives, possessions, or respect of prosperity. And therefore yet again we, the whole body professing Christ Jesus within this Realm, humbly crave of your Majesty that you give us not occasion to think that you intend nothing but the subversion of Christ Jesus's true religion,<sup>2</sup> and in the overthrow of it the destruction of us, the best part of the subjects of your Grace's Realm. For this, before the world, we plainly profess, that to that Roman Antichrist we will never be subject, nor yet suffer (so far as our power may suppress it) any of his usurped authority to have place within this Realm. And thus, with all humble and dutiful obedience, we humbly crave your Grace's favourable answer with these our appointed Commissioners."<sup>3</sup>

The clamour concerning religion having been industriously disseminated through all the Kingdom according as the Queen's marriage came nearer to a close, this put her Majesty under a necessity of emitting several Proclamations, to assure the minds of her good subjects, both before

<sup>1</sup> A friendly testimony, but not the more true upon that account.

<sup>2</sup> She had done nothing to give them occasion so to think.

<sup>3</sup> Calig. B. 10, a copy. [The Queen, it will appear, gave a very mild answer to this Address, which, however, these suppliants had not the grace or the courtesy to imitate in the rejoinder which they opposed to it, but rather grew more intemperate and impertinent in proportion to her forbearance.—E.]

and after her marriage; all which the readers may see narrated in the Appendix to the Civil Part of this History.

On Sunday the 19th of August, the King (*i. e.* the Lord Darnly, now husband to the Queen) came to the High Church of Edinburgh, where Mr Knox acknowledges he himself preached, and said among other harsh things, “that God sets in that room [of Princes,] for the offences and ingratitude of the peple, boyes and women. And some uther words which appeared bitter in the Kingis ears; such as, that God justly punished Ahab and his posterity, becaus he would not take order with that harlot Jezabell.——Immediately Johne Knox was commandit to come to the Counsaill, quhare in the Secretaries chamber wer convened the Erle of Athole, the Lord Ruthven, the Secretary, the Justice-Clerk, with the Advocat. Thare passed along with the Minister a grit number of the most apparent men of the town. When he was called, the Secretary declared that the Kingis Majesty was offendit wth some words spoken in his sermon, desiring him to abstain from preaching for fifteen or twenty days, and let Maister Craig supply the place. He answered, ‘that he had spokin nothing but according to his text;<sup>1</sup> and if the Church would command him either to speak or abstain, he would obey so far as the Word of God would permit him.’ Within four days efter, the King and Quene sent to the Counsaill of Edinburgh, commanding thame to depose Archibald Dowglas, and to receave the Laird of Craigmillar for thair Provost; which was presently obeyed.”

This is all the account Mr Knox gives of the matter; but Archbishop Spottiswood, from what authority I shall not pretend to guess, says, “That before the Queen and Council he not only stood to that he had spoken, but added, ‘that as the King had, for the Queen’s pleasure, gone to Mass, and dishonoured the Lord God, so should He in His justice make her the instrument of his overthrow.’ This speech esteemed too bold (adds the Prelate’s MS.) at the

<sup>1</sup> But every text of Scripture is not equally proper at all times; nor is every thing that may be introduced from a text decent nor edifying in every season. Had there been at this time a firm Government in the State, Mr Knox might have, and deservedly too, felt the weight of its displeasure. Impeachments have been heard of for matters of as little moment.

time, came afterwards to be remembered, and was reckoned among other his prophetic sayings, which certainly were marvellous. The Queen, enraged at this answer, burst forth into tears; whereupon he was inhibited preaching, and silenced for some months. Mr John Craig, who a little before was brought to Edinburgh because of the prohibition given to his colleague, refused to do any service there, which put the people in a stir; yet upon better advice he was moved to follow his charge." Thus far the Archbishop.

I love not to have any handle to correct this most reverend historian; and yet methinks Mr Knox, in naming the Counsellors, would not have omitted to mention the Queen, had her Majesty been present; and as little it is likely that that writer would have omitted to transmit to posterity so singular a piece of prophecy, had he really uttered the same; since he seems all along to be fond enough to catch at, and force such things as this upon his readers. The Archbishop also seems to insinuate pretty clearly that as Mr Knox was silenced from preaching for some space by the Council, so he was compelled to obey the Council's order, at least did actually give obedience to it; but whether Knox did really so or no, remains I think still somewhat doubtful, by the following extract from the register of the Town-Council of Edinburgh.

"The said day [23d August 1565,] the Baillies, Councill, and Dekynnis forsaide, ordanis Johne Syme, David Forrester, and Allan Dickson, Baillies, Mr Robert Glen, The-saurer, James Macfell, and William Foullar of the Councill, this afternoon to pass to the King and Quenis Majesties, desyreing to be heard of thame tuiching the dischargeing of Johne Knox, Minister, of furder preaching; the disposing of Archibald Douglas, Provost, and to desyre licence, &c. (as in p. 106, Appendix.) [App. II. No. viii.]

"The same day afternoon, the Baillies, Councill, and Dekynnis forsaide, being convenit in the Councill-house, after lang reasoning upon the dischargeing of Johne Knox, Minister, of furder preaching, indureing the King and Quenis Majesties being in this town, all in one voce concludes and deliveris that thai will na maner of way consent or grant

that his mouth be closeit, or he dischargeit in preaching the true Word; and thairfoir willit him at his pleasure, and as God sould move his hart, to proceid fordwart to true doctrine, thai wald approve and abyde at to thair lyfes end."

All this affair may easily be adjusted by the tenor of this last declaration of the Town-Council, whereby we perceive that the sentence against John Knox was only during the King's and Queen's Majesties being in Edinburgh; and we have already seen, in the Civil Part, that their Majesties left the City of Edinburgh on the 25th day of August.

"The first day of October (says Mr Knox) met in Edinburgh the Superintendent of Lowthian, with all the Ministers under his charge, according to thair ordinary custome; for every Superintendent used to convene the hole ministry. And thare it was complaned on, that they could get no payment of thair stipends, not only about the City, bot thorow the hole Realme. Tharefoir efter ressouning and consultatioun takin, they framed a supplicatioun directed to the King and Queene, and immediately presented the same to thair Majesties, by Mr Johne Spottiswood, Superintendent of Lowthian, and Mr David Lindesay, Minister of Leith. It contained in effect, that forasmuch as it had pleased the King and Quenis Majesties (with advice of the Privy-Counsail) to grant unto the Ministers of the Word thair stipends to be takin off the thirds of the benefices, which stipends ar now detained from the said Ministers by ressoun of the troubles and changing of the Comptrouller, quhareby they are not able to lyve: And tharefoir most humilly craved the King and Quenis Majesties to caus thame to be payed. Thair answer was, that they wald caus ordour to be takin tharein to thair contentment."

The same author tells, that in this winter some Friars having supplicated the Queen to be allowed to preach, the same was granted; and he observes likewise that in their sermons they used another stile than they had done seven years before; but however, he says, they were so little esteemed that they continued not long in preaching.

*Eleventh General Assembly.*

Register.] "The General Assemblie of the Kirk haldin

in Edinburgh in the Over-Tolbuith therof, the 25 of December 1565: In the quhilk were present the Superintendents, Ministers, Exhorters, and Commissioners of Townes and Kirks. The invocation of the name of God was made be Johne Knox, Minister of Edinburgh.

“ Session first. *First*, for eschewing of confusioun in reasoning, and that every brother speake in his rounge with sick modestie as becumis the Ministers of God’s Word to doe; with the whole consent of the brethren present was chosen John Erskine of Dun, Knycht, Superintendent of Mernes and Angus, to be Moderator at this tyme, who acceptit the office on him.

Calderwood.] “ In the first Session, the Superintendents of Louthian and Fife excused their slackness in visitation be the absence of the people following the Queen according to the Proclamation. The Superintendent of Angus confessed that he had not visited any Kirk for two moneths by-past; but alledged withall that his visitation could not be very profitable, in respect it behoved him to lodge in time of visitation with his friends, for the most part, who had most need of correction and discipline: Therfor he besought the Assemblie to provide some other to that office; Alexander, Commissioner of Galloway, excused his not visiting with the building of his nephew’s house.<sup>1</sup>

“ Tuiching Ministers, Exhorters, or Readers disobeying their Superintendent; The Assemblie ordained the Superintendent to call the disobedient before himself and some of the neerest discreit Ministers; and if being convict of disobedience, he refuse to satisfie according to their injunctions, that he be suspended from his ministrie and stipend till the nixt Assemblie: At the which the Superintendent shall notifie the whole proceeding, that be their censure he may be farder corrected, or els restored to his former estate, according to the evidence of his repentance; providing his Kirk be provided for, in the meantime, be the Superintendent.

“ Sir John Bellenden of Achinoull, Knight, Justice-Clerk, Mr James Makgill of Rankeillour-Nether, Clerk-Register, Mr John Spence, Advocate, Mr Thomas Makalzean, Mr

<sup>1</sup> [These were curious reasons for negligence. They remind one of “ I pray thee have me excused.”—E.]

John Row, John Craig, William Christesone, David Lindsay, Ministers, and David Forrest, were appointed to convene upon Wednesday, to decide questions proponed, and to report their decisions.

Register.] “ The Superintendent of Lowthiane complainit upon Mr Johne Frude, Minister of Dunemanie, that wher in the last Generall Assemblie of the Kirk it was decernit that Robert Paterson and Jenat Littill sould have satisfied the Kirk of Edinburgh for the offence committit be them in contracting mariage without parent’s counsell, &c. zett nevertheless the said Mr Johne had perswadit them to solemnize the said mariage, their bands not being proclaimit and na satisfacioun made to the Kirk of Edinburgh; and also had causit Mr Patrick Craich, Minister of Ratho, to solemnize the said mariage betwixt the saids parties, in the Kirk of Dunemanie, in great contemptioun of the decretit forsaide, and all good ordour heirin, asweill anent the saids parties as the saids twa Ministers; The Kirk ordanit to call bothe the saids parties and Ministers to answer to the said complaint betwixt this and the end of the Assemblie.

“ In lyke maner Mr Johne Vinram complainit upon the said Mr Johne Frude, that by his counsell and persuasion the Lady Kilconquhar and Johne Weymis had contractit marriage *de verbo*, &c. notwithstanding that ane woman called Elizabeth Pott had claimed the said Johne Weymis before the Superintendent, whilk claime was not zett justified; and that Mr Andro Kirkadie had married the saids personis after the Minister was departed out of the Kirk wher they wer married: Ordanit in lyk maner to answer to this complaint.

“ The haill Assemblie appointit Mr Johne Row at Sanct Johnstoun to putt in wryte answers to the answers given be the Quene to the Articles presentit to her Hienes be the Commissioners of the last Assemblie of the Kirk, becaus her Hienes answers satisfied not fullie the Kirk, as in the samein plainlie appeareth, &c. and the said Mr Johne to present them the morn, after the preaching, to the Assemblie, to advyse therwith before their presenting to her Grace.

“ Followes the answer given be the Quenis Majestie to the Articles presentit to her Grace be the Commissioners

of the Assemblie last haldin, the 25 of Junij 1565 ; and als answers and requeists to these answers now conceivit in this Assemblie :—

“ *The Quenis Majesties Answer.*<sup>1</sup>

“ ‘ To the *first*, desyring the Messe to be suppress and abolisht, alsweill in the head as in the members, with the punishment againis the contraveners ; as also, the Religioun now professit to be establischt be ane Act of Parliament : It is answerit first, for the part of her Majestie’s self, that her Hienes is na wayes zet perswadit in the said religioun, nor zet that any impietie is in the Messe, and therfor believes that her loving subjectis will na wayes prease her to receive any religioun againis her awin conscience, quhilk sould bring her to perpetuall trouble be remorse of conscience, and therwith ane perpetuall unquyetness : And to deale plainlie with her subjectis, her Majestie neither may nor will leave the religioun wherein scho hes bein nourischt and upbrocht, and believes the samein to be weill groundit ; knowing besydes, the grudge of conscience, if scho sould receive any change in her awin religioun, that scho sould tyne the friendschip of the King of France, the ancient allyer of this Realme, and of other great Princes her friends and confederates, who wold tak the samein in evill part, and of whom scho may looke for great support in all her necessiteis ; and having no consideratioun that may counterwey the same, scho willbe laith to putt in hazard the lose of all her friends in ane instant : Praying all her loving subjects, seing they have had experience of her goodness, that scho neither hes in tymes bypast, nor zet meanes heir-

<sup>1</sup> These Answers were delivered in writing ; and my correspondent acquaints me that the Articles, and Answers written over against each Article in a fair chancellary hand on large paper, are in the Scot. Colleg. Paris. tom. ii. f. 91, but without any date. Mr Knox fixes the date of these Answers to the 21st of August bypast ; which indeed may be just enough, tho’ they be only recorded here when the Assembly sits down. The readers may be pleased to see in this author the journey to St Johnston, and the other steps taken at this time concerning these Articles. Mr Petrie says the Assembly was adjourned to the 25th of September only, and that at that time it met again, and received the Queen’s Answers, the Laird of Dun being Moderator ; in which Assembly likewise, he affirms, the return was made to the Queen’s Answers ; which in the Register, are only in the Assembly 25th December following.

after to prease the conscience of any man, but that they may worschip God in sick sort as they are perswadit to be best ; that they also will not prease her to offend her awin conscience.<sup>1</sup>

“ ‘ As for establisching of religioun in the body of the Realme, they themselves knowe, as appeares weel be their Articles, that the same cannot be done be the only assent of her Majestie, bot requyres necessarlie the consent of the Three Estates in Parliament ;<sup>2</sup> and therfor sa soone as the Parliament holds, that quhilk the Three Estates aggries upon among themselves, her Majestie sall grant the same

<sup>1</sup> [These just and enlightened sentiments on religious toleration, which are now universally applauded, were not understood and acted upon in this country till two hundred years after they were uttered.—E.]

<sup>2</sup> In the Cotton Library, the Demands of the Assembly, the Queen's Answers, the Kirk's Replies, mentioned already p. 544, [iii. 113.] are introduced with the following preamble, which is an indication that they have intended to present the same Articles to the Parliament :—The Nobility, Gentlemen, Barons, with Superintendents, Ministers, and others, possessing the Evangel of Jesus Christ within this Realm, to the King's and Queen's Majesties, and the Christian Estates of this Realm presently convened in Parliament, wish the fear of God, with the spirit of righteous judgment : “ Forasmuch as in the Convention of the Kirk, holden at Edinburgh the 25th day of June last past, certain gentlemen then were directed to the Queen's Majesty with certain Articles concerning the Religion ; desiring her Majesty's answer thereupon. To the quhilks, howbeit her Majesty then gave some particular answer, yet, nochttheless, her Majesty remitted her farther answer to this present Parliament ; and therefore we, of our duty, can do no less than crave the full answer of the said Articles in this present Parliament, conform to the Queen's Grace her appointment. And also, in respect that in the Parliament holden at Edinburgh the 10th of July 1560, it was determined and concluded the Masses, Papistrie, and the Pope's jurisdiction, to be simply abolished and put away out of this Realm, and Christ's religion to be retained universally and approven : And in like manner, in respect that the Queen's Majesty by many diverse and sundry Proclamations has ratified and approved Christ's religion, quhilk she found publickly received in this Realm at her arrival ; and specially upon the 15th day of September last at Dundee, the King's and Queen's Majesties, with the advice of their Secret Council, promised, as well by the Act of Secret Council as by diverse and sundry Proclamations made thereupon publickly in the principal Burghs of this Realm, to establish in this present Parliament the religion of Christ, which they found publickly and universally standing at their arrival in Scotland, and all Acts, Laws, and Constitutions, common, civil, or municipal, prejudicial to the same, to be abolished and put away, as the saids Acts and Proclamations more fully proports : Desiring, therefore, the premisses to be considered, together with the said Articles and her Majesty's Answers to the same, with the Kirk's Reply thereupon, as follows.”—Calig. B. 10,—a copy.

to them, and alwayes make them sure that no man salbe troublit for using themselves in religioun according to their conscience; so that no man sall have cause to doubt that for religioun's sake men's lives or heritages salbe in hazard.

“ ‘To the *second* Article it is answerit, That her Majestie thinks it na wayes reasonable that scho sould defraude herself of sa great a pairt of the patrimonie of her Crowne, as to put the patronage of benefices furth of her awin hands; for her awin necessitie, in bearing of her port and common charges, will requyre the retentioun of an good pairt in her awin hands: Nottheless her Majestie is weill pleased that consideratioun being had of her awin necessitie, and quhat may be sufficient for her, and for the reasonable sustentatioun of the Ministers, ane speciall assignatioun be made to them in places most commodious to intromett with, the quhilk her Majestie sould not intromett with, but suffer the samein to come to them.

“ ‘To the *third* Article, Her Majestie sall do therein as salbe aggreit be the Estates in Parliament.

“ ‘To the *fourth* Article, Her Majestie's liberalitie towards the poore salbe alwayes als farr extendit as can be reasonable requyrit at her hands.

“ ‘To the *fyft* Article, Her Majestie will referr the takeing ordour with that, and als of the *saxt* Article, to the Parliament.’

“ *The Answers of the Kirk to thir above-written, followes :*

“ ‘*First*, Where her Majestie answers, That scho is not persuadit in religioun, neither that scho understands any impietie in the Messe, bot that the samein is weill groundit, &c. That is no small griefe to the Christian hearts of her godlie subjectis, considering that the trumpett of Chryst's Evangell hes bein so long blowin in this countrey, and Hes mercie so plainlie offerit in the same, that her Majestie remaines zet unpersuadit of the trueth of this our religioun; for our religioun is nothing els bot the same religioun whilk Jesus Chryst hes in the last dayes revelit from the bosome of His Father, wherof He made His Apostles messengers, and they preachit and establischt among His faithfull, to the gayne comeing of our Lord Jesus Chryst; whilk differs from the impietie of the Turks, the blasphemie of

the Jewes, the vaine superstitioun of the Papists, in this, that only our religioun hes God the Father, His only sonne Jesus Chryst our Lord, His Holie Spirit speikand in his Prophets and Apostles, for authors therof, and their doctrine and practise for the ground of the same; the whilk no other religioun upon the face of the earth can justlie alledge, or plainlie prove: Zea, quahatsomevir assurance the Papists hes for the maintenance of their religioun, the same hes the Turkes for the maintenance of their Alcoran;<sup>1</sup> and the Jewes farre greater for defence of their ceremonies, whether it be antiquitie of tyme, consent of peiple, authoritie of Princes, great number or multitude consenting together, or any uther sicklyke cloakes they can pretend; and therfor as we ar dolorous that her Majestie in this our religioun is not perswadit, so most reverentlie we requyre, in the name of the eternall God, that her Hienes wald imbrace the meanes wherby scho may be persuadit of the trueth; quhilk we presentlie offer unto her Grace asweill by preaching of His Word, quhilk is the chiefe meanes appointit be God to persuade all His chosen children of His infallible veritie, as be publick disputatioun againis the adversares of this our religioun, in presence of her Majestie, quhensoever it salbe thoght expedient to her Grace: And as to the impietie of the Messe, we dare be bold to affirme that in that idol there is great impietie; from the beginning to the ending it is nothing els bot ane masse of impietie; the author or sayer, the actioun itself, the opinioun therof conceivit, the heirars and gazers upon it, allows sacriledge, pronounces blasphemie, and committs most abhominable idolatrie, as we have evir offerit, and zet offers our selves most manifestlie to prove. And where her Majestie esteimes that the change of religioun sould dissolve the confederacie and allyance that scho hes with the King of France, and uthers Princes, &c: Assuredly Chryst's true religioun is the undoubtit meane to knitt up sure and true confederacie

<sup>1</sup> [This is surely a most indefensible assertion. Mahommedanism is a piece of imposture from beginning to end; whereas Popery recognizes not only the whole of the Old and New Testaments, but the Apostles' Creed, and every one of those doctrines of the Gospel which are considered by all Christians as essential, namely, the Fall of Man—the Influence of the Divine Spirit—the Trinity—the Incarnation—and the Atonement.—E.]

and friendship with Him that is the King of all Kings, and Him who hes the hearts of all Princes into His hands, whilk ought to be more precious unto her Majestie nor the confederacie of all the Princes; without the quhilk, neither confederacie thereof, nor kyndnes, can endure.

“ ‘ Concerning her Majestie’s answer to the Second Article, quheras scho thinkis it no wayes reasonable to defraude herselfe of the patronage of the benefices, quhilk her Majestie esteimes to be ane portioun of her patrimonie, and that her Majestie is myndit to retayne a good part of the benefices in her awin hands, to support the common charges, &c. As to the first point, our mind is not that her Majestie, or any uther Patron of this Realme, sould be defrauded of their just patronages; bot we meane quhensoever her Majestie, or any uther patron, does present any person to a benefice, that the person presentit sould be tryit and examineit be the judgement of learned men of the Kirk, sick as presentlie are the Superintendents appointed therto: And as the presentatioun of benefices pertaines to the Patrone, sa aucht the collatioun thereof, be law and reason, pertain to the Kirk; of the quhilk collatioun the Kirk sould not be defraudit more nor the Patrones of their presentatioun: For utherwayes, if it salbe lesum to the Patrone absolutely to present quhom ever they please, without tryall or examinatioun, what then can abyde in the Kirk of God bot meere ignorance without all ordour? <sup>1</sup>

“ ‘ As to the second point, concerning the retention of a good part of the benefices in her Majestie’s awin hands; this point abhors so farre from good conscience, alsweill of God’s law as fra the publick ordour of all commoun lawes, that we are loath to opin up the ground of the mater be any long circumstances; and therfor we most reverently wisch that her Majestie wald consider the mater with her self and her wise Counsell, that howsoever the patronage of benefices may appertaine to herself, zet the retentioun therof in her awin hands, undisponit to qualifiet personis, is both ungodlie, and als contrair to all publick ordour, and finall confusioun

<sup>1</sup> [What can the opponents of lay-patronage say to this? Either they must acknowledge the justness of this view, or they must repudiate the opinion of Knox and his brother Reformers on the point in question.—E.]

of the poore soules of the commoun peiple, quho by this meanes sould be instructit of their salvatioun. And quher her Majestie concludes in her second answer that scho is content that ane sufficient and reasonable sustentatioun of the Ministers be provydit to them be assignationis in places most commodious to them, consideratioun beand had of her awin necessitie: As we are desyrous altogether that her Grace's necessitie sould be relcivit, so our ductie craves that we sould notifie to her Grace the true ordour that sould be observit to her in this behalfe; quhilk is this—the teyndis are properly reputit to be the patrimonie of the Kirk, upon the quhilkis, befor all thingis, they that travels in the ministrie therof, and the poore indigent Members of Chryst aucht to be sustaint, the Kirks also repairit, and the zouth brocht up in good letters: Quhilkis thingis beand done, then uther necessitie reasonable might be supported according as her Grace and her godlie Counsell could think expedient. Alwayes we cannot bot thanke her Majestie most reverentlie of her liberall offer of assignatioun to be made to the Ministers for their sustentatioun, quhilk nottheless is so generallie conceivit, that without more speciall condescending upon the particulars therof, no executioun is able to follow thereupoun. And so to conclude with her Majestie at this present, we desyre most earnestlie the saids Ministers' Articles to be reformit: Beseikand God, as they are reasonable and godlie, so her Majestie's heart, and the Estaites presentlie conveynit, may be inclynit and persuadit to the performance therof.'

“ Session second, 26 December. Anent the generall complaint of the Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers, for wanting of their stipends, and as tuiching them that hes put violent hand in Ministers for reproving of vyce; the hail Assemblee ordainit ane generall Supplicatioun to be presentit to her Majestie and Counsell; and als requiestit the Lord Lindsay and David Murray, brother to the Laird of Balvaird, to present the same, and to report the answer againe to the Assemblee.

“ *The tenour of the Supplicatioun follows:—*

“ ‘ Unto zour Majestie and most honourable Counsell, humblie meanes and complaines, we zour Grace's most

obedient subjectis the confessors of Chryst Jesus and his holie Evangell within this Realme, in name and behalf of our Ministers, Exhorters, and Reidars; that where oft and divers tymes promise hes bein made to us that our saids brethren, travelers and preichers in the Kirk of God, sould not be defraudit of their appointit stipends, neither zet in any wayes sould be molestit in their functioun; zet nottheless universallie they want their stipends appointit for divers tymes bypast, violent hands<sup>1</sup> are puttin in some, for no uther cause, as they alledge, but for reproving of vyce; and none knowes quhat assurance he sall have of any reasonable lyfe in tyme to come. Our most humble requeist is therfor unto zour Majestie, that our Ministers may be payed of their bygane stipends; that sick as hes receivit assignatioun therof from the former collectors may have executioun of their assignatiouns that zour Grace pleases to appoint the assignatioun promised into zour Hienes' last answeris to the petitionis of the Kirk; so that we may know be quhat meanes our saids Ministers may be sustainit in tyme to come, and finallie, how they may live without molestatioun of wickit men. And zour Grace's answer we most humblie beseik, &c.'

"Ancient the question, Whether any might marie his wyfe's brother daughter, or his wyfe's sister daughter; and quhat ordour sould be tane, if any sick mariages be made? It is votit, and found be the Word of God, that none may marie his wyfe's brother or sister daughter; and if any such mariage was contractit, the samein to be null, and ought not to stand.

"Persons revolting from the professioun of the Gospell, by offering their children to be baptized after the papisticall manner, or receiving themselves the Sacrament of the altar, after admonitioun, to be excommunicat, if repentance intervene not.

Calderwood.] "The Commissioners of Sanct Andrews requested that Mr Knox might be transplanted and placed in Sanct Andrews, which was refused. The Assemblie willed them to choice one out of their own Universitie in

<sup>1</sup> Mr Petrie says, under the year 1563, "that Robert Pont, a Minister, was stricken in the head with a weapon by Captain Lawder."

place of Christopher Gudman, who latelie departed into England.<sup>1</sup>

Register.] “Session third, 27 December. Anent the complaint given in be the Superintendent of Lowthiane againis Mr Patrick Craich, Minister of Ratho, for the maricing of Robert Paterson and Jenat Littill in Dunemanie Kirk, neither the bands being proclaimit nor zet satisfioun made to the Kirk of Edinburgh, according to the tenour of the decreitt of the last Assemblie, &c. The said Mr Patrick grantit publicklye that he had offendit, and submittit himself to the correctioun of the Kirk; therefor, be the hail Assemblie, he was ordainit to satisfie the Kirk of Edinburgh upon two severall Sondayes, be his awin opin confessioun, when the said Kirk of Edinburgh sall requyr him; and the thrid Sunday to satisfie the Kirk of Dunemanie, where the offence was committit, suspending all farder correctioun for

<sup>1</sup> [Goodman's character is remarkably displayed in a letter which he had occasion to write to Cecil, wherein he exhorts that statesman to “abolish all the relics of superstition and idolatry which, to the grief and scandal of the godly, are still retained in England; and not to suffer the bloody Bishops and known murderers of God's people to live, on whom God hath expressly pronounced the sentence of death, for the execution of which he hath committed the sword into your hands, who are placed in authority.”—(Tytler, vi. 217.) Happily, the Minister of State was more humane, or more prudent, than the Minister of Religion. As Goodman had more work laid upon him by the General Assembly than he liked, or could easily perform, and as he was often sent to distant parts of Scotland to supply the deficiencies of others, he seems to have grown tired of his situation, for he finally returned to England in the year 1565. Before parting with him, I may add that, in 1558, he had published a book at Geneva, entitled, “How Supreme Powers ought to be obeyed by their Subjects, and wherein they may, by God's Word, be lawfully disobeyed and resisted.” In this Work he, in common with his friend Knox, condemned “the monstrous regiment of women,” and contended for doctrines incompatible with monarchical government, or indeed with any government; which doctrines he held and acted upon while engaged in reforming the Church in Scotland. But when he returned to England, the jealousy of Elizabeth's administration obliged him, as it had previously obliged Knox, to recant his democratical opinions as publicly as he had avowed them. He finally died at Chester, about the year 1602. Fuller (in his Church History, ix. 77,) says of this Reformer, “Well were it if it might be truly said of him what was said of Probus the Emperor, that he was *vir sui nominis*. Sure it is that, living beyond the seas in the days of Queen Mary, he wrote a book stuffed with much dangerous doctrine.” And Collier (ii. 363) says of this book, “It is stuffed with a great deal of scandalous invective against the Queen; and her subjects are incited to rebellion.”—E.]

this present, in hope of his bettir bearing in tymes to come.

“ The haill Assemblie in ane voyce statutis and ordanis that no Minister heirafter receive the parochiners of ane uther paroch to be maried, without a sufficient testimoniall of the Minister of the parish wherfra they came that the bands are lawfullie proclaimit, and na impediment found; sua that the ordour that hes bein tane be the Kirk in sick affairis be dewlie observit, under the payne of deprivation fra his ministrie, tinsell of his stipend, and uther paynes as the Generall Kirk sall heirafter thinke to be enjoynit.

“ Anent the complaint given in be the Superintendent of Fife againis Johne Melvill, Minister of Craill, alledging the said Johne to proceed to the solemnizatioun of mariage betwixt Robert Arnot and Eufame Corstarfin, notwithstanding that ane uther woman claimes the said Robert. The haill Kirk assemblit ordainit ane inhibitioun to pass againis the said Johne, that he in no wayes solemnize the said mariage untill sick tyme as Mr Johne Douglas, Rector of the Universitie, and Mr James Wilkie, Regent, heare the complaints to be given in be the said Superintendent, and any uther partie heavand entresse, and the same to be discussit be them; giveand power to them to give forth sentence according to God's Word, and to use the censures of the Kirk againis the disobeyars.

Calderwood.] “ In the fourth Session [28 December, Reg.] the Assemblie gave commission to Mr John Row, Minister at Sanct Johnston, to visite Kirks, Schools, Colledges, to remove or suspend Ministers, Exhorters, Readers, in Kyle, Carriet, and Cuninghame, as they shall be found offensive or unable to eradicat idolatrie, &c. and the Superintendents of Angus and Fife to supply his place in his absence *alternatim*.

“ Mr Knox was appointed to penn a comfortable letter, in name of the Assemblie, to encourage Ministers, Exhorters, Readers, to continue in their vocation, which in all likelihood they were to leave off, for lack of payment of stipends; and to exhort the Professors within the Realme to supply their necessities. He was appointed likewise to visite, preach, and plant Kirks in the south, where there

was not a Superintendent, and to remain so long as occasion might suffer.

Register.] “ Mr Johne Frude, Minister of Dunemanie, ordainit to satisfie as is before sett downe in the thrid Sessioun, anent Mr Patrick Craich, for his offence specified in the Act of the first Sessioun, suspendand the said Mr Johne fra all functioun in the ministrie in the meane tyme, quhyll the compleiting of the said satisfioun ; and thereafter to returne to his vocatioun and ministrie.

[“ The brethren appointed in the first Session to decide questions, reported the questions and decisions to this Session,—Cald.] It is askit if it be lawfull that a Minister, quhat title or honour that ever he beare, receiving sufficient benefite and provisioun of his flock may leave them and make his common residence in uther places, so that his flock is destitute alsweill of his doctrine and ministrie as of uther confort that the flock sould receive of ane faythfull pastor, notwithstanding that worldlie reasons may seeme to excuse the absence of some? The answer : No Minister of the Evangell of Jesus Chryst, nor no person receiving sufficient living for the preaching of the Evangell, may with safe conscience leave his vocatioun, together with his flock, and the place appointit for his ordinarie residence, quhat permissioun and oversight that ever he hes, be corruptioun of tymes or negligence of rulers sa to doe.

“ If sick as hes once entrit in the ministrie, bein appointit be the Superintendent, and receivit of the peiple, may leave their vocatioun and follow the world, becaus they cannot have a sufficient stipend? The answer : Seing that our Maister Chryst Jesus pronounces that he is but ane mercenarie Shepherd quho, seing the wolfe comeing, flieth for his awin safeguard ; and that the very danger of life cannot be ane sufficient excuse for sick as fall back from Jesus Chryst, we on no wayes thinkis it lawfull that sick as once putts their hand to the plough sall leave that heavinlie vocatioun, and returne to the profane world for indigencie or povertie. Lawfully they may leave ane unthankfull peiple, and seik where Jesus Chryst His holie Evangell may bring forth greater frutt ; but lawfullie they may never change their vocatioun.

Calderwood.] “ Their judgment concerning mariage con-

tracted without consent of parents was referred to farther advisement ; the order prescribed be the Assemblie to Robert Paterson and Janet Littill excepted.

Register.] “ If known murtherers, with convict adulterers, together with sick as committ forcible crymes, may not, upon the noterietie of their fault, be denouncit excommunicat, for declaratioun that the Kirk abhors sick impieties ? The answer : The Kirk may and ought to purge herself of sick notorious malefactoures, provyding that the offenders be lawfullie callit and convict, either be their awin confessioun or witness. The ordour to call them for the slander (for civill things we remitt to the civill magistrate,) we judge to be this ; quensoever sick fearefull crymes are commitit, if it be in the countrey, the Minister, Reidar, or Exhorter of that place ; or if there be nane, the Minister of the place nixt adjacent, aught to give significatioun of the fact to the Superintendent of that Diocye, quho without delay ought to direct his summons, chargeing the personis slanderit to compeir before him at a certain day and place. Or if it be done in townes where ordour is establischt, the Session therof aught to call the accusit offenders, quho if they compeir and either alledge just defence, or schew themselves unfeignedlie penitent, then man the Superintendent, and Kirks reformed without the Superintendent, dispense somequhat with the rigor of the punischment, secluding onlie the offender fra participatioun of the Sacraments till farther tryall of his repentence ; and that baith their diligence and sentence to be publickly pronouncit in the Kirks where the offence is knawin.

“ Bot if the offender be stubborne, as if he compeir not, or schew himself litle touchit with his offence, then aucht the Superintendent, with advyce of the nixt reformat Kirk, to discern him or them to be secludit from all participatioun of Communion with the faithfull members of Jesus Chryst, and to be given to Sathan, to the destructioun of the flesh, quhois slaves be impietie committit and impenitencieschawin, they declare themselves to be ; and their sentence to be published in all places wher the offence is knawin. Iff the personis secludit fra the Sacramentis be negligent in seiking reconciliatioun with the Kirk, behave themselves insolentlie, or utherwayes then it becomes penitent personis ; the Kirk

after admonitioun, may proceed to the uttermost ; for wanton behaviour after iniquitie committit, is ane plaine argument of impenitencie, and negligence to seik reconciliatoun declares that contempt lurkes in the heart, &c.

“ If baptisme be administrat be ane Papist Priest or in the Papistical maner, salbe reiterat ?

“ Quhen sick children comes to zeirs of understanding, they sould be instructit in the doctrine of salvatioun : The corruptioun of Papistrie must be declared to them, quhilk they must publicklye damne before they be admittit to the Lord’s Table ; quhilks if they doe, there needs not the externall signe to be reiterat ; for no Papist ministers baptisme without watter and some forme of word, quhilk are the principalls of the externall signe. We ourselves were baptized be Papists, whose corruptionis and abusus now we damne, cleaving onlie to the simple ordinance of Jesus Chryst, and to the vertue of the holie spirit, quhilks makes baptisme to work in us the proper effects therof, without any reiteratioun of the externall signe. If such children come never to the knowledge of the true doctrine, they are to be left to the judgment of God.

“ Quhat ordour ought to be usit againis sick as oppressis children ? As concerning punischment, the civill magistrate aught therein to discern. As touching the slander, the personis aught to be secludit fra participatioun of the Sacramentis, quhyll they have satisfied the Kirk as they salbe commandit. *Vide 2 Sess. 6 Julij 1568.*

“ Quhat punischment salbe usit againis them that ly in fornicatioun under promise of mariage, quhilk they deferre to solemnizat, and to satisfie be publick repentance for the slander given ? Alsweill the man as the woman, sould publicklye, in the place of repentance, lykwayes satisfie on ane Sonday before they be married.

Calderwood.] “ Mr John Craig, one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, Mr John Douglas, Rector of the Universitie of Sanct Andrews, Mr Robert Maitland, Deane of Aberdein, William Christieson, Minister at Dundie, Mr David Lindsay, Minister at Leith, Mr Gilbert Garden, Minister at Moniefuth, Mr Thomas Mackcalzean, and Mr John Marjoribankes, Commissioners for Edinburgh, were appointed, in the third Session, to collect the heads and causes of the

Publick Fast : They returned in this Session, and declared the necessitie of a publict Fast at this time ; therfor, the Assemblie with ane voice ordained Mr Knox and Mr Craig, Ministers at Edinburgh, to set out the form therof, with the exercise to be used in the same, and to cause Robert Likprevick print it."

Mr Knox, who talks, after his usual manner, very confusedly of this Assembly, affirms that the Superintendents of Lothian and Fife, Mr Row, Minister at Perth, and Mr Lindsay, Minister at Leith, were sent to wait on the King and Queen ; and that by the mouth of Mr Row, they complained of the deficiency of payment of the Ministers stipends, and next they prayed her Majesty to hear disputation between the Ministers and Friars. To which two things, this writer says, the Queen made the following answer, viz. " That sche was always minded that the Ministers sould be paid thair stipends ; and if thare was ony fault tharein, the same came by some of thair awin sort, meaning the Comp-troller Pittarow, quho had the handling of the thirds. Always, by the advice of hir Counsaill, sche sould caus sick ordour to be taken tharein, that none sould have occasioun to complain. As to the secund, sche wald not jeopard hir religioun upoun sick as wer thare present ; for sche knew weill enough that the Protestants wer more learned."

Mr Petrie tells of an Act of Council having been proclaimed on the 28th day of January 1565-6, in name of the King and Queen, (which Act I see no where else mentioned at all) " ordaining that in time coming all small benefices, parsonages, vicarages, and others, extending in yearly rentall to the sum of 300 pound or within, as they shall happen to vaike, shall be always disposed to such persons as the Superintendents and Assembly, after due examination, shall find qualified. And if any Bishoprick, or other Prelacy, as hath the patronage of such benefices, shall happen to vaik, as also of all that are presently vaiking, they shall retain in their hands the disposition of such small benefices, to the effect above written : And if any of them shall be ignorantly disposed otherwise, by this same, that disposition is declared null ; that the keepers of the seals should not admit them, but repute them as privie writings purchased

in defraud. As also, they give and grant unto all burghs, and every one of them within themselves, all the annualls of alterages, chaplanries, and obites, for entertainment of their Ministers ; and the superplus thereof, if any shall be, to bee distribute unto the poore and hospitalls within the burgh, as the almes of Ministers and Elders thereof." Mr Knox was wise enough to conceal this Proclamation : It made not for his purpose.

Before the time of the next General Assembly, we see the following supplication set down by Mr Knox.

" UNTO your Majesty, and your most honourable Counsaill, most humbly and lamentably complains, your Hiehnes poor oratours, the Superintendents and uther Ministers of the reformed Church of God, travelling thorowout all your Hiehnes Realme in teaching and instructing your leiges in all quarters, in the knowledge of God, and Christ Jesus His Son ; that quher your Majesty, with advice of the Counsaill and Nobility afoirsaid, moved by godly zeal, concluded and determined that the travelling Ministry thorowout this Realme sould be mantained upon the rents of the benefices of this Realme in Scotland ; and for that caus your Majesty, with the advice of the Counsaill and Nobility afoirsaid, upoun the 15th day of December 1562, in like manner concluded and determined that if the said part of the rents of the hole benefices ecclesiasticall within this Realme would be sufficient to mantein the Ministers thorowout the hole Realme, and to support your Majesty in the setting fordwart of your comoun affairs, sould be imployed accordingly ; failing thareof, the third part of the said fruits or more, to be taken up yeirly in tyme cuming, untill a generall ordour be taken tharein, as the Act maid thareupoun at more length bears. Which being efterward considered by your Majesty, the hole thirds of the fruits afoirsaid wer propounded to the uses afoirsaid, by Act of Counsaill. And we, your Majesties poor oratours, put in peaceable possession of the part assigned by your Majesty to us, by the space of thrie yeirs or thareabouts, which we did enjoy without interruption ; notwithstanding all this, now of late we, your Majesties poor oratours afoirsaid, ar put wrongfully and unjustly from thair afoirsaid part of the above specified thirds, by your

Majesties officers, and thareby brought to sick extreme penury and extreme distres, as we ar not able ony langer to mantein ourselfis. And albeit we have given in divers and sundry complaints to your Majesty herein, and have receaved divers promises of redres ; yit have we found no relief ; tharefoir we most humbly beseech your Majesty to consider our most greivous complaint, togidder with the richt above specified, quhareon the same is grounded. And if your Majesty, with advice of your Counsaill afoirsaid, finds our richt sufficient to continue us in possessioun of our part assigned to us, while and untill a generall ordour be taken ; quhilk possessioun was ratified by the yeirly allowance of your Majestie's exchequer's accompt, that your Majesty would grant us letters, upoun the afoirsaid Act and Ordinance past thareupoun, against all intromettours and medlers with the afoirsaid thirds, to answer and obey, according to the afoirsaid Act and Ordinance of our possessioun proceeding thareupoun. And lykewise that we may have letters, if need be, to arrest and stay the afoirsaid thirds in the possessours hands, while and till sufficient cautioun be found to us, for our part afoirsaid. And your answer maist humbly we beseech."

" This supplicatioun (adds Mr Knox) being presented by the Superintendent of Lowthian, and Mr Johne Craig, in the Castell of Edinburgh, was graciously receaved by the Quene, quho promised that sche would tak sufficient ordour tharein, sa soon as the Nobility and Counsaill might convene."

## CHAPTER V.

CONTAINING ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS FROM THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE IN THE MONTH OF JUNE 1566, TILL THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE WITH THE EARL OF BOTHWELL IN THE MONTH OF MAY 1567.

THE Queen's time being now fully come, and all things prepared for her lying-in in the Castle of Edinburgh, as hath been already narrated in the Civil Part, her Majesty was happily delivered of a Prince, just before the meeting of the Kirk Assembly this summer; on which emergent, Archbishop Spottiswoode acquaints us,<sup>1</sup> that his father, "the Superintendent of Lothian, was sent by them to testifie their gladness for the Prince's birth, and withall, to desire that he should be baptized according to the form used in the Reformed Church. This their desire received no answer, otherwise the Superintendent and his Commission were graciously accepted; for the Queen calling to bring the infant, gave him into his arms; and he falling upon his knees, and conceiving a short but most pithy prayer, was very attentively heard by her. The Superintendent, upon the close of his prayer, speaking of the child, willed him to say Amen for himself, which she took in so good part, as continually after she called the Superintendent her Amen. This story told to the Prince when he came to the years of understanding, he also called him after the same manner, and whilst he lived, did respect and reverence him as his spiritual father."

*Twelfth General Assembly.*

Register.] "The Generall Assemblie of the Kirk haldin

<sup>1</sup> This is taken from the MS., which also bears the birth of the Prince to have been between the hours of nine and ten in the forenoon, contrary to the print; which shews that the Archbishop has not been mistaken as to the time of the day when the birth happened; but it is remarkable that forenoon is scored out and evening set above it by the bad writer who, I have told in the Appendix, has meddled himself in detracting from this MS., and from this correction the print has inserted evening in place of forenoon.

in Edinburgh within the Counsell-House therof, the 25 day of Junij 1566.—In the quhilk were present Erles, Lords, Barons, of the Privie Counsell, viz. Erle of Huntlie, Chancellor, and Erle of Argyle; Alexander of Galloway, Adam of Orkney, ane of the Sessioun, Johne, Commendater of Lundoires, Johne Balfour of Pittendreich, Knycht, with the Superintendents, Ministers, and Commissioners for townes and particular Kirks. The invocatioun of the name of God made be Mr Johne Craig, Minister of Edinburgh.

“ First, For eschewing of confusioun in reasoning, and to the effect that every brother speake with sick modestie and measure as becumis the Ministers of God’s Word to doe. With the assent of the whole Assemblie Johne Erskine of Dun, Knycht, Superintendent of Angus and Mernes, was continuat Moderator, who was content for the present to use the office.

Calderwood.] “ In the tryall of Superintendents, the Superintendent of Fife confessed his own inabilityie to discharge the office, and desired the Assemblie to denude him of it.

“ Mr Johne Douglas, Rector of the Universitie of Sanct Andrews, Mr George Hay, Minister of Ruthven, Mr George Buchanan, Mr Robert Pont, and Mr Robert Hamiltoun, were appointed to sit apart at set times, to receave and decide questions, and to report the decisions to the Assemblie.

Register.] “ Ordaines that some of the brethren, in name of the haill Kirk, make supplicatioun to the Secreit Counsell and Sessioun of Justice, that no excommunicat person have any proces before their Honours unto the tyme they be reconcileit to the Kirk, cheiffie quhen it is notour and objectit againis.

“ Anent the supplicatioun presentit be this Assemblie in name of Robert, Commendater of Halierudehouse, schawand in effect how it was not unknowin to their wisdomes that he had diverse godlie and learned men of his awin place of Halierudehouse, sick as Alexander Forrester and Peeter Blakwood, quho are men of good conversatioun and literature, were receivit and admittit be the Kirk in the ministrie; and how he had diverse Kirks pertaining to the said Kirk, as the Kirks of Tranent and Sanct Cuthbert, and alledgit that most decent and convenient it were that his saids Kirks should be served be the servants of the said Abbey; hairfor

requestit most earnestlie that the Kirk presentlie assemblit sould transport Mr Thomas Cranstoun and William Harlaw, now Ministers of his saids Kirks, and place them at some uther Kirk, as sould be thocht good be the hail Assembly to appoint them, and to place his saids servants at his saids Kirks as Ministers, there to be servit be them in tyme cumeing, as in the said requeist at lenth was contenit.

“ The Kirk haveing rypelie considerit the said supplication, advyseit therupon, causit call before them some of the Eldaris of the said parochines, and diligentlie enquired if they had any fault to lay againis their Ministers; or if they wald be content that they sould be transportit frae them? Answer was given, that they had no cryme nor fault to their Ministers, but that they were bettir contentit with them than they wald be with any uther quho could be presentit to them; and attour, on naway wald be content that any of them sould be transportit from them: Therfor the Kirk presentlie assemblit on naway could condescend to the transportation of any of them, for the respects befor rehearsit, bot brotherlie requestit the said Lord Commendator to provyde for some uther godlie Ministers, for some uthers of his Kirks quhilks are altogether destitute of preaching of the true Word of God, the speciall food of their souls, quhilk they doubt not but his Lordschip will doe, for discharge of his awin conscience.<sup>1</sup>

Calderwood.] “ It is ordained that a requeist be written and sent to the Noblemen in whose bounds some Popish Priests haunted and remained, and abused the Sacraments, and celebrated marriages for luere.

Register.] “ Session second, 26 Junij. The hail Assembly, in respect of the perils and dangers wherewith the Kirk of God is assaultit, and that be the mightie

<sup>1</sup> [This surely was a most reasonable request, that the wealthy Commendator of Holyrood (the Lord Robert Stewart, who was himself a Reformer) should, out of his ample ecclesiastical revenues, support the Ministers of the parishes belonging to his Abbey. And yet, in the “ Booke of the Universal Kirk,” under the year 1570, we find all the Kirks belonging to that Abbey, twenty-seven in number, “ are decayit, and made some sheep-falds, and some sa ruinous that none dare enter into them for fear of falling, especially Halyrudhouse; although the Bishop of Sanct Andrews, in time of Papistry, sequestrat the hail rentis of the said Abbacy, becaus only the glassen windows were not holden up and repairit.”—E.]

enemies, concludit a Generall Fast to be published throughout this Realme in all the Kirks reformeit, &c.

Calderwood.] “ A publick Fast was appointed to be holden on the two last Sabbaths of Julie nixt, — and the Communion to be ministred upon the said Lord’s Days, if it may be done convenientlie.

Register.] “ Anent the supplicatioun given in be Paul Methven, makeand ane lang rehearsall of his miserable estate ; the supplicatioun presentit in his name to the Generall Assemblie haldin in Edinburgh in December 1564 ; of the estate of the answer therto from the said Assemblie ; of his lang and tedious journey out of Ingland to Scotland, and impediments that chanced him by the way : Finallie, requiests for ane of thir twa ; that is, either to suspend excommunicating of the Kirk for a tyme, and receive him in the fellowschip of the same as ane poore scheip, upon ane condition where evir he chances to be, upon halfe ane zeiris warning, he salbe bund to returne againe at command of the Kirk, and obey sick injunctiouns as they wald command him to doe ; or if the Kirk pleasit not this petition, then to committ his answer to sick as the Kirk sould please appoint, whose judgement and determinatioun, as his bodie nicht beare, he promiseit be God’s grace most humblie to obey. Finallie, all counsels that have followit heirtofair, and himself, most humblie he submittit to the judgement of the present Assemblie, as in the said supplicatioun at lenth was contenit. Last of all it was ordainit that he present himself personallie before the Assemblie, and being entrit, prostrate himself before the whole brethren with weipeing and houleing ; and commandit to ryse, might not expresse farder his requiest, being, as appeirit, so sore troublit with anguisch of heart : Was desyrit to be of good confort, and depart to his ludging, quhyll ordour were tane anent his requiest. And forsameikle as in the said Assemblie haldin in December 1564, it was concludit to receive him to repentance, now restit to conclude upon the maner therof, what he sould doe, when and where ; and for that purpose was appointit the Superintendent of Fyfe, Mr Johne Douglas, Rector of Sanct Andrews, David Forrest, Mr George Hay, Minister of Ruthven, Mr Johne Craig, Minister of Edinburgh, John Row, of Sanct Johnstone, William Chrystesone

of Dundie, and Adam Heriott of Aberdeine, Ministers; that they, sevin or sixe of them, sould conveine the morne at sevin houres before noon, and appoint and take ordour in the premissis; and whatsumevir they doe heiranent, to signifie the same to the Superintendent of Lowthiane, and Session of the Kirk of Edinburgh, and ordaines them to put the Commissioners' ordinance to executioun; and als ordains that the said Paul Methven obey the same according to their directions: And ordainis that the saids Superintendents and Kirk of Edinburgh delyver the said ordinance to the Scribe of the Generall Assemblie, that he may insert the same among uther Acts of the Generall Assemblie, for ane remembrance to the posteritie.

*“ Questions and their Answers.*

“ First, it is asked, If any man contract mariage with ane woman once married, and her husband departing fra her to uther countreys, and being absent nine or ten zeiris together, the woman having no testimoniall of his death, or not? Answerit, The woman desyreing to marie, aught to seik, or caus to seik, quhidder her first husband be dead or not, and to report ane sufficient testimoniall of his death or ever scho may joyne herself to ane uther husband.

“ Quhidder if any person seikand donatioun or confirmatioun of benefices at the Pope's Kirk, may be admittit to minister in the Kirk of God? Answerit, That sick a person aught not to be admittit to the ministrie, as the question is conceivit.

Calderwood.] “ Whether a Minister may enjoy a benefice sufficient for his sustentation, where he travelleth not in the preaching of the Word? It was answered, That he ought to travell in the Word where he receaveth his sustentation, unless the Kirk appoint otherwise.

Register.] “ The Commissioners appointit be the Generall Assemblie for ordouring of Paul Methven his repentance, &c.<sup>1</sup> In consideratioun of the said Paul's lamentable supplicatioun to the Kirk, humble submissioun of himselfe to the same, and his absence out of this Realme for the space of twa

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood inserts this that follows as a preamble, viz. “ The Commissioners appointed to set down the Order of his [Paul Methven's] Repentance, reported the same to Mr John Gray, Scribe of the Assemblie, in the tenour as followeth.”

zeiris or mair; ordaines the Ministrie of Edinburgh, that he, upon ane Sunday after sermon, notifie unto the peiple the said Paul his supplicatioun, and how the Generall Assemblie hes ordainit to receive him to repentance, with the conditions under wryttin: And therfor to admonisch all faithfull brethren that they, within the nixt aucht days, notifie to the said Ministrie of Edinburgh, if any of them hes any knowledge, or are surelie informit of the said Paul his conversatioun and behaviour since his departure forth of this Realme, whilk might impeded his receiving to repentance; whilk salbe on this maner, viz. The said Paul, upon the said twa preaching dayes betwixt the Sundays, sall come to the Kirk doore of Edinburgh when the second bell rings, clad in sackeloth, baireheidit and bairefootit, and there remaine quhyll he be brocht in to the sermoun, and placeit in the publick spectakill above the peiple in tyme of every sermoun during the said twa dayes; and in the nixt Sunday thereafter sall compeir in lyke maner, and in the end of the sermoun sall declare signes of his inward repentance to the peiple, humblie requyring that Kirkes forgiveness; quhilk done, he salbe clad in his awin apparell, and receivit in the societie of the Kirk as ane livelie member therof: And this same ordour to be observit in Dundie and Jedbruch, alwayes secluding him fra any functioun of the ministrie of the Kirk, and also from participatioun of the table of the Lord Jesus, unto the 25 of December nixt to come, when the Generall Assemblie of the Kirk conveyns; unto the quhilk they ordaine the said Paul to resort, bring-and with him sufficient testimoniall from authentique persons of these places where he, in the meane tyme, sall chance to remaine, reportand his conversatioun and behaviour; at the quhilk time the Kirk sall take farder ordour what salbe done anent him.<sup>1</sup>

Calderwood.] “ Mr John Craig, Minister of Edinburgh, desired that John Carnes, who had read prayers<sup>2</sup> and exhorted four yeirs and more in Edinburgh, and had weil

<sup>1</sup> [It is improbable that Methven submitted to this severe penance. Indeed very few constitutions could have withstood it. He is supposed to have returned immediately to England, where the scandal against him was little known.—E.]

<sup>2</sup> This sounds harsh with some people now-a-days; but we see that neither Forms nor Reading of Prayers was thought odious at that time.

profited, so that he was now able to be admitted to the ministrie, might be joyned with him as colleague in the Kirk of Edinburgh, in respect he was alone; the Assemblie ordained the Kirk of Edinburgh, with the assistance of the Superintendent of Louthian, to consider whether he were fit and sufficient for that place, or some other."

Mr Knox speaks here again of a new complaint by the Ministers for not payment of their assignments, and of a supplication to the Queen for that effect; wherein, he says, the Bishop of Galloway, uncle to the Earl of Huntly, travelled much with the Queen, and got of her Majesty a good answer and fair promises.

And here this writer takes occasion to add thus, "A few yeirs befor, the said Bischop of Galloway desired of the Generall Assembly to be maid Superintendent of Galloway; bot now being promoted to grit dignity, as to be of the number of the Lords of Privy Counsaill, and lykewise one of the Sessioun, he would no more be called Overlooker or Overseer of Galloway, bot Bischop."

In the month of September this year there was a meeting of several Ministers upon this following occasion: "The Churches of Geneva, Berne, and Basill, with uther reformed Churches of Germany and France, sent to the hole Church of Scotland the sum of the Confessioun of thair Fayth, desyring to know if they agreed in uniformity of doctrine, alledging that the Church of Scotland was dissonant in some Artickles from thame. Quharefoir the Superintendents, with a grit part of the uther most qualified Ministers, convened in September in Sanct Androis; and reading the said letters, maid answer, and sent word agane, that they agreed in all points with those Churches, and differed in nothing from them: Albeit in the keeping of some festival-days our Church assented not, for only the Sabbath-day was kept in Scotland." This from Mr Knox.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [It did not perhaps occur to our Reformers that they were as much bound to keep the above holy days as to keep the first day of the week, since both rest exclusively on the practice of the Church Catholie from the Apostolic age. Besides, all Christians are equally concerned in the events which those days are designed to commemorate. Not only did they refuse to keep those days themselves, but they punished those who did so. In the Records of the General Assembly for 1577, we

In compliance with the supplication offered to the Queen, in behalf of the Ministers, the following Act of Privy-Council was emitted.

“ *Edinburgh, 3 October 1566.*

“ *SEDERUNT—Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Archibaldus Ergadiæ Comes, Jacobus Moraviæ Comes, Jacobus Comes de Bothuill, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Georgius Comes de Caithnes, Andreas Comes de Rothés; Joannes Archiepiscopus Sti Andreæ; Alexander Episcopus Candidæ Casæ, Joannes Episcopus Rossen, Adam Episcopus Orchaden, Robertus Episcopus Dunkelden; Commissarii Burgorum, Edinburgh, Dundie, Aberdein, Striviling, Perth, St Androis, Lithgow, Haddington; Thesaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciaræ, Advocatus.*

“ *Small Benefices for the Ministeris.*

“ THE quhilk day, forsamekill as the King and Quenis Majesties hes understude and considderit that the Ministeris stipends, quhilks necessarlie mon be payit furth of the thrids of the benefices, extends to sic a soun that the saids thrids is nocht abyll bayth to sustein the chargeis of thair Majesties hous, attour the rent of thair propertie; as alswa to sustein the saids Ministeris: And after gude deliberatioun takin how that may be susteint with leist charges and expensis, thair Hienesses hes found it maist convenient, and als with advyis of the Lordis of thair Secreit Counsaill, statutis and ordanis, that in tyme cuming all small benefices, parsonages, vicarages, and utheris, extending in yearly rentall to the soun of 300 merks, or within, as thai sall happin to vaik, sall alwayis be disponit to sic personis as the Superintendentis and Assemblie of the Kirk, after dew examina-

find the following question and answer:—“ Q. What shall be done to Ministers and Readers, that at such times in Lent, or upon Saints' days, as they call them, or Yule (Christmas), and Pasch (Easter), and such superstitious times, read, preach, or minister the Communion, to retain the people in blindness? A. The Visitor, with the Synodal Assembly, ought to admonish such Minister or Reader to desist and abstain therefrom, under pain of deprivation; and if they disobey, to *deprive them.*” How strange that a community calling itself Christian, should punish its members for commemorating the birth, crucifixion, and resurrection of their Saviour!—E.]

tioun, sall find abill, qualifiet and sufficient, and thairafter nominat and presentit to thair Majesties; quhilks being so nominat and presentit, thair Hienesses sall admit thame, and be thair autoritie caus thame be answerit of the frutis and dewties of the saids benefices: Attour, whensoever ony Bischoprick, Abbacie, Pryorie, or uthir Prelacie, that hes the patronage of sic small benefices, sall happin to vaik and fall to thair Majesties dispositioun and presentatioun, as lykewayis of all thame that are presentlie vacand; thair Hienesses promittis, *in verbo principum*, that thai sall alwayis retein in thair awin handis the power and titill of the dispositioun of the said small benefices, to the effect above wryttin, and sall caus the personis to quhome thair Majesties disponis the saids Prelacies and grit benefices, consent thairto befor thair Majesties mak ony rycht of the principall to thame: And in caice it sall happin thair Majesties ignorantlie, or uthirwayis, to gift or dispone ony of the saids small benefices, be gift, presentatioun, or uthirwayis, contrair this present Act and Ordinance, and ony wayis prejudiciall to the samyn; thair Majesties expressitlie commands thair Comptrollar present and tocum, his clerkis and collectouris, the reiparis of the Signet, Privie Seall and Greit Seall, and all utheris thair Hienesses officiaris, legeis and subdittis, that thai on na wayis admit, allow, obtempir or obey ony sic gift or presentatioun, or to pass the samyn throw the Sealls, or grant letteris in the four forms hair-upoun, bot to hald, repute and esteim thame as previe writtingis, purchest in defraud and prejudice of this present lovabill Act and publict Ordinance, notwithstanding of ony charge or command gevin, or to be gevin in the contrair, quhairunto thir presentis sall serve thame for a sufficient warrand. And siclyk, thair Majesties ordanis and requiris the Lordis of Counsall and Sessioun on na wayis to admit, allow, or attend to ony gift, provisioun or presentatioun of quhatsumevir small benefices of the value above wryttin, disponit be thair Majesties, or uthirwayis, quhair the samyn is repugnant or contrarious to this present Act and Ordinance, and nocht disponit to qualifiet personis apt for the ministrie, examinatt and admittit be the Superintendentis Kirkis, in maner foirsaid; and that letteris be direct for publicatioun heirof in dew form as effeiris.” “ R. M.”

And in the month of December following, the Queen made this assignation in favour of the Ministers.

REGINA.—*Assignatioun for the Ministrie.*

“ FORSAMEKILL as the Ministeris within our Realme this haill yeir bigane [bygone] hes wantit thair stipends, in respect of sundry occasionis that hes intervenit; yit becaus we ar myndit and weill willit that the said ministrie be sustenit and intertenit in tyme cuming as effeiris: Thairfoir, with advyis of our Secreit Counsall, hes tane sic ordour as we mycht best for the present, and hes assignit for sustentatioun of the ministerie, certane victualls and money in sundry places and countries, to be tane up and disponsit be the said ministerie, and thair Collectouris or Chalmerlains, as thai sall think maist expedient, extending to the soun of 10,000 libs. money, and 400 chalderis victuall, as the particular assignationis maid thairupoun mair fully proports. We therefore, be advyis of our Counsall foirsaid, ordanis and decernis that the said ministerie and thair Collectouris and Chalmerlains quhatsumevir, be thankfullie answerit and obeyit in the haill payment, alsweill of money as victuall foirsaid, throwout our haill Realme, quhairsoevir the samyn, or ony part thair of, is assignit; and letteris thairupoun to be decernit and gevin furth, owther of horning or poinding respective, as the said ministerie sall think expedient and requir: Commanding expreslie our Clerk of Register and Comptrollar, and all utheris quhome it effeiris, or salbe requireit thairto, to deliver the authentick copyis and extract of the said assignatioun to the ministerie, with express inhibitioun to our Comptrollar, or ony uthir Chalmerlainis, to intromett or mell [medle] ony maner of way with the saids assignationis, or ony pairt thair of, under all heich pains that may follow thairupoun. Subscrivit with our hand at Striviling the 20 day of December, the year of God 1566 zeiris, and of our reign the twenty-fourth year, 1566.” “ R. M.”

To this Act by the Queen, the Lords of Privy-Council interponed their authority in the following manner:—

“ *Striviling, 21 December, 1566.*

“ THE Lordis of Secreit Counsall hes sein and considerit

the Quenis Majesties writting within written, and findis the samyn resonabill and convenient : And thairfoir, according to our Soveranis will and mynd within declarit, ordanis and requiris the Comptrollar and Clerk of Register to deliver the authentick copyes and extract of the assignationis within specifiet, to the Ministeris : And siclyk ordanis and requiris the Lordis of Counsall and Sessioun to grant letteris in the four formes, with inhibitioun as is within disponit ; and the Comptrollar present and to cum to consent thairto, upoun the saids assignationis in generall or particular, as salbe desyrit in dew forme as effeiris.” “ R. M.”

*Thirteenth General Assembly.*

Register.] “ The General Assemblie of the Kirk haldin in Edinburgh in the nether Counsell-house therof, upon the 25 day of December 1566 : In the quhilk were present the Superintendents, Ministers, and Commissioners of Shyres, Towns, and Kirks. The invocatioun of God’s name made be Mr Johne Craig, Minister of Edinburgh.

“ In the first, for ordour to be observit in reasoning, and that every brother speake to his purpose in sick measure as it becomes the Ministers of God’s Word to doe ; Johne Erskine of Dune, Superintendent of Angus and Mernes, was continuit Moderator, wherof he was content.

Calderwood.] “ In the first Session, beside the triell of the Superintendents, we find that James Knox, Reader in Bathgate, was censured for baptizing of bairns and solemnizing of mariage, he being but a simple Reader, and taking money for the same from such as were without the parochie.

Register.] “ Scession second, 26 December. Anent the assignatioun of the pensioun of money and victuals offerit be the Quenis Majestie and her most honourable Counsell, for the sustentatioun of the Ministers within this Realme ; and the hail brethren present requyreit the Ministers being in the Session to pass foorth of the Assemblie, and with mature deliberatioun to consult and advyse with the said consultatioun, whether they sall think it good to accept the same for reliefe of their present necessitie or not. After lang reasoning and mutual conference anent the said assignation, returneing again in the Assemblie, thought it good for support of the Minister’s necessitie, to accept of the said

offer of money and victuals, if they might be gotten hastilie : Nottheles, in consideratioun of the law of God, ordaines the persons who heirs the doctrine of salvatioun at the mouthes of His Ministers, and therby receives speciall food to the nourischment of their saules, to communicat temporall sustentatioun on the Preachers. Their answer is, that having just title to crave the bodilie food at the hands of the forsaid persons, and finding na uthers bound unto them, they only requyre at their awin flock, that they will sustaine them according to their bunden duetic, and what it sall please them to give them for their sustentatioun, if it were but bread and water ; neither will they refuse it nor desist from their vocation. But to take from utheris contrair their will, whom they serve not, they judge it not their duetic, nor zet reasonable : Alwayes they most heartlie thank the Lords that bestowit their labours and paines in purchasing the forsaid assignatioun ; most heartlie requesting their honoures to persevere quhyll they bring it to some perfectioun. Nevertheless the hail Assemblie solemnitie protestit that this acceptatioun of the forsaid assignatioun for the releife as said is, prejudices not the libertie of the Kirk to sute for that thing that justlie pertaineth to the patrimonie of the same in tyme and place convenient, in any tyme hereafter.

Calderwood adds,] “ The Assemblie appointed Alexander, Bishop of Galloway, Mr John Spotswood, Superintendent of Louthian, the Lairds of Carden and Keir, to repaire to Stirline, and to sollicite for the extract of the said assignation from the Comptroller and Clerk-Register, that letters may be raised thereupon ; and that they report their answer to the Session at Edinburgh, that the Commissioners which are to be appointed for division of the said assignation may be advertised. The Commissioners were chosen and appointed to conveen at Edinburgh, within ten days after advertisement, to divide the said assignation of money and victuals among Ministers, Exhorters, and Readers, according to their discretion.

Register.] “ The same day were proponit thir Questionis under writtin, and answers given therto as followes :—

“ Whether if the teynds properlie pertaines to the Kirk, and sould only be applyit to the Ministers, sustentatioun to

the poore, maintaining of schooles, repairing of Kirks, and uther godlie uses, at the discretioun of the Kirk? Answerit affirmative without contradictioun.

“*Secondlie.* If the teyndis pertaines to the Kirk, and aught to be imployit to sick godlie uses as said is, whether if the Ministers, who are the mouth of the Kirk, may with safe conscience keep silence, seing the patrimonie of the Kirk most unjustlie tane up, and wastit in vaine things be sick persons as beares no office in the Kirk of God; and in the meane tyme the ministrie ceasand for necessitie, the poore perisching for hunger, schooles decayand, and Kirks falland to the ground, &c.? Answerit, they ought not to keip silence, but earnestlie admonisch every man of his duetie; and desyres all men to sute for that quhilk pertaines justlie to the sustaining of the things forsaidis, &c.

“*Thirdlie.* Whether if the Kirk may justlie requyre of all possessours the teyndis to be payit to the Kirk onlie, and inhibite all uthers to intronett therwith; and in cace of disobedience, what ordour salbe usit be the Kirk againis them? Answerit, after dew admonitioun usit and no obedi-  
ence found, to use the censures of the Kirk.<sup>1</sup>

“Session third, 27 December. Anent Mr Knox’s request to pass to the Realme of England to visite his children, and to doe his uther business; the haille Assemblie grantit gladlie licence, with letters testimonials of his honest conversatioun and godlie doctrine within this Realme, with provisioun as is contentit in the saidis letters: The tenour wherof followes:

“‘The Superintendents, Ministers, and Commissioners of Kirks within the Realme of Scotland presentlie assemblit; to all and sundrie faithfull brethren to whose knowledge thir presents sall come, wischeth grace, mercie, and peace from God the Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ; witt zour Universities that our loving brother Johne Knox, bearer of thir presents, hes bein and is ane true and faithfull Minister of the Evangell of Jesus Chryst within this Realme of Scotland, continually within thir eight zears bygan, or therabout, in doctrine pure and sincere, in lyfe and conversatioun in our sight inculpable, and hes so fruitfully usit that talent grantit to him be the Eternall, to the advancement of the

<sup>1</sup> [All this, however, was of no avail. The lion had got his share, and refused to part with it.—E.]

glorie of His godlie name, to the propagatioun of the kingdome of Jesus Chryst, and edifying of them who heard his preaching, that of duetie we most heartlie praise His godlie majestie, for that so great ane benefit grantit unto him for our utilitie and profite. And because he, for the naturall love and affectioun he beares to his children, now being within the Realme of Ingland, and favour to utheris his brethren and allya, gentlie requeistit us to grant him licence for ane season, to repaire toward the said Realme of Ingland, for the causis above mentionat: We, after mutuall conference in full Assemblie, thocht this petition just and reasonable; and therfor all in ane voyce grants licence to our said brother, according to the Quenis Majesties conduct, to passe to the said Realme, for purposes forspoken, and utheris his lawfull affaires, what tyme he sall think most commodious for his journey; provyding lykwayes that he returne to this Realme of Scotland befor the 25 of the moneth of Junij nixt insewing, to continue in his former vocation, and na utherwayes. And this we make known to all and sundrie to whom it effeiris, be thir our letters testimonials, given at Edinburgh in our Generall Assemblie, and third Sessioun therof, subscriyvit be the Clerk of the same the 27 of December.'

"Attour, ordainit ane letter to be directit to the Bischops of Ingland, that they wald be content gentlie to handle the brethren preachers, touching the habits, surpeloathes, and uther abulziements, quhilk appearantlie tends more to superstition nor to edificatioun; and requeists Mr Knox to putt the heids in wryte quhilkis he thinks necessar to be wrytin to the saids Bischops: The tenour wherof followes.

"'The <sup>1</sup> Superintendents, Ministers, and Commission-

<sup>1</sup> Because there is some variation in Archbishop Spottiswood's introduction of this letter betwixt the print and the MS. I give the same here according to the MS. "This Assembly, upon information given them of the too rigorous handling of certain preachers in England for the refuse of the corner-cap and surplice, sent a letter to the Bishops of that Church, entreating that a more favourable course might be taken with them in these particulars; which letter I thought meet here to insert, that the present age might know in what account that Church was with our first Reformers, and how far off they were from esteeming the Bishops of England and their government antichristian, which some that afterwards arose, and would seem to have seen farther than others, did perswade their followers."

ers of Kirks within the Realme of Scotland ; to their brethren the Bishops and Pastours of England, who hes renounced the Romane Antichryst, and does professe with them the Lord Jesus in sinceritie, desyres the perpetuall increase of the Holie Spirit ; by word and write it is come to our knowledge, Reverend Pastours, that diverse of our dearest brethren, among whom are some of the best lernit within that Realme, are depyryt fra ecclesiasticall functioun, and forbiddin to preach, and so by zou are stayed to promote the kingdome of Chryst, becaus their conscience will not suffer them to take upon them, at the commandement of the authoritie, sick garments as idolaters in the tyme of blyndnes have usit in the tyme of idolatrie ; quhilk brute cannot be but most dolorous to our hearts, myndfull of that sentence of the Apostle, saying, ‘ If ze byte and devore ane another, take heid leist ze be consumit ane of another.’ We purpose not at this present to entir upon the ground quhilk we heare of either partie to be aggregit with greater vehemencie then well lykes us, to witt, whether sick apparell be to be countit amongs things that is simple and indifferent, or not ; bot in the bowells of Chryst Jesus we crave that Christian charitie may so far prevail in zou, we say, the pastours and leaders of the flock in that Realme, that ze doe not to utheris that quhilk ze wold utheris did not to zou. Ze cannot be ignorant how tendir a thing the conscience of man is : All that have knowledge are not alyke persuadit, zet conscience reclaimes not at the wearing of sick garments. Bot many thousands both godlie and lernit, are to thir wayes persuadit, whose consciences are continually strickin with thir sentences ; ‘ Quhat hes Chryst Jesus to doe with Beliall ? ’ ‘ Quhat hes darknes adoe with licht ? ’ If surpeclaiths, cornett-cap and tippett hes bein badges of idolaters in the verie act of their idolatrie, quhat hes the preacher of Christian libertie, and the oppin rebuker of all superstition to doe with the dregs of that Romish beast ? Zea what is he that ought not to feare either to take in his hand or fairheid the print and marke of that odious beast ? Our brethren that in conscience refuses that unprofitable apparell, does neither damne nor molest zou that use sick vaine trifles : If ze sall doe the lyke to them, we doubt not but therein ze sall please God, and confort the hearts of many quhilk are

woundit with the extremitie that is useit against these godlie and our belovit brethren. Colour of rhetorick, or manlie persuasioun, will we use none; but charitablie we desyre zou to call that sentence of Peeter to mynd, ‘ Feede the flocke of God quhilk is committit to zour charge, careing for it; not be constraint, bot willinglie; not as thogh ze were lords over God’s heritage, bot that ze may be ensamples to the flocke.’ And farther also, we desyre zou to meditate on that sentence of the Apostle, saying, ‘ Give none offence, neither to the Jewes, nor to the Greceans, nor to the Kirk of God.’ In what conditioun of tyme ze and we both travell in the promoting of Chryst’s kingdome, we suppose zou not to be ignorant; and therfor we are more bold to exhort zou to walk more circumspectlie, then that for sick vanities the godlie sould be troublit: For all things that may seime lawfull, edifie not. Iff the commandement of the autoritie urge the conscience of zou and of our brethren farther then they can beare, we unfainedly crave of zou, that ze remember that ze are callit ‘ the lycht of the world, and the salt of the earth:’ All civill autoritie hes not the lycht of God alwayes schyning befor the eyes in their statutes and commandements, bot their affectiouns savour over meikle of the earth and of worldlie wisdom, and therfor we think ze sould boldlie oppone zour selves to all that power that will or darre extoll itself, not onlie againis God, bot also againis all sick as darre burdein the consciences of the faithfull, farther then God hes burdenit them be His awin Word. Bot heirin we may confesse our offence, in that we have entrit farther in reasoning then we purposed and promised at the beginning, and therfor we schortlie returne to our former humble supplicatioun, quhilk is, that our brethren who among zou refuse the Romish ragges, may find of zou, the Prelates, sick favour as our heid and maister commands every ane of His members to schew to another; quhilk we looke to receive of zour gentleness, not only for that ze feare to offend God’s Majestie, in troubling of zour brethren for sick vaine trifles, bot also becaus ze will not refuse the humble requeist of us, zeur brethren and fellow-preachers, in whom albeit there appeir not great worldlie pompe, zet we suppose that ze will not so farre despyse us, bot that ze will esteime us to be of the number of them that fights againis that Roman Anti-

chryst, and travell that the kingdome of Jesus Chryst may be universallie advanceit. The dayes are ill, iniquitie abounds, Christian charitie alas is waxen cold; and therfor we ought the more diligentlie to watche, for the houre is uncertaine when the Lord Jesus sall appeir, befor whom ze, zour brethren, and we, must give account of our administratioun. And this in conclusioun, we anes agane crave favours to our brethren; quhilk grantit, ze in the Lord sall command us things of double more importance. The Lord Jesus rule zour hearts in true feare to the end, and give unto zou and us victorie over that conjured enemie of all true religioun, to witt, over that Roman Antichryst, whose woundit head Sathan preases by all meanes to cure againe; bot to destruction sall he and his maintainers goe, by the power of the Lord Jesus, to whose mightie protectioun we heartlie committ zou. From Edinburgh, out of our Generall Assemblie, and thrid Sessioun therof, the 27 of December 1566. Zour loving brethren and fellow-preachers in Chryst Jesus.'

Calderwood subjoins the subscriptions thus, "John Craig, James Melvill, Robert Pont, Will. Christeson, Nicol Spittle, John Row, David Lindsay, Johne Areskine, John Winrhame, John Spotswood.

Register.] "Ordaines ane humble supplicatioun to be made to the Lords of Secreit Counsell, anent the commissioun of jurisdictioun supponit grantit to the Bishop of Sanct Androes,<sup>1</sup> to the effect that their honours stay the

<sup>1</sup> Concerning this matter, Archbishop Spottiswood says, "Yet were they [the Assembly] most grieved with a commission granted to the Archbishop of St Andrews, whereby he was reponed to his ancient jurisdiction, in confirming testaments, giving collation of benefices, and other such things as were judged in the Spiritual Courts." And after this Prelate has given an abridgment of the supplication presented to the Lords by the Assembly, he subjoins, "I find not what answer it received, nor that the Bishop made any use of his commission." But, with submission, I can't but observe that the Bishop has undoubtedly exereed that commission, as namely, in trying and giving sentence in the divorce of the Earl of Bothwell in the month of May following. This business of the Queen's commission, Mr Knox touches after this manner, "At the same tyme [the time of the Assembly] the Bischop of Sanct Androis, by means of the Erle of Bothwell [if this Nobleman had then, as 'tis likely he might have had, any view of suiting his divorce before the Archbishop, it was certainly a most hellish contrivance] procured a wryting from the "Quenis Majesty, to be obeyed within the Diocesse of his jurisdictioun, in all such causes as befor in tyme of Popery wer used in the Consistory; and thare

same, in respect that these causes for the maist pairt judgeit be his usurpeit authoritie, pertaines to the true

foir to discharge the new Commissioners: And for the same purpose came to Edinburgh in January, having a company of one hundred horses or more, intending to take possessioun, according to his gift lately obtained. The Provost being advertised thareof, by the Erle of Murray, they sent to the Bischops thrie or four of the Counsaill, desiring him to desist from the said matter, for fear of trouble and seditioun that might rise thereupon; quherby he was perswaded to desist at that tyme." However this was not all that Mr Knox wrote concerning this matter; for Mr Calderwood sets down the copy of a circular letter written by him on occasion of this commission, whereof the tenor here follows, viz. "The Lord cometh, and shall not tarry, blessed shall he be whom He findeth fighting against impietie:" "To deplore the miseries of these our most wicked dayes, beloved brethren, can neither greatly profite us, neither yet relieve us of our present calamities; and yet utterly to keep silence, cannot lack the suspicion of apostacie, and plain defection from God, and from His truth once by us publictly professed: For now are matters, that in years bypast have been denied, so far discovered, that he who seeth not the plain subversion of all true religion within this Realm to be concluded and decreed in the hearts of some, must either confess himself blind, or else enemie to the religion which we profess. For besides the open erecting of idolatrie in divers parts of the Realm, and besides the extream povertie wherein our Ministers are brought, be reason that idle bellies are fed upon that which justly appertaineth to such as truly preach Christ Jesus, and rightly and by order minister his blessed Sacraments; that cruell murderer of our brethren, falsly called the Bishop of Sanct Andrews, most unjustly, and against all law, hath presumed to his former tyrannie, as a signatur past for his restitution to his ancient jurisdiction (as it is termed) more fully doeth propert. What end may be looked for of such beginnings, the half blind may see, as we suppose: And yet we have heard that a certain sum of money and victuals should be assigned be the Queen's Majestie for sustentation of the ministry; but how that any such assignation, or any promise made therof, can stand in any stable assurance, when that Roman Antichrist, be just laws once banished from this Realm, shall be intrusted above us, we can nowayes understand; yea farder, we cannot see what assurance can anie within this Realm, that hath professed the Lord Jesus, have of life or inheritance, if the head of that odious beast be cured among us; and therfor we again most effectually desire your good advice and judgment in this case of greatest importance that yet hath chanced unto us, since it hath pleased God to reveal His Son Jesus Christ among us: And therfor we yet again, in the bowels of Christ Jesus, crave of you to look unto this matter, and to advertise us again, with reasonable expedition, of your judgments, that in the fear of God, and with unity of minds, we may proceed to crave justice, and to oppone ourselves to such tyrannie as most unjustly is intended against us: For if we think not that this last erecting of that wicked man is the very setting up again of that Roman Antichrist within this Realm, we are deprived of all right judgment; and what is that else but to separate us and our posterity from God, yea, and to cut ourselves off from the freedom of this Realm. We desire therfor, that the wisest

Kirk : And howbeit that for the hope of good things, the Kirk oversaw the Quenis Majesties Commissioun given therintill to sick men who for the maist pairt was our brethren, zet can the Kirk no wayes be content that the Bischop of Sanet Androes, ane commoun enemy to Chryst, use that jurisdiction ; and als, in respect of that colourit commissioun, he might usurpe agane his auld usurpit authoritie, and the same myght be the meane to oppress the hail Kirk be his corrupt judgement.

*“ The Tenour of the said supplicatioun followes :*

“ ‘ THE Generall Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland, convenit at Edinburgh the 25 of December 1566, to the

among you consider the weight of this cause, which long hath been neglected, partly by our strength, and partly by our believing of fair promises, by which to this hour we have been deceived ; and therfor we ought to be the more vigilant and circumspect, especially seeing a Parliament is proclaimed. We have sent to you the form of a Supplication and Articles, which we would have presented to the Queen’s Majestic ; if it please you, we would ye should approve it by your subscriptions ; or if ye would alter it, we desire you so to do, and we shall allow whatsoever ye shall propone not repugnant to God. If it shall be thought expedient that Commissioners of countreys shall convene to reason upon the most weighty matters that now occurre, the time and place appointed by you, and due advertisement given unto us, by God’s grace, there shall no fault be found in us : But as from the beginning we have neither spared substance nor life, so mind we not to faint unto the end, to maintain the same so long as we can find the concurrence of brethren, of whom (as God forbid) if we be destitute, yet are we determined never to be subject to that Roman Antichrist, neither yet to his usurped tyrannie ; but that when we can do no further to suppress that odious beast, we mind to seal it with our blood to our posterity, that the bright knowledge of Jesus Christ hath banished that man of sin and his venomous doctrine from our hearts and consciences. Let this our letter and request bear witness, before God, before His Church, before the World, and before your own consciences, that we require you that have professed the Lord Jesus within this Realm, alsweil Nobilitie as Gentlemen, Burgesses and Commons, to deliberat upon the estate of things present, and especially whether this usurped tyrannie of that Roman Antichrist shall be any longer suffered within this Realm, seing that be just law it is already abolished ? *2dly*, Whether that we shall be bound to feed idle bellies upon the patrimonie of the Kirk, which justly appertaineth to God’s Ministers ? *3dly*, Whether that idolatrie and other abominations that now are more than evident, shall be any longer maintained and defended ? Answer us as ye will answer unto God, in Whose fear we send these our letters unto you, lest that our silence should be counted for consent unto such impietie. God take from our hearts the blind love of ourselves, and all ungodly fear, Amen. Let us know your minds with expedition.”

Nobilitie of this Realme that professes the Lord Jesus with them, and hes renouncit that Roman Antichryst, desyre constancie in faith, and the spirit of righteous judgement. Seeing that Sathan, be all our negligence, Right Honourable, hes so farre prevailit within this Realme within these late dayes, that we doe stand in extream danger, not only to lose our temporall possessiouns, but also to be depryvit of the glorious Evangell of Jesus Chryst, and so we and our posteritie to be left in damnable darkness: We could no longer contane our selves, not keip silence, least in so doing we might be accuseit as guiltie of the blood of sick as sall perisch for lake of admonischment, as the Prophet threatens. We therfor, in the feare of our God, and with grief and anguisch of heart, complaines unto zour Honours; zea, we must complaine unto God, and all His obedient creatures, that that conjured enemye of Jesus Chryst, and cruell murtherer of our brethren, maist falslie stylit Arch-bishop of Sanct Androes, &c. is reponit and restorit, be signatur past, to his former tyrannie; for not only are his ancient jurisdictionouns (as they are termit) of the hail Bishoprick of Sanct Androes grantit unto him, but also the executioun of judgement, confirmatioun of testimentis, and donatioun of his benefices, as more amplie in his signatur is exprest. Iff this be not to cure the heid of that venomous beast, quhilk once within this Realme, be the potent hand of God, was so banished and brokin downe, and be curing it, would not hurt the faithfull, judge ze. His ancient jurisdiction was, that he, with certaine his colleagues collateralls, might have dampnit of heresie as it pleasit him, and then to take all that were suspect of heresie. What they have judged to be heresie heirtofair, ze cannot be ignorant; and whether they remaine in their former malice or not, their plots and travells opiny declares. The danger may be fearit, say ze, but what remedie? It is easie and at hand, Right Honourable, if ze will not betray the cause of God, and leave zour brethren, quhilks never wilbe more subject unto that usurpit tyrannie, then they will unto the devil himself. Our Quene belyke is not weel informit; scho aucht not, nor may not justlie breake the lawes, and so consequentlie scho may not sett up against us, nor without our consent, that Roman Antichryst againe;

for in ane lawfull and most frie Parliament that ever was in this Realme befor, was that odious beast depyvrit of all jurisdiction, office, and authoritie within this Realme: Her Majestie, at her first arrivall, and be diverse her Proclamatiouns sensyne, hes expreslie forbiddin all uther forme and face of religioun but that quhilk scho fand publicklie establischid at her arrivall; therfor scho may not bring us, the greatest part of the subjects of this Realme, back againe to bondage, till that als lawfull and als frie ane Parliament as justlie damned that Antichryst and his usurped tyrannie, have given decision betwixt us and him heirof, and of uther things that no lesse concernes zourselves than us, ze plainly and boldly admonisch our Sovereign, and without tumult only crave justice. The tyrants darre no more be sein in lawful judgement nor darre the howlets in the day-light. Weigh this matter as it is, and ze sall find it more weighty then to many it apperis. Farther, at this present we complaine not, bot humblie craves of zour Honours ane reasonable answer what ze will doe in case that sick tyrants and invadeing wolves begin to devore the flocke of Jesus Chryst within this Realme, under what title that ever it be; for this we boldly professe, that we will never acknowledge them neither pastours to our soules, nor zet judges to our cause; and if that, for denyal therof, we either suffer in bodie or goods, we doubt not but we have not only a judge to punisch them that unjustlie trouble us, but also an advocat and strong champion in heaven to recompence them who, for His name's sake, suffer persecutioun; Whose holie spirit rule zour hearts in His true feare to the end. Zour Lordschips answer zet againe we crave. Given in the Generall Assemblie, and third Session therof, at Edinburgh the 27 of December 1566.<sup>1</sup>

Calderwood.] “The Assemblie appointed the Bishops of Galloway and Orkney, the Justice-Clerk, David Forrest, Mr John Row, David Lindsay, Robert Pont, William Christeson, to reconsider and revise the answers made be Mr William Ramsay, one of the Masters of Sanct Salvator's Colledge, to Henrie Bullinger's book anent Abulziements<sup>1</sup> of Preachers in England.

<sup>1</sup> The readers may see in Bishop Burnet's 3d vol. of the Reformation this Helvetian Divine's discreet and prudent letters to the Puri-

“ The Assemblie being advised with the interpretation of the Confession of the Kirk of Zurich be Mr Robert Pont, ordained the same to be printed, together with ane Epistle sent be the Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland, approving the same, providing a note be put in the margin, where mention is made of the remembrance of some holy days. This Confession was penned be the Pastors of Zurich, and is otherwise called the latter Confession of Helvetia : It was allowed and subscribed, not only be the Tigurins themselves, and their confederates of Berne, be Schaphausen, Sangallia, Rhetia, Millan and Viemid, but also Geneva, Savoy, Polonia, and Hungaria. In this Confession, superioritie of Ministers is called ane humane appointment ; Confirmation is judged to be a device of men, which the Kirk may want without damage ; Baptism by women or midewives condemned. *Item*, prolix and tedious publict prayers, hindering the preaching of the Word ; canonical hours, that is, prayers to be chanted and often repeated at sett times, as the Popish manner is ; heaping up of ceremonies in the Kirk to the prejudice of christian libertie ; observation of Saints’ days : But this Assemblie would not allow the days dedicated to Christ, the Circumcision, Nativitie, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and Pentecost days, but took exception against that part of the Confession. [Our Kirk was so far from observing holy days dedicated to Christ, that they held their Assemblies oftentimes upon the 25 day of December.]

“ *Questions and their Answers.*

Register.] “ Ane certaine married man past to the wares of Denmark about foure zeiris syne, his wyfe has joynit herself within this twa zeir to ane uther man in whoredome ; now they desyre to be married, becaus they have the attestation of twa unsuspectit witnessis, wha spake with Captane Clark, that her husband was slaine in the Castle of Barronburgh in Denmark, upon Pasch-day, bygane ane zeir ; Quæritur, whether if the parties may be joynit in lawfull mariage, or not ? Ordaines the names of the man and woman to be given up to the Sessioun of the Kirk where they dwell,

tans of England, concerning the vestments appointed by law to be used by the Clergy of that Nation. See also Collier’s Church History, and Strype’s Annals, to the same purpose.

to be accusit criminallie for their offences given in tyme of her husband's lyfe, or before the knowledge of his death, scho joynit her bodie to the uther man, that they both may be punischit accordinglie.

“ Ane man forwarnit that he might not marie his father brother's daughter, past, in contempt of the Kirk, and was maried in the Chappell Royall, [Cald. the 16 of] December 1566: Quæritur, what ordour salbe tane therwith? Ordaines to delate the proces to the Justice-Clerk and Kirk, and declare their names, to the effect they may be punischit.

“ And farther, becaus diverse persons, alsweill women as men, who are separate for adultery, the partie offendand joynes themselves in mariage againe contrair the law of God, wherthrow great slanders and inconvenients followes; ordaines the Superintendents to admonisch all Ministers within their jurisdictionis, that none joyne any party separatit for adulterie in mariage, under pane of removing from the ministrie.

Calderwood.] “ It was asked what order should be taken with such as have Communicated at the Lord's table, and afterwards became witnesses at the baptism of children baptized by a papistical Priest in a private place? It was answered, after admonition, let the censures of the Kirk be used.<sup>1</sup>

Register.] “ Session fourth, 28 December. Anent Bischops, Abbots, Pryors, and uthers persons beneficed being of the Kirk, who receives teyndis, and awaites not upon the feiding of the flocke committit to their cure, nether presents themselves to the Generall Assemblie; ordaines all Superintendents to summond and warne all Bischops, Abbots, &c. that receives teyndis within their jurisdictions; and wher no Superintendents are, that the Superintendent neirest send his lettres to the Ministers nixt adjacent therto, to summond the forsaid persons to compeir at the nixt Generall Assemblie, to give their assistance and counsell to the said Assemblie in sick things as appertaines to Christian Religion and

<sup>1</sup> It is visible this question has been put upon account of the Countess of Argile's being present at the baptism of the Prince, some ten days before.—[This lady, for merely representing Queen Elizabeth as god-mother to the infant James VI. when baptized by Archbishop Hamilton, was compelled to do penance, clothed in a white sheet, in the Church of Stirling!—E.]

preaching of the true Word, and farther, to know the ordinances of the Kirk to be made theranent, &c.

Calderwood.] “The Superintendent of Angus desired to be exonered of his burdensome calling, in respect of the weakness and debilitie of his bodie, wherby he was unable to execute that charge as was required ; but the Assemblie wold not altogether exoner him, but permitted him to appoint some of the best qualified within his bounds to visit when he found himself unable.”

Mr Knox informs us, that “in the same Assembly there was presented a remonstrance by writ, by sum gentillmen of Kyle, conteining in effect, that inasmuch as the tythes ought to be given only to the Ministers and Schooles of the Word, and for mantenance of the poor, that therefore the Assembly would statute and ordain that all the professors of the Evangell sould keip the same in thair own hands, to the effects aforesaid, and no way permit the Papists to meddle tharewith. This writing tuke no effect at that time, for thare was none else bot the gentillmen of Kyle of that opinioun. It was statuted in the said Assembly that such publike fornicators and scandalous livers as would not confesse thair offences, nor come to declare thair repentance, sould be declared by the Minister to be out of the Church, and not of the body thareof, and thair names to be declared publikely upoun the Sunday.” And this author adds, “Efter this Assembly, the Bischop of Galloway, (with the Superintendent of Lowthian and Mr Johne Row), passing to Stirling, obtained their demands in an ample maner at the Quene’s Majesties hand, according to thair desire ; and likewise they obtained for every borough a gift or donatioun of the altarages, annuals, and obites, which before were given to the Papists, now to be disposed for the maintenance of the Ministers and Schooles within the boroughs, and the rest to the poor or hospitall.”

I here present the readers with an authentick copy of this Ecclesiastical Provision.

“*Striviling, 10 Januarij, 1566-7.*

“SEDERUNT—*Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Archibaldus Comes de Erghyle, Jacobus Comes de Murray, Georgius Comes de*

*Caithnes, Joannes Comes de Sutherland ; Joannes Episcopus Rossen, Alexander Episcopus Candidæ Casæ ; Secretarius, Clericus Registri, Advocatus, Camerarius Rossen.*

“ Provisioun for Sustentatioun of the Ministeris in Burrowis.

“ THE quhilk day, the Quenis Majestie and Lordis of Secret Counsall, being weill myndit that the Ministeris within this haill Realme be intertenit, alsweil to burgh and land, as hir Majestie fand the samyn at her arryval in Scotland : And becaus the haill Lordis of Secret Counsall may nocht weill vaik at all tymes for the ordouring thair of, being occupyit with uther weichty matteris ; Thairfoir hir Hienes, with advyis of hir Counsall foirsaid, hes constitute and namit hir lovites under-written, my Lord Huntly, Chancellor, Ergyle, Murray, Bothwell, Atholl, Cassills, Crawford, and Marr ; my Lordis Bischopis of Galloway, Rois, and Orknay ; my Lord Secretare, Mr John Spens of Condy, Advocat, Sir John Bellenden, Justice-Clerk, Sir James Balfour, Clerk of Register, and David Fores, Generall of the Cunzie-hous, to quhom, be thir presentis, the Quenis Grace, and her Counsall foirsaid, gevis thair full power and commissioun, or to ony fyve or sex of thame, to call befoir thame the haill burghis of this Realme, generallie or particularlie, as thai, or ony fyve or sex of them sall think expedient ; and to consider the habilities of the saids burghis particularlie, and according thairto, to appoint, imputt particular taxation or impositioun upoun everie burgh yeirlye, to be gadderit and upliftit for sustentatioun of the said ministerie, be thameselfis, thair collectouris, or chalmerlanis, as the saids commissionaris, or ony fyve or sex of thame sall think expedient, as thai will answer to God and the Quenis Majestie thairupoun ; and that quhatsumevir the saids Commissionaris, or ony fyve or sex of thame sall do in the premises, the samyn sall haif the lyke force and effect as gif the samyn were done in plane Counsall ; and letteris to be direct thairupoun as effeiris, as the said ministerie and thair Collectouris will requier. And alsua, for relief of the saids burghis, the Quenis grace, with auyis of hir Counsall foirsaid, be thir presentis, gevis and grantis to the saids burghis, and everie ane of thame, the annuelis of alteragis, chaplanries, and obitis within the samyn, quahairevir the

samyn sall happin to vaik be the deceis of the possessouris thair of, or utherwayis hes happenit to vaik sen the Quenis Grace arrayvall in Scotland, quhilk as yit remains ungevin or distributit to ony persoun, and that to relief the taxatioun and contributioun foirsaid ; and the superplus of the saids annuelis and obitis, gif ony beis, to be distributit to the poor and hospitallis of everie burgh within thameselffis, be adyis of the Minister and Eldaris thair of, as thai will answer to the Maist Hiest thairupoun ; and letteris to be directit to the Lordis of Secret Counsall and Sessioun, as thai salbe requirit, for publicatioun of thir premissis." " R. M."

## CHAPTER VI.

CONTAINING CHURCH AFFAIRS FROM THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE WITH THE EARL OF BOTHWELL IN THE MONTH OF MAY 1567, UNTIL HER REMOVAL INTO ENGLAND, AFTER THE BATTLE OF LANGSIDE, IN THE MONTH OF MAY 1568.

THE Queen having formed the unlucky resolution of marrying with the Earl of Bothwell, there arose no small noise about the proclamation of the banns. To give an account of the several steps of the demurs which therein intervened, would properly indeed fall in just now; but seeing the Register of the next General Assembly will present that whole matter into open view, I shall forbear to take any farther notice of it here. Mr Knox observes the emitting of a Proclamation some time after the Queen's marriage, in favour of the Protestants; but the precise tenor of the Proclamation will, I reckon, be more satisfactory to the best part of my readers. It is this:—

*Edinburgh, 23 Maij 1567.*

SEDERUNT—*Jacobus Dux Orchaden; Georgius Comes de Huntlie, David Comes de Crawford; Joannes Episcopus Rossen, Alexander Episcopus Candidæ Casæ; Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciaræ, Camerarius Rossen.*

*“ The Quenis Majesties Revocatioun of certaine Letteris.*

“ THE Quenis Majestie calling to mynd the stait of hir Hienes Realme at hir arryvall thairin, and the gude succes of hir Government continuit unto this present tyme, hes found, be certane experience, that nathing hes sa effectualle nurissit and intertenit the publict quietnes amangis hir Hienes subjectis, nor contenit thame in hir dew obedience, as the Act, Ordinance, and Proclamatioun maid be hir Majestie at hir said arryvall upoun the xxv day of Augusti, the yeir of God 1561 years; be the quhilk all men wer comandit to contene thameselffis in quietnes, keip peace and civill societie amangis thame; and that nane privatlie or opinlie sould mak alteratioun or innovatioun of the stait of religioun, or attempt ony thing againis the forme quhilk

hir Hienes fand publictlie and universallie standing at her Majesties arryvall in this Realme, under the pane of deid, as the said Act at mair lenth proportis : Bot as malicious men, and unquiet spiritis, can never abyde to sie lang peace endure in ony Realm or Comounwealth, sa hes the above nameit gude Ordinance not onelie bein oftymes callit in doubt, and prevelie impugnat, as that hir Hienes means nathing less than the observatioun thair of ; but als the publict quietnes hes bein brokin, and divers troublis hes intervenit ; out of quhilk, as Almichty God hes deliverit and preservit hir Majestie from tyme to tyme, even sa hes He manifested hir Hienes meaning and intentioun to hir loving subjectis, and the sawours of sic seditious rumouris to appeir, as thai wer indeid, calumniatoris and untrew spekaris. However, sic occasionis hes movit, and in a maner constrenit hir Majestie to renew the said Ordinance and Proclamatioun, for satisfioun of the troubled myndis of thame quhilks consavit doubt of the saids rumouris, none are ignorant, and superfleuous it were to mak ony new repetitioun of the samyn : And how lykwyis, in hir Hienes last Parliament, all penall Lawis and Statutis repugnant and prejudiciall to the said forme of religioun, and professouris thair of, are abolischit for thair surtie, all men knawis ; and swa at this present can justlie pretend na caus of mistyking nor discontentatioun : Zit heiring sum elect [exception] to be tane and consavit be the people in sum partis of this Realme through certane previe wrytingis purchest of hir Majestie, permittand sum personis to use the forme of thair religioun without contraventioun of the said publict Act and Ordinance, and that thairthrow the said Act sould be infirm and callit in questioun or doubt, quhilk is nocht of veritie ; hir Majestie, with advyis of hir deirest husband James, Duke of Orknay, Erle of Bothwell, Lord Hailis, Creichtoun and Liddisdail, Greit Admirall of this Realme, &c. and Lordis of Secreit Counsall, hes thought expedient and requisit to gif declaratioun of hir mynd ; and thairfoir makes manifest and declairs, that in granting and subscrybing of ony sic previe wrytingis, hir Majestie nevir meant or means the violatioun, prejudice, or derogatioun of the said publict Act, Ordinance, and Proclamatioun ; and in sa far as thai, or ony the lyke to be impetrat heirafter, may appeir repugnant or prejudiciall to

the same, hir Majestie, with avyis and consent foirsaid, rebukes, annullis and discharges thame, decerning thame to be estemit but as previat, and have na fayth in jugement or outwith, quhairevir thai be producit; and the first Act, Ordinance, and Proclamatoun maid at hir Hienes arryvall in this Realme, and all utheris maid and past conforme thairto, to have full strenth, force, and effect in tyme to cum, but alteratioun or contradictioun quhatsumevir: And that letteris be direct for publicatioun heiroyf in dew forme as effeiris." "R. M."

*Fourteenth General Assembly.*

Register.] "The Generall Assemblie of the Kirk convenit at Edinburgh, in the Nether-Tolbuith thereof, the 25 day of Junij 1567: In the quhilk were present the Erles, Lords, Barons, Superintendents, Ministers, and Commissioners of townes. The invocatioun of the name of God was made be Mr Johne Craig, Minister of Edinburgh.

"Session first, 25 Junij. For eschewing of confusioun in reasoning, the whole Assemblie present convenit, nameit Mr George Buchanan, Principall of Sanct Leonard's Colledge, Moderator during the Convention, who accepted the charge *hac vice*.

"The Kirk appointit the Lairds of Dun and Bargany to pass to the Lords of Secreit Counsell, and to requiest their Lordships to conveyne and concurre with the Kirk presentlie assemblit, for heiring of sick Articles as salbe thoght good for the establisching of God's Word, the true religioun, and supporting all the Ministrie within this Realme.

Calderwood.] "Some were appointed to decide questions which were to be proponed, and to revise the Order of Excommunication penned by Mr Knox, and to report their judgment to the Assemblie.

Register.] "Session second, 26 Junij. Forasmeikle as it is thoght good by all the brethren presentlie conveynit, that ane Assemblie Generall be appointit to conveyne againe the 20 day of Julij nixt to come, in this towne of Edinburgh, for the setting fordward sick things as salbe at that tyme proponit, and for that purpose ordaines to wryte missives to all and sundrie Erles, Lords, Barrons, and uthers brethren, requyreing them to conveyne the said 20 day of Julij; and

to that effect appointit also Commissioners to present the said missives, and requyre according to their Commissions. [The names of the Lords, Earles, Barrons, to whom the saids missives were to be sent, follows :—Earles Huntley, Argile, Cassiles, Rothesse, Crawford, Marshall, Menteith, Glencairn; Lords Boyd, Drummond, Sanquhar, Herris, Cathcart, Yester; Masters of Grahame, Flemming, Livinstone, Forbes, Salton, Glames, Ogilvie, Master of Sinclair, Gray, Oliphant, Methven, Ennermeth, Master of Somervail; Barrons of Lochinvar, Garles; the Sheriff of Air, Glenurquhart, Sir James Hammiltone, Bonitone; Commendators Aberbroth, Killwinning, Dumfermling, Sanct Colmes, Newbotle, Halliroadhouse.—Calderwood.]

*“Tenour of the saids Lettres-Missive sent to the saids Erles, Lords, Barrons, Commendators of Abbayes, followeth :—*

“MY LORD (OR WORSCHIPFULL SIR),—After our maist heartlie commendatiouns of service in the Lord Jesus, having now of lang tyme travellit, both in publick and privat, with all the Estates, continually craveing of zour Honours in speciall, that the course of the Evangell of Salvatioun, now once of the liberall mercie of God restoreit to this Realme, might continue to all zour comforts and zour posteritie; and that for the maintenance and furthering therof, a perfyte policie and full libertie might be granted to this reformed Kirk within Scotland, the ministrie, the pure and failzeit provydit for sufficientlie, as God and all good policie and civill lawes ordaines and requyres, and that all superstitioun and idolatrie, and the monuments therof, might be utterlye removeit and banisht out of this Realme, quhilk God, of His infinit mereye, hes so lovingly and willingly callit from darkness to light. This mater indeid was lyked of all men; but sick impediment gave the enemye of the Kirk in his members to stay the good work of God, that moyen could there none be had, bot be the contrair, at every light occasioun, the ministrie frustrat of all lyfe and sustentatioun, the lame and impotent members of Christ lying in the streit as dung, perishing for hunger and cold, zea, and the whole flocke of Jesus Chryst within this Realme continuallie threatnit with the executioun of that most cruell decretit of the lait Counsell of Trent, quherin was determinit and decretit to mak and

sacrifice of the whole professours within all Europe, by the tyranny of that Romane Antichryst. We are not ignorant how farre the samein was attemptit be way of deid within the Realme of France, how farre now Flanders, and the parts neir adjacent therto; and also quhat practiseing to the effect hes been continually, thir three zeirs bypast, and evin now of lait dayes within our awin bowels, be our common conspired enemyes, alsweill within as without this Realme, how they were bent to their enterpryse, if God had not, of His meere mercie, prevented, bezond all our knowledge and expectatioun, their cruell and craftie practises. Upon the quhilk consideratioun, the Assemblie at this present convention of the Kirk, accustomed at the course of tyme occur-reand, hes thocht it neidfull to repare the decay and ruine of that work so vertuously begun among us be ane universall concurrence and consent of the haill professours of Chryst Jesus within this Realme, and be the same meanes to meit the forsaid dangers hingand over our heids, proceeding from the craft of our implacabill enemies, alsweill within as without the same; and to that effect hes ordainit ane Generall Assemblie of the haill professours of all estates and degries within the Kirks of Scotland, to be haldin heir within this towne of Edinburgh, upon the 20 of this nixt moneth of Julij, quherby ane perpetuall ordour<sup>1</sup> may be takin for the libertie of the Kirk of God, sustentatioun of the Ministers and failzeit members therof, and that ane sure unioun and conjunction may be had amongst the haill members for the libertie of God's Kirk, quherby we may be able to withstand the rage and violence of our forsaid enemies. And becaus it hes pleased the goodnes of God so to move zour Lordschip's heart, that ze are ane notable instrument and member of His Kirk, as our hope is, so sall our prayer be, that ze may continue increasing from vertue to vertue unto lyfe everlasting. We thocht it our duetic, in name of the haill brethren heir convenit, to notifie to zour Lordschip the forsaid appointment of the said Assemblie, and in name of the Eternall, our God, to recommend to zour care and solitude the building of this ruinous House of God within this Realme; requyreing also in His name, that ze will give

<sup>1</sup> [“Perpetuall ordour”—See note iii. 88.—E.]

zour personall presence, zour labours, and concurrences to that effect in the forsaid Assemblie, to be haldin on the said day, that the haill body may be confortid be the presence and good advyce of so notour ane member therof. And becaus we doubt nothing but zour Lordschip salbe present, shewing so long experience of zour good part in all tymes past, we cease troubleing zou with a longer lettre, referring the rest to be declarit be our brethren the Commissioners of the Kirk, quho to this effect are direct to zour Lordschip, and uthers our brethren in these parts; and we, for our part, with earnest prayer to God, sall pray to augment in zou His love and feare, and blesse zour Lordschip to the confort of His Kirk. Amen. From Edinburgh the 26 of Junij 1567.

“ ‘ We, zour Lordschip’s to command, with service in Chryst Jesus, in name and at command of the rest of our brethren, Johne Erskine of Dun, Mr Johne Spotiswood, Johne Douglas, Johne Knox, Johne Row, and Johne Craig.’ ”

“The Superintendents, and quarters of countreyis, were ordained to direct this letter to the forsaid persons severallie.

“ *Tenour of the Commissions gevin to every ane of the forsaid Commissioners, within every ane of their bounds respective, followes:—*

“ ‘ FORSAMEIKLE, as Sathan, this long tyme in his members, hes so rageit and perturbit the good successe and proceiding of Chryst’s religioun within this Realme, be craftie meanes, and subtile conspiracies, that the same from tyme to tyme doeth decay, in hasart altogether to be subvertit, unlesse God, of His mercie, find hastie remeid, and that cheiffie through the extreame povertie of the Ministers quho sould preach the Word of Lyfe to the peiple, who therthrow are compellit—sum to leave the vocation alluterlie, and sum uthers so abstractit be carefull povertie, that they may not insist so diligentlie in the exercise of the Word as they wold doe; and therfor the Kirk presentlie conveinit at Edinburgh, in this Generall Assemblie, hes thocht it most necessar, be thir presents, to requeist and admonisch most brotherlie, all sick persons as truely professes the Lord Jesus within this Realme, of what

estate or degrie that evir they be, alsweill the Nobilitie, Barrones, and Gentlemen, as all uthers true professours, to convey in Edinburgh, the 20 day of Julij nixt, in their personall presence there, to assist with their counsell and power, for ordour to be tane, alsweill toward the establisching of Chryst's religioun universallie throughout this haill Realme, and abolisching the contrarie, quhilk is Papistrie, as the sustentatioun of the Ministers, not only for the present tyme and instant necessitie, but also for ane perfyte ordour to be tane and establischt in all tyme coming toward the haill libertie of the patrimonie of the Kirk, and the due restoring of the same to the just professours therof, according to the Word of God: With certificatioun to all and sundrie, of what estate and degrie soevir they be that compeirs not, due advertisement being made, that they salbe repute heirafter as hinderers of this godly purpose, and as dissimulat brethren, unworthie to be esteimit heirafter of Chryst's flocke, seing God of His mercie, at this present, hes offerit somebettir occasioun nor in tymes bygane, and hes begune to tred downe Sathan under foote. And for the dew requisitioun and admonitioun, in name of the Eternal God, to the effect forsaid, to all and sundrie the brethren, alsweill to brugh as to land, the Kirk presentlie conveyit in this Generall Assemblie, be thir presents, gives their full power and commissioun to their lovits N. and N. for the bounds of N. In verificatioun heirop, thir presents are subscryvit be the commoun Clerk of the Kirk in the said Generall Assemblie, and second Sessioun thereof, haldin at Edinburgh the 26 day of Junii 1567.'

Calderwood.] " In the third Session, Mr John Row, Minister of Sanct Johnstone, was ordained to attend upon the printing of the Commission direct be the Kirk, for presenting of the forsaid missives, and to bring so many as shall be necessarie to be sent, to be subscribed be the Clerk of the Assemblie, and the names of the Commissioners to be insert accordingly; and in like manner ordained Mr John Wood to cause write so many missives as shall be needfull, to be sent to the Earles, Lords, and Barrons, and other brethren, and to return the said missives to be subscryved and directed.

" Mr John Davidstone and Mr David Wemes, Ministers of Hammiltoun and Glasgow, were ordained to pass to

Lanerk, and there to convey the Balzies and Counsellours of the said town, and to require them to assist John Leverance, Minister, and to punish manifest offences, maintain Christian religion within that town, and to support the said Minister with things necessary for his sustentation; and if they deny to doe the said premisses, then the forsaid Ministers to give to the said John Leverance their testimoniall of simple demission from the said Kirk of Lanerk, and libertie to be placed whersoever it shall please God to call him.

“ Mr John Row, Mr John Douglas, Rector, Mr John Craig, William Christeson, Minister at Dundie, Mr Robert Hamiltoun, Minister at Sanct Andrews, Mr James Melvill, Minister at Tannades, appointed in the first Session to decide questions, report their decisions at this Session.” All above wanting in the Register.

Register.] *Questions and their Answers.*

“ Ane man being accuseit of notorious fornicatioun, promiseit faithfullie to the Minister for the tyme to abstaine in all tymes comeing from all societie of that woman; and in caice he chanceit to have any dealcings with her heirafter, he sould marie her: Therafter he medlit with the same woman. *Quæritur*, Whether this man may be compellit to keip the forsaid mariage or not? The Kirk decernes all sick promises to be of none effect, and that none be compellit to marie upon sick promises; and ordaines this offender to be punished for his offence.

“ Whether, if it be lawfull to marie her whom he before in his wyfe's tyme had pollutit with adulterie, his wyfe being now dead? The Kirk will not grant that thing to be lawfull quhilk God's law damnes; neither zet admit any sick mariages, for causes conteinit in the law.

“ Ane man being divorceit for adulterie; *quæritur*, Whether he may marie againe lawfullie or not? The Kirk will not resolve heirin schortlie; bot presentlie inhibites all Ministers to medle with any sick mariages, quhyll full decision of the question.

“ Session fourth, 28 Junij. Anent ane complaint given in be the brethren of Machlen, that wher they had, be the just law of God, pronounscit the sentence of excommunicacion

tioun agains Johne Spotiswood of Foullar, sometymes ane Eldar of the said Kirk, for the horrible cryme of adulterie committed be him : Nottheles, Sir William Hamiltoun of Sanquhar, Knicht, now an Eldar of the said Kirk, planelie maintaineth the said Johne in his house, notwithstanding the said Johne is excommunicat, to the greater slander and offense of God and His law ; and albeit the said William hes bein diverse tymes admonished to withdraw his familiar companie fra the said Johne, zet will not abstract the same, to the offence of many. Requyring the Kirk presentlie assemblit to take ordour heirin, according to the wisdome of the brethren present, that farder slander ryse not therthrow : The Kirk ordaines ane letter to be sent to the said Sir William, requyring him to remove the said Johne Spotiswood out of his companie, and the same to be subscryvit by the Scribe of the Assemblie, the tenour wherof followeth :—

“ ‘ Right Worschipfull, &c. Forsameikle as we are informit be the Minister and ane part of the Eldars of the Kirk of Machlen, that ane callit Johne Spotiswood, sometime ane Eldar of the said Kirk, for the adulterie committed be him in the tyme he was ane Eldar ; and the same beand sufficientlie proven, hes bein, and is excommunicat: Nottheles ze now being ane Eldar of the said Kirk, contrair to zour charge and vocation, maintains and keips in zour company the said Johne, notwithstanding diverse admonitions made to zou to put him therfra, to the great contempt of God’s ordinance, and slander of the Kirk of Jesus Chryst, quhilk we lookit not for at zour hands, being placeit in so honourable ane rowm within His Kirk. Heirfor this is most heartlie to requyre zou, in the name of the Eternal God, and as zou look to reign with His Sonne Jesus Chryst for evir, to remove from zou all maner of slander, and be not partaker of uther men’s sins, bot remove from zour societie that wickeit person, who being abhorreit be the faithfull, may, be God’s grace, repent his impietie, and returne to that companie of the faithfull fra the quhilk, be his haynous offence, he hes so horrible fallin : In the quhilk doing, ze sall not only please God, but also have praise of us zour brethren. Utherwayes we may not with safe conscience suffer sick mantaining of manifest wickednes, but must oppone ourselves therunto,

and use the censures of the Kirk alsweill against the maintainer as the committer of manifest crymes. Thus wisching unto zou the Spirit of righteous judgement, committs zou to the protectioun of the Omnipotent. From Edinburgh, out of our Generall Assemblie, and fourth Session therof, the 28 of Junij 1567.'

"The haill Kirk thought good that ane Publick Fast sould be proclaimed in the towne of Edinburgh only, to begin on Sunday the 13 of Julij nixt, and on Sunday the 20 of the same;<sup>1</sup> and so was the Assemblie dissolvit, and appointit the 20 day of Julij nixt to come, in the towne of Edinburgh."

The occasion of sending the circular letters from this Assembly, Mr Knox informeth, was this: "The Nobles, quho had so proceeded against Bothwell and dealt so with the Quene, hearing that the Hamiltons had a grit number of men, and had drawn the Erles of Argyle and Huntley to their side, sent to Hamilton, desiring those that wer thare to joyn with thame for the redresse of the disorders of Church and State: Bot the Hamiltons thinking now they had a fair occasioun fallen unto thame to have all agane in their hands, and to dispose of all according to their own mind, did refuse audience to the message sent by the Lords.<sup>2</sup> Upon this, the Lords moved the Generall Assembly,<sup>3</sup> then met in Edinburgh in the moneth of June, to write to the Lords that either wer actually declared for the Hamiltons, or wer neuters: And so several letters wer directed to the Erles of Argyle," &c. And then this writer proceeds to narrate the message that was sent to these Lords by certain delegates of the Assembly, whose names, he says, were "Johne Knox, Johnne Douglas, Johnne Row, and Johnne Craig—bot neyther the Commissionars nor the letters did prevail with the Lords there," &c.

<sup>1</sup> [Fasting on Sunday was an unprecedented, and indeed unchristian practice, considering that that day must always be, from its very object and intention, a festival and not a fast.—E.]

<sup>2</sup> See what Sir James Melvil says of this matter, p. 435, 436, of our Civil Part. [ii. 716, &c.]

<sup>3</sup> We may be assured that the reason why the General Assembly was prorogate till the 20th day of July has been to try, in the intervening time, to gain over the other Noblemen to the party of the Lords associated against the Queen.

*Fifteenth General Assembly.*

Register.] “The Generall Assemblie of the Kirk of Scotland convenit at Edinburgh in the Over-Tolbuith of the same, the 21 day of Julij 1567: In the quhilk were assembled Erles, Lords, Barrons, whose names are wryten after the Articles be them subscryvit; with the Superintendents, Ministers, and Commissioners of townes. Thanks was given to God be Mr Johne Craig, Minister of Edinburgh. [Mr John Row, Minister at Sanct Johnston, was chosen Moderator, Cald.]

Calderwood.] “In the first Session it was ordained that the brethren of every shire should chuse some out of their number, and the Ministers likewise chuse so many from among themselves, to reason and confer upon the affairs of the Kirk, and to form Articles in write, and present the same to the Assemblie, to be considered.

“In the second Session, the Commissioners appointed to deliver their missives to the Earles, Lords, Barrons, and other brethren nominat, exhibited their rolls: The Earle of Argyle his letter, excusing his absence, alledged that the brethren already assembled in Edinburgh were in armes, and so far as he understood, the rest were to come likewise in the same manner, and he not being privie to their proceedings, nor having yet joyned himself to them, therefore he could not at this time be present; in the meantime desir-eth that no innovations be attempted till the meeting of the other brethren; so much the rather, because their adversaries would not allow of their doings; promiseth in the meantime to continue in the maintenance of true religion. The Commendator of Arbroth alledged the like reasons for his absence.<sup>1</sup>

Register.] “*Tenour of the Lettres of Excusatioun of the Erle of Argyll of his absence fra this Assemblie, followeth:—*

“After our most heartlie commendations, we have receavit your wrytings, understandand be the same your earnest tra-

<sup>1</sup> [The true state of things at this time was, that the country was divided into the hostile factions of Queen's-men and King's-men. Edinburgh, where the General Assembly was held, was in possession of the latter; and the former were unwilling, by going there, to put themselves

vells and godlie zeale of erecting this our Kirk within Scotland, according to our dewties and zour Assemblie to this effect, quherunto ze have desyrit us ; zet something having in admiratioun that ze sould have assignit zour Assemblie, quherunto ze desyre the principall members of the haille Kirk, without their awin advyse and universall consent having concurrith with them of before, alsweill anent the brethren els assemblit in Edinburgh, are in armes, and as we understand the rest that are to come there, comes in lyke manner, quhilk is far by use and accustomit maner and fashioun that we have sein of befor ; and as it is not unknown unto zou quhat varietie is presentlie in this Realme, zet not doubting their intents and minds to be only directit as ze have after shawin. Nottheles becaus our brethren, els assemblit in Edinburgh, are in armes accompanied with men of warre, we not being participant with their proceiding, neither zet hes adjoynit ourselves thereintill, cannot at this tyme be present in the place appointit according to zour desyre ; zet assuring zou, lykas in tymes past we have not only bestowed our goods in the maintenance of God's cause, but also hes hazarded our lyfe aud friends, in the same sute we mynd still to continue, and sen the impediment of our conveyeing, albeit willing to all godlie proceidings, for the causes afoir specifit. In the mean tyme we will earnestlie requeist zou that no novatiouns or alteratiouns be made or attempted quhyll our meiting, quhilk we trust to God salbe schortlie ; so that nane of our brethren, nor we in absence, have occasioun to mislyke any of zour proceidings, becaus sick grave matters requyre ane comoun consent, alsweill in their approving as that they may be the bettir borne out ; for their awin wisdomes we doubt not will consider the factions of our adversares that they will never allow our doings, and therfor it is more then necessar there be no diversitie of myndis amongst ourselves ; zea, we will find all matters frame the bettir, if we be all present quhen they are concludit. Sa not willing to impeasche zou with farder lettre, hes committed farder of our mynd to this bearer zour servitour, to quhom, if ze

in the power of their enemies. The result was, that the King's party, with a view to strengthen their hands, made common cause with the Assembly, and made it many promises which they never kept. See ii. 658.—E.]

please, give credit ; and swa<sup>e</sup> committs zou to God. Of But [Bute], the 28 day of Julij 1567. Zours assurit in the Lord,

“ ‘ AR. ARGYLL.’ ”

“ *The Tenour of the Commendators of Arbroth, Kilwinning, and my Lord Boyd's Excusatioun, aggreing in all points as follows:—*

“ ‘ After most heartlie commendatiouns in the Lord Jesus, we have receivit zour wryting daitit at Edinburgh the 26 day of Junij, shawand in effect, albeit God of His goodness hes sent the light of the Evangell of salvatioun within this Realme to the great confort and prosperitie of all the faithfull within this Realme, and their posteritie ; zet nevertheles Sathan with his ministers, at every light occasioun, hath frustrate in tymes bypast the Ministers of their lyfe and sustentatioun, the lame and impotent members of Chryst asweill frustrate of their livings, dieing in the streits for hunger and cold, and the haille flock of Chryst Jesus within this Realme continuallie threatened to be made sacrifice of be the practise of the enemies, as zour wryting conteins at lenth ; for in meiting of the quhilk, and provyding of remeid therto, ze desyre us to be in Edinburgh the 20 of this instant at the Assemblie of the Kirk, quherby ane perpetuall ordour may be takin for the libertie of the Kirk of God, the sustentatioun of the Ministers and failziet members therof, so that the haille members of the Kirk might, be sure unioun and conjunctioun, be more able to gainstand the violence of the forsaid enemies. For answer, it is not unknown unto zou how the Nobilitie of this Realme are devydit be reason of the Quenis Majesties haldin where scho is ; and the towne of Edinburgh where ze desyre us to conveyne is keipit straitlie be one part of the Nobilitie and men of warre of their retinew ; to whose opinioun we are not adjoynit as zet, and therfor we cannot think ourselves sure to conveyne the said day and place ze desyre us to keip, and els thinks marvell the haille multitude of Protestants within this Realme sould have bein desyrit to have conveynit in sick a place, the mater standand as it does. Nevertheles we, for our awin part, salbe weill willing at all tymes to set fordward the light of Chryst's Evangell to be truly preachit, and the Ministers therof to be sustainit, and the forthsett-

ing of the policie concerning the Kirk in all sorts, so farre as it may stand be ane law, lyk as we have bein in all tymes bypast, sen it pleased God to opin our eyes and shew the light of His blessed Word. And thus will cumber zou with no langer lettre, bot prayes God to have zou in His eternall protectioun. Of Hamiltoun, 19 of Julij 1567. Zour loving friend at power in all godlines,

“ ‘ ARBROTHE.’ ”

“ *Aberdeine Excusatioun.* ”

“ ‘ Right honourable and weilbelovit brethren : After our heartlie commendatioun in the Lord Jesus, this present is to advertise zou that we have receivit zour lettre, and at the requisitioun of our Minister and Provost having commissioun therto, hes sighted, sein, and considerit zour wryting and Act of the Generall Assemblie, in the quhilk is containit the great labours tane be Sathan and his members, makand impediment to the proceedings of the Evangell, and forthsetting of the glorie of God, sustentatioun of the Ministrie, the poore and neidie, and the contrair, now to be provydit be the Assemble Generall of the Christian Kirk of this Realme, now to be conveyit, the 20 day of Julij instant, craveing of us our concurrence to the effect forsaid, together with our personall presence. It sall please zour wisdomes to understand, and most assuredlie to believe us professours of the Evangell within the Kirk of Aberdeine, to be of ane mynd, and be the grace of God to continue to the maintenance of the forthsetting of the glorie of God, teaching of the true Evangell, and sustentatioun of the Ministers, with help unto the poore : And unto the tyme zour wisdomes, with the Nobilitie, find ane ordour universal for the Ministrie, we sall, for our awin part, God willing, sustaine our Minister, so that of reason he sall have no cause of plaint ; and to the poore, according to our power, doe semblablie as uther burrowes sall take ordour. And as to our personall presence to conveye at this tyme, hes given and send our Minister, Adam Heriott, to concurre and assist in our name to the effect forsaid, and to declare unto zour wisdomes the impediment of our personall presence at this tyme, craveing zour wisdomes, notwithstanding of our absence, to credit us faithfullie to abyde at zour decree to be sett out be zou and the Assemblie, to the

effect forsaid, and to maintain the same with our bodies and goods, as tyme sall requyre. And farther, having no occasion for the present, committs zou to the protectioun of the Highest. Wrytin the 12 of this instant Julij, and subseryvit with our Provost's hand at our command, at Aberdeine, be them that are zour assurit.

“ ‘ THOMAS MEINZIES. ’ <sup>1</sup>

Calderwood.] “ The Assemblie appointed some brethren to conveen in Mr James Macgill's house, to visite and advise upon the assignations made latelie be the Queen to the Ministers, and of the payment thereof.

Register.] “ Session third, 23 Julij. For all this third Session, Calderwood says only. “ In the third Session they reported what they found payed or unpaid, and their advice how that which is not payed shall be payed.” But the Register is more large, viz. “ Certane brethren was appointit to conveine to sie and advyse upon the assignatioun of the stipends of the Ministrie latelie assignit be the Quenis Majestie the good payment, who fand in effect as followes :

“ We have sein the assignatiouns within the sherifdomes of Kincardin, Forfar, Perth, and Fyfe, and finds that all the heale conteinit therin, at least for the most part, hes bein thankfullie payit, and that the Collectour hes given his charges for payment therof dewlie, and rests nothing but to put them to the horne ; that there be lettres directit, and commissioun given in the said lettres, with consent of the Theserer, to collect and uptak the haille fruits of the benefices of so many as pass to the horne for the 1566 zeir, and sicklyke for the 1567 zeir instant, so long as they remaine at the horne, and to make count of the thrid to the Ministrie, and sa meikle of the twa-pairt as they intromet with, to the Theserer, as escheitt. And as to the victuals within the foirsaidis shyres, we find that long before any lettres raisit upon this assignatioun, and before the baptisme of the Prince, they were sauld be the Comptroller ; and therefore he man be chargeit in his compts to rander sa meikle of the

<sup>1</sup> He was Provost of Aberdeen : And this serves to clear up what might have appeared otherwise obscure in the Register, viz. that the Superintendents, &c. in the several countries, were appointed to send copies of the letters to such persons as were judged convenient ; so here has been a letter directed to the community of Aberdeen.

prices heirow againe to the Ministrie as is containit in this assignatioun. Tuiching the thrids of the Ministers assignatioun bezond Die, except Orknay, finds be the Collector that the 1566 zeir's crope is not usit to be payit quhyll Lambmes in the 1567 zeir, and after; and for executioun given to him within the bounds, sall passe with possible diligence, and charge that haill boundis according to the lettres, of the quhilkis he suppones good payment, as hes bein of befor, except the Bischoprick of Caithness, quhilk the Collector alledges the Bischop payes to the Ministers of his awin Kirks, conforme to the book and compts made of befor.

“ *Item*, Deare, Dunet, and Pillorth, are given frie to the Erle of Marschell and Friers of Aberdeine, and Captane Lauder; bot it is understude that all the gifts are revockit, and therefore the Collector is to charge them.

“ *Item*, That victuals within the same bounds are sauld *ut supra*, and therfore the Comptroller in his compts sall rander conforme to the first Article.

“ *Item*, Besouth Forth nothing gottin in, bot the Collector alledges that Duncane Levingstone hes tane up the 237*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* as he hes grantit be the particular ressait, and therfor he man be chargit to delyver the same to the said Collector.

“ *Item*, Of the thrids that is conteinit within this Colleeorie that is alledgit discharged, the thrid of the Abbay of Cambuskeneth to 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* 3 chalders Beir and 3 chalders Meill. The thrids of Machina-homo, 55*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* 2 chalders Beir, 3 chalders Meill. The thrids of Dryburgh, 304*l.* and 62 part bolls Wheat; 8 chalders, 2 bolls, 2 part bolls Beir; 7 chalders, 10 bolls, 2 part bolls Meill. The thrids of Melrose, Haddingtoun, and Northberwick; the thrid of Kelso and Coldinghame. As to Dumfreis, Annandail, Kirkudbright, and Wigtoun, the Bischop of Galloway hes depute certain Collectors for satisfacioun of the Ministrie within the same.

“ *Item*, Within Kyle, Carrick, Cunninghame, executions past, and believes to have payment at the nixt ganging in the countrey. *Item*, Corsraguell is given frie, and the Minister of Failfurd is ill payed.

“ *Memor.* That the Act be rasit made be the Quenes

Grace and Secreit Counsell, dischargeand the gifts and tacks of all the thrids, and that nane sould be given heirafter without advyse of the Secreit Counsell, to the effect the Collector may charge notwithstanding any sick gifts. Remember that ilk Collector execute within his bounds, that lettres be direct with consent of the Theserer, according to the first Article."

The fourth Session is wanting in the Register, but is in Calderwood thus: "In the fourth Session it was thought expedient that the portions assigned to the Ministers for 1566 years, be distributed be the Collectors already appointed, and that they distribute the same according to their rolls to be given be the Superintendents and Commissioners which are to be appointed in this Assemblie where there are no Superintendents to the said Collectors.

*"The tennor of the Commission which is to be given to the Reviser of the Rolls of Minister's Stipends.*

"At Edinburgh, the 24 day of July 1567, the whole Assemblie in one voice thought meet, anent the assignation of money and victuals be the Queen's Majesty, for the sustentation of the Ministry the 1566 years, that the distribution thereof shall be made be the Collectors already appointed, according to the tennor of the rolls of appointment of stipends which the Superintendents and Commissioners to be appointed shall receave from the keeper of the book of the Ministers' stipends; and after the said Superintendent and Commissioners have diligently marked these that are dead, or have not diligently waited on their charges, as they will answer to God and the Kirk thereupon, to deliver the rolls to the saids Collectors, to every one within his own bounds; commanding the Collectors to pay every Minister, Exhorter, and Reader, the thrid-part of that appointed in the rolls forsaid, the superpluss to be made compt of to the Assemblie."

Fifth Session, the beginning thereof is not in the Register, but is in Calderwood thus: "In the fifth Session the Articles advised upon and formed be such as were chosen in the first Session, were read publictly in presence of the whole Nobility and brethren assembled, and were allowed be them all who were present, and subscribed first be the Nobility,

and after be the Barrons, Superintendents, and Commissioners of Townes : It was ordained that the Commissioners appointed in the last Assembly should every one of them have an authentick coppie of the Articles, subscribed be the Clerk of the Assembly, or Alexander Hay, Scribe to the Secret Counsell, and that the saids Commissioners require all and sundry Earles, Lords, Barrons, and other faithfull brethren who excused themselves for not giving their personall presence to this Assembly, to subscribe the said Articles with the rest of their brethren, according to their promises made be word or be write : With certification to them that refuse, that the Kirk hereafter will not repute them as members of their body ; and to return the rolls of the said Articles subscribe be the Scribe of the Assembly, to the effect their subscriptions may be set down in the Register with the rest. The tennor of the Articles, and the names of them that subscribed presently," &c. The Register proceeds now with more exactness in these Articles, after this manner :—

*“ The Noblemen, Barrons, and uthers undersubscryvand, in this present Assemblie of the Kirk of God, hes aggreit and condiscendit to the Articles after following, at Edinburgh, 20 Julij 1567 :—*

“ In the *first*, Forsameikle as there was ane Parliament haldin in this Realme before the Quenes Majesties arryvall in the same, be the Estaites conveyit for the tyme, with her Hienes awin power and commissioun ; in the quhilk Parliament it was concludit that the religioun of Jesus Chryst, then universallie receivit within this Realme, sould be universallie establisched<sup>1</sup> and approvit within the same, and all Papietrie, with the Papists usurpit jurisdiction, all Idolatrie, and in speciall the blasphemous Mess, be abolisshit and *simpliciter* putt away, as the Acts made thereupon proportis : Quhilks Acts, together with the Quenes Majesties power to hald the same Parliament, the Noblemen, Barrons, and uthers undersubscryvand, wills to be extractit

<sup>1</sup> I have often desired the readers to observe, that that Parliament had not only no authority to proceed in matters of religion, but by the Articles of Agreement was most expressly prohibited to medle with any such matters.

and put in full executioun as ane publick Law, and that the transgressours therof be punischit according to the same, throughout the whole Realme, without exceptioun. Quhilk Parliament, in all things concerning the religioun, they sall defend and maintaine at their uttermost in the first Parliament quhilk salbe haldin, and at all uther tymes and occasions convenient.

“ *Item*, That the Act already made towards the thrids of the benefices within this Realme, principallie for sustentatioun of the Ministrie, may be dewlie put to executioun, according to the ordour of the booke of the appointment of ministers’ stipends, alsweill for them that are to be appointit, as for them already placit; and that the Ministers be first dewlie answerit and sufficiently sustainit of the same, to the releise of their present necessitie, ay and quhyll ane perfyte ordour may be tane and establischt toward the full distributioun of the patrimonie of the Kirk, according to God’s Word: And that also the Ordinance made be the Quenes Majestie and her Counsell, toward the small benefices, now extending to the valour of three hundreth marks, be dewlie put to executioun, alsweill toward the benefices quhilk hes vaikit sen the dait of the said Ordinance, as concerning them that sall happin heirafter to vaik; and sicklyke, the Act made toward the annuels, obits, and altarages of Burrowes.

“ *Item*, How soone ane lawfull Parliament may be had, or that the occasioun utherwayes justlie serve, the Nobills, Barrons, and uthers of the Kirk undersubscryveand, sall labour and prease to their uttermost, that the faithfull Kirk of Jesus Chryst profest within this Realme, salbe put in full libertie of the patrimonie of the Kirk, according to the Book of God and the ordour and practises of the primitive Kirk: And that nothing sall passe in Parliament unto the tyme the matters of the Kirk foirsaid be first considerit, approvit, and establischt; and in the meane-tyme the professours undersubscryvand consents and offers to reforme themselves according to the Book of God, quhilk they sall put in practise, and the refusers and contraveners to be secludit fra the bosom of the Kirk. And moreover, in the said nixt Parliament, or utherwayes at the first occasioun, ordour salbe tane for ease of the poore labourers

of the ground, toward the payment of the teynds in reasonable maner, and how the same sall not be sett over their heids without their advyse and consent.

“ *Item*, That nane be admittit nor permittit heirafter to have charge over Schooles, Colledges, or Universities, or zet opinlie or publicklye to instruct the youthheid, but sick as hes bein tryed be the Superintendent and Visitors of the Kirk, and salbe found sound and able in doctrine, and admittit be them to their charges.

“ *Item*, That all crymes, vyces, and offences committit agains God’s law, may be severely punischit, according to the Word of God ; and where lawes are presentlie appointit for the punischment, and judges also to that effect deput, that the executioun be made therupon as effeirs ; and where neither law nor judges are appointit for sick crymes as are to be punischit be the Law of God, that in the first Parliament the same judges may be appointit, lawes establischt, as God commands in His Word.

“ *Item*, That sen the horrible murther of the King, the Quenes Majesties husband, is so odious not only before God, but also the whole world, be continuall infamie and schame to this haill Realme, if the same murther sall not be punischit accordingle ; therfor the Noblemen, Barrons, and uthers undersubservyand sall, with all their forces, strenth and power, concurre and assist to take plaine part together, to further and maintaine the punischment of the said murther, on all and quhatsumevir persones that salbe found guiltie of the same ; seing the plague of God sall not depart from the countrey or towne where innocent blood is sched, before the same salbe cleansit be shedding the blood of the offenders.

“ *Item*, Sen it hes pleisit Almightye God of His mercie to give ane native Prince to this countrey, appeirand to be our sovereign ; to the end he be not cruellie and schamefullie murtherit as his father was, the Nobilitie, Barrons, and uthers undersubservyand, sall assist, maintaine and defend the Prince against all that wald violentlie oppresse him or doe him injurie.

“ *Item*, That all Kings, Princes, and Magistrates, quhill heirafter in any tyme to come sall happin to reigne and beare rule over this Realme, at their first entres, befor they

be crownit and inaugurat, sall make their faithfull league and promise to the true Kirk of God, that they sall maintaine and defend, and be all lawfull meanes sett forward the true religioun of Jesus Chryst presentlie confessit and establischt within this Realme, evin as they are obleischit and astrictit in the Law of God, asweill in Deuteronomie as in the second chapter of the Book of Kings; as they crave obedience of their subjects, so the band and contract to be mutuall and reciproque in all tymes comeing betwixt the Prince and God, and also betwixt the Prince and faithfull people, according to the Word of God.

“*Item*, That the Prince whom God hes given us, asweill for his suretie as good educatioun, salbe committit to wise, ancient, godlie, and learned men of the Realme, to be brocht up within the same in the feare of God and vertue, whereby he may so profite in his zouth, that when he sall come to the zeirs of majoritie, he may be able to discharge himself sufficientlie of that honour and place whereto he salbe callit, and prove that good King quhilk with all their hearts they wisch him to be.

“*Item*, The Nobilitie, Barrons, and uthers of the Kirk undersubscriyvand, in the presence of God, hes faithfullie promiseit to conveyne themselves, together with their power and forces, and heir to begin to ruit out, destroy, and alut-terlie subvert all monuments of idolatrie, and namelie, the odious blasphemous Messe; and therafter to goe fordwart throughout this whole Realme to all and sundrie places quhatsumevir idolatrie hes fostred, haunted, or maintained, and cheiffie where Messe is said, to execute the reformatioun foirsaid, without exceptioun of place or persones, and sall, to the uttermost of their power, remove all idolaters, and uthers that are not admittit to the ministrie of the Kirk, fra all function therof, asweill privat as publick, that they hinder not the Ministrie any maner of way in their vocatioun: and in place of the premisses, sett up and establich the true religioun of Jesus Chryst throughout this haill Realme, be planting of Superintendents, Ministers, and uthers neidfull members of the Kirk, seing the Host of the Lord sall passe through the whole countrey to this effect; and also sall proceed to the punishment of idolaters, according to the laws thereupoun pronuncit; and sicklyke sall punish, and

cause be punischit, all uther vyces that presentlie abounds within this Realme, quhilk God's law, and the civill law of this Realme commands to be punished, and cheiflie the murther of the King laitlie committit; and, in lyke maner, promise faithfullie to reforme Schooles, Colledges, and Universiteis, throughout the whole Realme, and expell and remove the idolaters that hes charges therof, and uthers quho hes not as zet joynit themselfe to the true Kirk of Chryst, and plant faithfull instructers in their rouses, to the effect that zouth be not infectit be poysonable doctrine at the beginning, quhilk afterward cannot be weill removit away.

“ Followes the subscriptionns of the Erles, Lords, Barrons, and uthers Commissioners present for the tyme :—

“ Mortoune, Glencarne, Mar, Hume; William, Lord Ruthven, Sanchar, Patrick, Lord Lindsay, Grahame, Lord Innermeith, Ochiltrie; Sir James Balfour, James Macgill, Tullibardin, Comptroller, William Maitland, John Erskine, John Wischart, Glenbervie, John Cunighame of Drumquhassill, William Kirkaldie, John Catheart of Carilton, William Moncreiff, Drumlangrick, Bargeny, Andro Wood of Largo, Andro Stewart, Robert Fairlie of Braid, Archibald Wood, George Barclay of Mathirs, George Corrie of Kelwood, George Hooime of Spott, Mr William Lundie, Gilbert Kennedy of Dalquharrane, John Melvill of Raith, Quhittinghame, Rassyth, Baro, Pittencreif, Andro Car of Faudonsyde, Thomas Scott of Haryn [f. Harden], Robert Campbell, Henrie Grahame, John Fullerton of Dreghorn, Alexander Guthrie of that Ilk, William of Craigings, William Durhame of Grange, Thomas Dischingtoun, Thomas Scot of Thirlston, George Straitoun of that Ilk, Alexander Creichtoun of Karko, Mr John Wood, Alexander Ogston of Fethercarnie, Patrick Kyninmounth, Robert Lindsay, Thesaurer, John Colles, William Meinzie, John Melvill, William Edmeiston of Duntreth, Robert Murray, [Calderwood inserts here Thomas Kennedy of —], John Schaw, John Stewart of Minto, Gilbert Ogilbie of that Ilk, James [Thomas according to Calderwood] Chalner of Gaitgirth; Commissioners of townes—For Edinburgh, Alexander Clerk, balzie, Mr

Clement Little, Mr John Prestoun, Mr Richard Strang; for Air, Paul Reid, Richard Banatyne, Gilbert Macmillane; for Irvine, Alexander Cuninghame, Alexander, Commendator of Culros; for Glasgow, Mr David Wymis, William Howburne, James Boyd, Alexander Forrester; for Jedbrut,<sup>1</sup> William Chirnsyde, Kenneth Mackenzie, Robert Monro of Fowlis.”<sup>2</sup>

When the associated Lords perceived that neither they themselves, nor the Assembly of the Kirk, could prevail upon the other Noblemen, &c. to come into their measures against the Queen, and likewise that their own party was not likely to prove so powerful as they at first expected, they very wisely judged that the fairest way for them to secure their interest with the common people was to strike in with the Assembly, and grant the Ministers their so often suited requests, with all the strongest grimace they could put on. “The Lords at Edinburgh,” says Mr Knox, “seeing this, [viz. the refusal of the other Noblemen], joyneth absolutely with the Assembly, and promiseth to make gude all the Artickles they thought fit to resolve upoun in the Assembly: Bot,” adds he “how they performed their promises God knows.” And, we may say, had this gentleman been as sagacious as he was fiery and scurrilous, he might have learned before this time what was to be expected from the heads of his faction when the affair of money came into the plea.

I scarcely need to repeat here how that the Earl of Murray, having by this time taken upon him the Regency of the Kingdom, had called a Parliament to meet on the 15th day of December this year, in which the first thing, after the constituting of his own Regency, was to make good a promise to the preceding Assembly, in asserting the validity of the Parliamentary Convention in the month of August 1560, and to confirm the Acts concerning religion which had passed in that Convention, to which the Queen’s Majesty had all along refused to confer a royal sanction.

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood places them thus—“For Glasgow, Mr David Weems, James Boyd; for Jedburgh, William Howburn, Alexander Forester.”

<sup>2</sup> In the front of these three last names Calderwood sets down thus, viz. “Names of those that subscribed afterward at the desire of the Commissioners.” A very poor number surely.

It is not necessary that I should enter upon a particular enumeration of the Acts of this Parliament in December 1567 relating to religion, since they have been published several times in the collection of the Acts of our Parliaments. However, there is one thing I judge not improper to be noticed here, that neither in the preceding Assembly, nor in this Parliament, is there any regard at all taken of Mr Knox's Book of Discipline;<sup>1</sup> nay, nor was this Parliament so careful, as the Ministers might have expected, to perform what the Lords had promised in the last Assembly, "To put the faithfull Kirk of Jesus Chryst, professit within this Realme, in full liberty of the patrimony of the Kirk, according to the Book of God, and the ordour and practise of the Primitive Kirk;" even though this promise had been made with this express provision, that "nothing shall passe in Parliament till the tyme the interests of the Kirk forsaid be

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it may not be unsatisfactory to some readers to see inserted here the following Act of this Parliament, as not being reprinted in the common editions of the Acts thereof, viz.—"*Item*, Anent the Artickle proponit and gevin in be the Kirk to my Lord Regent and Thre Estatis of this present Parliament, anent the jurisdiction justlie appertening to the trew Kirk and immaculat spous of Jesus Christ, to be declarit and expressit, as the Artickle at mair lenth is consavit: The Kingis Grace, with avise of my Lord Regent and Thre Estatis of this present Parliament, hes declarit and grantit jurisdiction to the said Kirk, quhilk consistis and standis in preicheing of the trew Word of Jesus Christ, correction of maneris, and administratioun of haly Sacramentis; and declairis that thair is na uther face of Kirk, nor uther face of religioun, than is presentlie, be the favour of God, establisceit within this Realme; and that thair be na uther jurisdiction ecclesiasticall acknowlegeit within this Realme, uther than that quhilk is and salbe within the same Kirk, or that quhilk flowis thairfra concerning the premissis: and forther, our Soverane Lord, with avise of my Lord Regent and Thre Estatis foirsaidis, hes gevin, and gevis power and commissioun to Schir James Balfour of Pettindreich, Knycht, Priour of Pettinweme, Mark, Commendatour of Newbottill, Johne, Priour of Coldinghame, Lord Previe Seill, Maister James Mackgill of Rankelour-Nether, Clerk of Register, Williame Maitland, zounget of Lethingtoun, Secretar to our Soverane Lord, Schir Johne Bellenden of Auchinoull, Knycht, Justice-Clerk, Johne Erskin of Dune, Maister Johne Spottiswod, Superintendent of Lowthiane, Johne Knox, Maister Johne Craig, and Maister David Lindesay, Ministeris of the Word of God, to seirche furth mair specialle, and to consider quhat uther speciall pointis or clausis sould appertene to the jurisdiction, privilege, and autoritie of the said Kirk, and to declair thair myndis thairanentis to my Lord Regent and Thre Estatis of this Realme, at the nixt Parliament, swa that thay may tak ordour thairintill, and authoreis the samin be Act of Parliameut, as salbe fund agreabill to the Word of God.'"

first considerit, approvit, and establischit," &c. so that Mr Knox had some reason to say, " Bot how they performed their promise, God knows." What the Assembly might have meant here by the " Book of God," I shall not take upon me to resolve. If it was the Holy Bible, sure there is not in all that book one single word concerning the " patrimony of the Kirk."<sup>1</sup>

Register.] " The Conventioun of the brethren, haldin in Edinburgh the 18 of December 1567 zeirs, before the Generall Assemblie of the haill Kirk, to begin the 25 of the moneth forsaidd.

" First were nominat and chosen for every province certaine brethren, to reason and conferre upon sick things as appeirandly sould be necessar for setting fordwart the affaires of the Kirk, without prejudice of the Generall Assemblie and actions therof, &c.

" 22 Decembris. Anent the crymes of incest and adulterie, and punischment to be takin theranent in the nixt Generall Assemblie, the brethren presentlie conveyit thinks it necessar that every Minister, with the Elders and Deacons, sall search out within their awin bounds, at their Sessiouns, the foirsaid crymes, if they be notour; therafter to signifie the same to the Superintendent of the Dyocie at his Synodall Conventioun, and he therafter to notifie the same to the supreme Magistrate, requyring him to minister justice, and punisch sick haynous offences according to the law of God, as he will answer to that Supreme Judge at that day when no respect of persons salbe had. And wher no Superintendent is zet placed, that the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons declare the saids crymes to the Generall Assemblie, to the effect foirsaid." This Convention not noticed at all by Calderwood.

#### *Sixteenth General Assembly.*

Register.] " The Generall Assemblie of the Kirk conveyit in Edinburgh in the Nether-Tolbuith therof, the 25 of December 1567: In the quhilk were present Erles, Lords, Barrons, Superintendents, Ministers and Commissioners of

<sup>1</sup> [And still less, Bishop Keith might have added, " in the Ordour and Practice of the Primitive Kirk."—E.]

Townes and Kirks. The invocatioun of God's name was made be Mr Johne Craig, ane of the Ministers of Edinburgh. For eschewing of confusioun in reasoning in this present Assemblie, was chosen Mr Johne Row, Minister of Sanct Johnstoun, to be Moderator.

Calderwood.] "In the first Session the Superintendent of Fife was complained upon for not visiting Kirks, nor teaching in Kirks subject to his charge, nor taking up crymes and offenses to be punished. Adam, called Bishop of Orkney, Commissioner of Orkney, being absent, was delated for not visiting the Kirks of his country, but from Lambmess to Hallowmess. *Item*, That he occupied the room of a Judge in the Session, the sheep wandering without a Pastor. *Item*, Because he retained in his own companie Sir Francis Bothuell, a Papist, to whom he had given benefices, and placed a Minister. *Item*, Because he solemnized the marriage of the Queen and the Earl of Bothuell, which was altogether wicked and contrair to God's law and the statutes of the Kirk. Alexander, called Bishop of Galloway, Commissioner, was accused that he had not visited these three years bygone the Kirks within his charge; that he had left off the visiting and planting of Kirks, and he haunted Court too much, and had now purchased to be one of the Session and Privie Councill, which cannot agree with the office of a Pastor or Bishop; that he had resigned Inchchaffrey in favours of a child, and set diverse lands in feu, in prejudice of the Kirk.<sup>1</sup> Certain Commissioners were appointed

<sup>1</sup> [It is evident from all this, and much more elsewhere to the same effect, that as great, or even greater abuses prevailed, and that worse men existed, after the Reformation than before it. Indeed, it is almost impossible to fix upon a really good and upright public character in Scotland during the unhappy period we are now reviewing: and how could such corrupt trees yield good fruit? It seemed as if Divine Providence had raised up one set of bad men to punish another set as bad; just as Jehu, who "took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord," was raised up to punish the house of Ahab for their iniquities. No country in Europe needed reformation at this time more than Scotland, if the men who assumed to themselves the sacred name and office of Reformers had possessed any lawful authority for what they did, and set about their work in a regular and lawful manner. But unhappily, while they abolished a confessedly corrupt system, they introduced another that was no better, and made the remedy as bad as the disease. Doubtless, a better system grew up in the end; but whether this was in consequence or in spite of the proceedings of the first Reformers, I will not determine.—E.]

to visit Kirks : Mr John Knox, Minister of Edinburgh, was appointed to assist the Superintendent of Louthian in his visitation from Stirline to Berwick, and therafter to visit Kyle, Carriet and Cuninghame.

“ In the second Session, Mr John Craig, David Lindsay, George Buchanan, Principall of Sanct Leonard’s Colledge, and Mr George Hay, or any two of them, were appointed to direct their edicts to all Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of Kirks under the Superintendent of Fife his charge, to compear at Couper the 22 day of Januar, with their complaints against the said Superintendent, to try and report to the next Assemblie.” All this wanting in the Register.

Register.] “ The haille Kirk assemblit thocht it meitt that certaine brethren be appointit to concurre at all tymes with sick persons of Parliament or Secreit Counsell as my Lord Regent’s Grace hes nominat for sick affaires as pertaines to the Kirk and jurisdictioun therof, and also for decisions of questions that may occurre in the meane tyme, whose names followe, Mrs. Johne Knox and Johne Craig, Ministers of Edinburgh, the Superintendents of Angus and Louthiane, David Borthwick, Thomas Macalzean, Mrs. David Lindsay, Minister of Leith, George Hay of Ruthven, and Johne Row of Sanct Johnstoun.

Calderwood.] “ Mrs. Clement Little, Alexander Sim, and Richard Strang, were appointed Procurators, to defend and pursue all actions pertaining to the Kirk, before whatsoever judge or judges ; Mr George Makeson was chosen Soliciter, James Nicolson was Comptroller, keeping the rentalls of the thirds of benefices, and assumptions therof.

“ In the third Session, the Lairds of Braid, Whittinghame, and Elphinstone, Mr Alexander Arbuthnet, John Braid, Minister, were joyned to the brethren nominat in the second Session appointed to concur with the Lords of Secret Counsell, for decision of questions after the Assembly.

Register.] “ Ordaines that Superintendents and Commissioners appointit, sall plant Ministers vacand in sick rowmes where the parochiners will gladlie sustaine them on their awin expensis, quhyll uther ordour be had, and that they remove none out of the rowmes, being found qualifit, without advyse and consent both of the Kirk and Minister that is found worthie of the place.

Calderwood.] “ In the fourth Session, Mr Patrick Craigh, Minister of Ratho, for celebrating the mariage of Mr James Lindsay and a woman whom he had abused in fornication, without proclamation of bands or testimoniall therof, and upon a ferial day, contrair to all order established in the Kirk, and cheifly ane Act made in December 1565, was suspended from his ministrie, and lifting up of his stipend.

Register.] “ Anent the accusation laid to my Lord Argyll’s charge tuitching the separatioun betwixt him and his wyfe, declarit that he was not the occasioun therof. As to uther offences quhatsoever, quherthrow he hes bein any wayes slanderous to the Kirk, he was content to submitt himself to the discipline of the Kirk at all tymes most willinglie; and therfor the Kirk ordaines the Superintendent of Argyll to take triall of the saids slanders committit be the said Erle, and therafter to caus sick satisfacioun be made as God’s law appoints, and to report the ordour therof to the nixt Generall Assemblie of the Kirk, together with his awin diligence in executioun of his office of superintendrie.

Calderwood.] “ The Bishop of Galloway accused for neglect of preaching and overseeing the Kirks within his jurisdiction these three years bygone, and attending upon Court, Session, and Secret Counsell. He granted that he offended in all that was laid to his charge, yet, upon some considerations not expressed in the Register, his commission was continued till the nixt Assemblie, with admonition to be diligent in visitation.

Register.] “ Anent the mariage of the Quene with the Erle of Bothwell, be Adam, callit Bischop of Orknay; the haill Kirk finds that he transgrest the Act of the Kirk in marieing the divorcit adulterer, and therfor depryves him fra all functioun of the ministrie, conforme to the tenour of the Act made therupon, ay and quhyll the Kirk be satisfyit of the slander committit be him, &c.”<sup>1</sup> Calderwood informs thus, in the front of this censure, viz. “ Adam, called Bishop of Orkney, pretended he might not remain in Orkney all the year, be reason of the evill air and weakness of his body: He denyed that he understood Francis Bothuell to be a Papist, or that he placed him in the ministry.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, Numb. III.

Register.] “ The same day M. Johne Craig was bruitit for proclaiming the bands betwixt the Quene and the Erle Bothwell, who answerit be word, justifieing his proceedings theranent, and was ordainit to give in his purgatioun in wryte, to the effect that his good mynd and proceedings may be knawin to all and sundrie that heirafter wald be satisfyit heiranent.

*“ Tenour of the foirsaid purgatioun.*

“ To the end that all that feares God may understand my proceedings in this mater, I sall schortlie declare quhat I did, and quhat moved me to defend the same, leaving the finall judgement of all things to the Kirk : First, be the request of Mr Thomas Hepburne in the Queenes name, to proclaime her with my Lord Bothwell, I plainly refuseit, becaus he had not her handwrite, and also the commoun bruit that my Lord had both ravischit her and kepit her in captivitie. Upon Wednesday nixt the Justice-clerk brought me ane wryting subscryvit with her hand, bearing in effect that scho was neither ravischit nor zet retainit in captivitie, and therfore chargeit me to proclaime. My answer was, I durst proclaime no bands, and cheifly, such without consent and command of the Kirk. Upon Thursday nixt the Kirk, after long reasoning with the Justice-clerk and amongst the brethren, concludit that the Queenes mynd sould be publishit to her subjects the thrie nixt preaching dayes : but becaus the Generall Assemblie had prohibited all sick mariages, we protestit we wold neither solemnize, neither zet approve that mariage, bot wald only declare the Prynces mynd, leaving all doubts and dangers to the counsellours, approvers, and performers of the mariage ; and so upon Friday nixt I declarit the haill mynd and progresse of the Kirk, desyring every man, in God’s name, to discharge his conscience befor the Secreit Counsell ; and to give boldness to uthers, I desyrit of the Lords there present, tyme and place, to speak my judgement befor the parties, protesting if I were not heard and satisfied, I either wald desist from proclaiming, or els declare my mynd publicklic befor the Kirk : Therfor being admittit after noone befor my Lord in the Counsell, I laid to his charge the law of adulterie, the ordinance of the Kirk, the law of ravisching, the suspitioun

of collusion betwixt him and his wyfe, the sudden divorce-ment and proclaiming within the space of four dayes ; and last, the suspitioun of the King's death, quhilk his mariage wald confirme. Bot he answerit nothing to my satisfactioun. Quherfor, after my exhortatiouns, I protestit that I could not but declare my mynd publicklye to the Kirk. Therfor upon Sunday, after I had declarit quhat they had done, and how they wald proceed whether we wald or not, I took heaven and earth to witness that I abhorit and detestit that mariage, becaus it was odious and slanderous to the world ; and seing the best part of the Realme did approve it, either be flatterie or be their silence, I desyrit the faithfull to pray earnestlye that God wald turne to the confort of this Realme that thing quhilk they intendit against reason and good conscience. I, becaus I heard some persons grudgand against me, usit thir reasons for my defences ; *First*, I had brockin no law be proclaiming of thir persons at their request. *Secondlye*, If their mariage was slanderous and hurtfull, I did weill in forwarning of all men of it in tyme. *Thirdlye*, As I had of duetie declareit to them the Princes will, sa did I faithfully teach them be word and example, quhat God craveit of them ; but upon Tuesday nixt I was callit befor the Counsell and accuseit that I had past the bounds of my commissioun, calling the Princes mariage odious and slanderous before the world. I answerit, the bounds of my commissioun, quhilk was the Word of God, gude laws and naturall reason, was able to prove quhatsoever I spake ; zea, that their awin conscience could not but beare witness that sick a mariage wald be odious and scandalous to all that sould heir of it, if all the circumstances therof were rightlye considerit ; bot quhyll I was coming to my probatioun, my Lord put me to silence and sent me away. And so upon Wednesday I first repeated and ratified all things befor spokin ; and after exhortit the brethren not to accuse me if that mariage proceedit, bot rather themselves, who wold not for feare oppone themselves, bot rather scharpit their tongues against me becaus I admonished them of their duetie, and sufferit not the cankerit consciences of hypocrites to sleip at rest ; protesting at all tymes to them that it was not my proclaiming, bot rather their silence that gave any lawfulness to that

mariage ; for as the proclaiming did take all excuse fra them, so my privat and publict impugnatioun did safe my conscience sufficiently. And this farre I proceidit in this mariage as the Kirk of Edinburgh, Lords, Erles, and Barrones that heard me will beare me witness. Now seing I I have bein schamefullie slanderit both in England and Scotland, be wrong informatioun and false report of them that hateit my ministrie, I desyre first the judgement of the Kirk, and nixt the same to be publishit, that all men may understand whether I be worthie of sick ane bruit or not.<sup>1</sup>

Calderwood.] “ In the fifth Session the power of Commissioners appointed to visit and plant Kirks, was limited in manner following: They are to consider what persons possess benefices within the bounds of their visitation ; how long, and at whose presentation ; also their qualities and sufficiencies : And if any vaick in the time of their presentation, to dispoine the same to qualified persons, being presented be the right patrons ; and if they dispoine any benefice to unqualified persons, they shall underly the censure of the Kirk at the nixt Assembly, shall be punished accordingly, and the benefice shall be bestowed upon another who is qualified.

Register.] “ Anent the complaint given in against my Lady Argyll, declareing how scho once being at the table of the Lord Jesus, and professing his Evangell, had revoltit therfra, in giving her assistance and presence to the baptizing of the King in a Papisticall maner. The said ladie being present grantit that scho had offendit to the Eternall God, and bein ane slander to the Kirk in committing the premissis ; and therfor willinglie submittit herself to the discipline of the Kirk and discretioun of them : Therfor the Kirk ordaines the said ladie to make publick repentance in the Chapell Royall of Striveling upon ane Sonday in tyme of preaching ; and this to be done at sick tyme as the Kirk heirafter sall appoint be the Superintendent of Louthiane, provyding alwayes it be before the nixt Assemblie.”

The Register contains no more of this Assemblie ; but we find a good deal more in Calderwood, viz. “ twelve or thirteen brethren wer appointed to conven and choose Col-

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, Numb. III.—[Mr Craig would have acted more consistently had he absolutely refused to proclaim the parties.—E.]

lectors for uplifting and inbringing the thrids of the benefices in every province, and to enjoyn what every one of them shall observe; the Kirk presently assembled in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, hath elected, nominate, made, constitute, and ordained, and be the tennor hereof, elects, makes, nominates, constitutes, and ordaines their beloved brother N. their Collector within the bounds of N.; granting, giving, and committing to him full power, authority, speciall command and charge, to ask, crave, and receave, in name of the said Kirk, intromett and uptake all and sundry the thrids of whatsomever benefices lying within the saids bounds, together with the whole fruits of common Kirks, and all other common rents, whole fruits and rents of Freirs' lands, places, and livings, whole superplus omitted and benefices, or chapplanries not given up in rentalls, lying within the bounds above specified, which are now be Parliament given and assigned to the Ministrie of the Kirk, of the crop and yeare of God 1567 years instant, and sicklike yearly in time coming, whill he be lawfully discharged; acquittances and discharges thereupon to make, give, and subscribe, and generally all and sundry things to doe and exerce, that to the office of collectorie in such cases, by law or consuetude, is knowen to pertain firm and stable holding, and for to hold all and whatsomevir things the said Collector doeth in the premisses, or lawfully leadeth to be done: Providing alwise that he use the said office of collectorie, and behave himself therein according to the injunctions given to him therupon; and make compt, reckoning, and payment of his intromission, after the form and tennor therof. Given in the Generall Assemblie and fifth Session thereof.

*“ The Tennor of the Caution for everie Collector, according to the Injunctions, followeth:—*

“ We, N. and N.: Forsameikle as the Assembly holden at Edinburgh the 2d of Januar 1567 years, hath made and constitute their loving brother N. within the bounds of N. Collector, and hath made and given to him certain injunctions, with commission for using of the said office for the crop and year of God 1567 years instant, and siklike yearly, and in time coming, whill he be lawfully discharged, as at more lenth is contained in these said injunctions and com-

mission : Therfor we bind and obleige ourselves, our heirs, executors, and assigneys, to Mrs. Clement Little and Richard Strang, procurators for the Kirk, and in their names, that the said N. shall truely, leilly, and diligently use and exerce the said office, to the weel and utility of the Kirk, without fraud or guile, according to the commission and injunctions given to him thereupon ; and shall make reckoning and thankfull payment of his intromission during all the time of his office ; and if he fail, we shall refound and pay to the Kirk all and whatsomever things the said N. shall happen to be addebted to them during all the time forsaid : And for more sure payment of the premisses, we are content, and consents that this our assignation be acted in the books of Counsell, and decerned to have the strenth of a decreit of the Lords, and executorials to pass thereupon in form as effairs. And I, the said N., bind and oblige me myself, my heirs, executors, and assigneys, to free, relceve, and keep skaithless the said N. and N. my soverties, &c. In witness of the whilks, we have subscribed this obligation with our hand, at Edinburgh, the —— day of ——

“ In the Injunctions it was required that every Collector be known to be of sound religion ; that they shall do their office without suspicion of fraud or avarice ; make payment to every Superintendent, Commissioner of the Kirk, Minister or Reader living within their bounds, of the stipend appointed to them quarterly, at four terms in the year, and that the said payment be made to every one that serveth that hath stipend or fee, at their own houses, that they be not compelled to seek abroad and leave their vocation : That where the rentall beareth victuall, they shall not have power to sell the victuall or any part thereof, or sett price therupon, but be the advice of the Assembly allenerly, or such as they shall deput Commissioners thereto in every province ; and that the said Collectors shall have their hand-writs to shew at their compts, and shall sell no victual till the Ministers be first furnished, or else refuse to receave the samen upon the prices which shall be appointed : And if the poor labourers be not able for povertie to deliver the bolls, he shall take no higher prices than is appointed, nor put up in the garnell, where he may have the prices before appointed.

*Item*, that they shall not drive time fraudulently, in payment of Ministers' stipends; that they be not compelled through necessity to give acquittances of greater sumes then they shall happen to receive, or take the victualls at dearer prices then shall be appointed: And if it be known that he hath dealt fraudulently or covetously, to the hurt either of Ministers or subjects, that he shall incurr the pain of twa hundereth pounds, to be applyed to godly uses. *Item*, that they shall make a just accompt to the Assembly, or others to be appointed to receive the same, of their particular intronissions with their forsaid thirds, and make faithfull payment of the superpluses resting in their hands above the payment to the Ministers, or els give in letters of horning sufficiently execut and indorsed, of their diligence. *Item*, that they resign their office in the hands of the Assembly whensoever they shall be charged, or found negligent, or fraudulent. *Item*, that they find some sufficient landed man or burgess, cautioner, one or moe, if one be not sufficient for the faithful administration of their office, under pain of refunding all damages, skaiths, and entress which the Kirk, or any member thereof, shall sustain through their defaults, the samen being summarly liquidat and known, and loss of their office, *ipso facto*, and under pain befor expressed in the fourth Article.

“ In the sixth Session, the Superintendent of Angus presented a supplication in write, or rather a dimission of his office of Superintendrie, be reason he was not able to discharge that office, in respect of his age and infirmity: The Assembly notwithstanding, would not accept this his dimission, for divers respects, to be shown to the said Superintendent, and continued him in the said vocation till farder advisement.

“ In the last Session it was ordained that a letter should be sent to England to Mr Willocks, to request him to return: The tennor wherof followeth:—

“ “ *Videbam Satanam sicut fulgur de cœlo cadentem.*

“ “ As the Lord our God hath at all times been from the beginning of this His work of reformation and restitution of the purity of His true worship and religion within Scotland, loving brother in the Lord, most beneficiall and boun-

tiful toward this Realme, so hath He now be this last, but most miraculous victory and overthrow, poured forth in greatest abundance the riches of His mercies, in that not only He hath driven away the tempest and storm, but also hath quieted and calmed all sources of persecution ; as now we may think weal our ship is received and placed in a most happy and blessed port ; our enemies, praised be God, are dashed ; religion established ; sufficient provision made for Ministers ; order taken, and penaltie appointed, for all sort of transgression and transgressours ; and above all, a godly Magistrat, whom God of His eternall and heavenly Providence hath reserved to this age, to put in execution whatsoever He by His law commandeth. Now then, loving brother, as your presence was to us all in time of trouble most comfortable, so it is now of us all universally wished, but most earnestly craved be your own flock, who continually, at all Assemblies, have declared the force of that conjunction, the earnestness of that love, the pith of that zeal, and mutuall care that bindeth the pastor with his flock, which neither be progress of time is diminished, nor be separation and distance of places restringed, nor yet be tyrannie and fear dissolved. True it is, that at this their most earnest and just petitions, we have ever still winked this time past ; not but that to us all your absence was most dolourous, but in respect of troubles, we judged more meet to await for such opportunity as now God in this most wonderfull victory of his evangell hath offered : Therefore, seeing all impediments are removed, and your flock still continueth in earnest sute for you, and now every wher throughout the Realme Commissioners and Superintendents placed, and one offered to them, and be them refused altogether, awaiting for you, we could no longer stay, but agree to this their desire and suit, whereof neither through fear have they fainted, nor by charges retarded, nor yet by any kind of offer desisted ; and as we have been moved to grant to them that which they have thus humbly and continually suted, we cannot but perswad ourselves but ye will satisfie the same ; neither can we think that the shepherd will refuse his flock ; that the father will reject the just petition of his son ; least of all, that the faithfull servant of God will shut up his cares at the voice and commandment of the

Kirk, or yet deny his labours to his own country. The time is proper now to reape with blythnesse that ye know before was sown in teares, and enjoy the fruit of your most wearisome and painfull labours. It shall be no less pleasant to you to see your own native country at liberty and freedom, which ye left in mourning and sobbing under the heavie burden of most cruell servitude, then comfortable to behold the religion of Jesus Christ throughout all the Realm flourishing, vertue increasing, vertuous men in reputation; and so finally embrace these dayes, which howsoever hath been be yourself most piously desired, yet could ye never look to obtain the same.<sup>1</sup> Now, at last to conclude, unless ye will be

<sup>1</sup> [The reader, no doubt, will be surprised, after what he has already seen, to find so flattering a picture of the moral and religious condition of Scotland here brought before him; but it was manifestly done to serve a particular purpose. It may be worth while to contrast with it the following extract from a Sermon preached at Leith by Mr David Ferguson, Minister of Dunfermline, before the General Assembly, in January 1571-2, "Then the same accusations and complaints that God used of old by His prophet against the Jews, serve this day against them that are like the Jews in transgression; yea, they serve against us. For this day Christ is spoiled amongst us, while that which ought to maintain the ministry of the Kirk and the poor, is given to profane men, flatterers in Court, ruffians, and hirelings: the poor, in the meantime, oppressed with hunger, the kirks and temples decaying for the lack of Ministers and upholding, and the schools utterly neglected. But now to speak of your temples, where the Word of God should be preached, and the Sacraments administered, all men see to what miserable ruin and decay they are come: yea, they are so profaned that, in my conscience, if I had been brought up in Germany, or in any other country where Christ is truly preached, and all things done decently and in order, according to God's Word, and had heard of that purity of religion which is among you, and for the love thereof had taken travel to visit this land; and then should have seen the foul deformity and desolation of your kirks and temples, which are more like sheep-cots than the House of God; I could not have judged that there had been any fear of God or right religion in the most part of this Realm. And, as for the Ministers of the Word, they are utterly neglected, and come in manifest contempt among you. Ye rail upon them at your pleasure. Of their doctrine, if it serve not your turn, and agree not with your appetites, ye are become impatient. And to be short, we are now made your table-talk, whom ye mock in your mirth, and threaten in your anger. This is what moves me (let men judge as they list) to lay before your eyes the miserable state of the poor Kirk of Scotland, that thereby ye may be provoked to pity it, and to restore the things that unjustly ye spoiled it of. Cleanse, then, your hands of all impiety; specially of sacrilege, whereby ye spoiled the poor, the schools, the temples, and the Ministers of God's Word, yea Christ

ane enemie to your country ye will not refuse these requests; unless ye will be stubborn and disobedient ye will not contemn the commandment of the Kirk; unless ye will be careless and unthankfull ye will not despise the humble, continuall, and earnest sute of your flock; and last, we assure ourselves, that ye are not so astricted and addicted to your own particular, as that this generall and common cause should be in anywise be you neglected. Now shall ye see the kaipstone of that work wherof ye laid the foundation. Thus we cannot look for any other answer then ye shall give be yourself, and that with all expedition possible. Our state ye know is not so sure but we ever stand upon our watches; but that we know will not stay you, seing your compt is so laid. Thus we commit you to the protection of our Lord Jesus. At Edinburgh, in our Generall Assembly, and seventh Session therof."

The only remaining paper pertaining to this Ecclesiastical Part of our Historical Collections, is the following letter taken from Mr Calderwood's large MS., and which is introduced by that writer in these precise words:—

"The Ministers in the mean time [viz. when the Queen was at Hamilton, after her escape from Lochleven,] celebrated publict fasting, and prayed that the Lord would turn her interprise to nought. Mr John Spotswood, Superintendent of Louthian, directeth this admonition following to the professours within his bounds:—

Himself. I grant that our fathers, out of their immoderate zeal, besides the teinds and necessary rents of the Kirk, gave thereto superfluously, and more than enough. What, then, is to be done? but that the preachers of God's Word be reasonably sustained (seeing that there is enough, and too much, for that purpose), the schools and the poor be well provided, as they ought, and the temples honestly and reverently repaired; that the people may, without injury from wind and weather, sit and hear God's Word, and participate in the Holy Sacraments. And if there rest any thing unspent when this is done (as no doubt there will), in the name of God let it be spent on the most necessary affairs of the commonwealth, and not on any man's private commodity." This eloquent and bold Sermon was printed at St Andrews the year after it was preached. It was read and approved of by John Knox, who was near his latter end at the time, and thus attested his opinion of it—"John Knox, with my dead hand, but glad heart, praising God that of His mercy he leaves such light to His Kirk, in this desolation."—E.]

*“ Mr John Spotswood, Superintendent of Louthian, to all that profess or that have professed the Lord Jesus, and have refused that Roman Antichrist called the Pope, within the Diocess committed to his charge, desires grace, mercie, and peace, from God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, together with the spirit of righteous judgment.*

“ THAT fearfull sentence pronounced be God Himself unto His Prophet Ezekiel, against the watchman that seeth the sword coming, and doeth not blow the trumpet and plainly warn the people, compelleth me to write unto you, beloved in the Lord, this my rude letter, because that my corporal presence and weak voice cannot be extended to you all in thir dangerous and most wicked dayes: To you, I say, I am compelled to cry be my pen, that the sword of God's just judgment is come, and hath devoured some, according to the forewarning of His messengers, and (alace) I fear is yet drawn, and yet ready to devour mee; the first part of this cannot be denyed, and the second also hath great probabilitie; and yet I fear that every man seeth not, or at least will not confess the very cause neither of the one nor yet of the other. We see a wicked woman, whose iniquity known and lawfully conviet, deserved more then ten deaths, escaped from prison, this is the *first*; negligence of the keepers of it is not to be excused, so may it weel occupy the *second* place before men; practices of deceitfull men, together with her own villanie, justly may occupy the *third* rank in that wicked fact; but none of all these should have had place to work if the mouth of the Lord had been obeyed, for if she had suffered, according as God's law commandeth “murtherers and adulterers to die the death,” the wickedness taken forth from Israel, the plague should have ceased, which cannot but remain, so long as that innocent blood, traiterously shed, is not punished according as God hath commanded; and so I fear not to affirm that the reservation of that wicked woman, against God and against the voices of His servants, is the first and principall cause externall which man can see of the plague and murder lately begun; and yet, when I confess it to be the first externall cause, I mean not that it is the only and sole cause of this present and appearing calamity; for albeit

that the devil himself had been loosed (as no doubt he was) in the person of that most wicked woman, yet could not he nor she greatly have troubled this Commonwealth, unless that she had been assisted with the presence, counsell, and force of such as have professed the Lord Jesus, and be all appearance had renounced that Roman Antichrist and his damnable superstition. For albeit all the Papists within the Realm of Scotland had joyned with her, the danger had not been great, for although in number the wicked might have exceeded the faithfull, yet when the servants of God should have had battle only against the Canaanites, Jebusites, Ammonites, and against the rest of that prophane and adulterous generation, they could no more have feared now, then that the litle flock hath feared from the beginning of this controversie, which now, be God's power, thir nine years they have sustained against all the pestilent Papists within the same. But alace! the sword of dolour hath pierced, and yet pierceth many hearts, to see brethren seek with all cruelty the blood of their brethren, yea to see the hands of such as were esteemed the principall within the flock, to arm themselves against God, against His Son Christ Jesus, against a just and most lawfull authority, and against the men who looked of them not only quietness and peace, but also maintainance and defence against all invasion, domesticall or forraign. The consideration of this their most treasonable defection from God, from His truth professed, and from the authority most lawfully established, causeth the hearts of many godile to sob and mourn, not only secretly, but also openly to crave of God the conversion and repentance of such as have assisted that most wicked woman, who ambitiously, cruelly, and most unjustly hath aspired, and yet aspireth to that regiment wherefrom, for impieties committed, most justly and be such order as no law can reprove, she was deposed. And therefore, in the bowells of Christ Jesus, I exhort all in generall, and such as are under my charge in speciall, who hath communicated with her odious impieties, that they deeply consider their fearfull defection from God, and from His lawfull Magistrates, be His Word, and be good order, erected within this Realm; and that they, be condemnation and publick confession of their folly, travell speedily to return again to the

bosom of the Kirk, and unto the obedience due unto the Magistrates, from the which they have most traitorously declined; assuring such as shall be apprehended to remain obstinat in their former wicked interprise, that in our nixt letters their names shall be expressed and proclaimed before all congregations, wherewith, if they be not moved to repentance, then will we (albeit with grief of heart) be compelled to draw the sword committed to us be God, and to cut them off from all societie of the body of Jesus Christ, and for their stubborn rebellion, to give them to the power of Satan, to the destruction of the flesh, that they, confounded in themselves, be unfained repentance may return again from their wicked ways, and so escape condemnation in the day of the Lord Jesus, Whose omnipotent Spirit move the hearts of all that look for the life everlasting to consider that His coming approacheth. Amen. Given at Calder.”<sup>1</sup>

Having thus brought the account of Ecclesiastical Affairs as far down as this Volume requires, I shall now shut up the same with a short reflexion concerning these matters.

As to the generall state of the Christian Church for a good while before the period of which we have been treating in these Historical Collections, it seems to be undeniable that several things, unsupported by primitive antiquity, had crept into both the doctrine and worship thereof; some of which, we may nevertheless charitably believe, had been introduced with no bad design, whilst others, if they were not brought in, were at least either kept up with sinister views, or maintained with too peevish an obstinacy. It will, I suppose, be almost universally agreed, that the Church is invested with a power to appoint, reform, or abolish such things as pertain to the externall worship of God, for the benefit of the faithful, according to the expediency of time, and other the like circumstances: But as

<sup>1</sup> The tenor of this letter is indeed very pithy; but, however, we may most justly observe, that whether the Queen was guilty or not guilty of the crime laid against her, yet there neither was then (so far as we can see) nor has been till this day, any proper foundation to say that her Majesty was lawfully convict thereof. By the history of the time, and the acknowledgment of this letter, it would seem the greatest number of the Kingdom thought the Magistracy not lawful.—[The whole letter is manifestly written under the influence of strong party spirit.—E.]

the Church consists of two parts, the governors and the governed ; men will not so generally agree as to the deportment of the latter, provided the former should not think fit to comply with such appointments and regulations as might come to be required from them. And the difference will certainly prove still the more wide, when the question shall come to touch the things that pertain to doctrine. For in either case, there are some persons who do maintain that when the governors incline not to make any alteration, the governed ought in conscience to submit, and that no other lawful means is left them but application to Almighty God, that He would be pleased so to rule and dispose the hearts of the governors, as to concur in the desired reformation : Nor do they seem to frame any doubt but that in such an event His Divine Majesty would effectually interpose by means best known and seen to Himself. But others do, on the contrary, as strenuously maintain, that if the governors shall refuse to reform abuses of any sort, the governed may freely put to their hand, and reform what they shall judge to be amiss. To reduce the first of these sentiments to practice, it would seem necessary that men were moulded into another temper and spirit than is to be expected in our present degenerate condition. And as to the other sentiment, it will be alledged, that if a true reformation of abuses was actually and in good earnest brought about, though the manner of bringing about the same was not so regular in all its points, yet the advantage of the benefit thereby gained may be judged a sufficient balance for the breaking in upon a duty, viz. obedience to external superiors, which could not be preserved without encroaching, at the same time, upon another that was still more material and binding, namely, obedience to the laws and commandments of God ; and no doubt this judgment will be of much greater force if the supreme ecclesiastical governors have, by degrees, assumed to themselves a power and superiority which of right does not belong unto them. In fine, when we cast our eyes upon the state of the Christian Church at the commencement of the grand breach, may we not charitably think, that had men foreseen what was to follow thereupon, the supreme governors would, for the sake of peace, have made it their choice to yield their consent to a total abolition of all un-

warrantable doctrines ; and the governed to a benign interpretation of such things as were less essential, and consequently less dangerous, that so unity and concord might have been preserved among all the members of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

Next, as to the situation of the Church within this Nation, it is to be observed that by the Constitution thereof, for some time at least, preceding the reformation of religion, our Kings were, by the indults of the Popes, invested with a privilege of nominating to all the vacant Bishopricks, Abbacies, and Priories of any note within the Kingdom. The consequence of which was, that our Princes did, at the solicitation of their favourites and courtiers, for the most part nominate to the Bishopricks persons that were unworthy of bearing that sacred character ; and to the Abbacies and Priories, persons not only of no education, nor in any Orders of the Church, but children oftimes and boys, under the denomination of Abbots and Priors-Commendators, that by this fraudulent and sacrilegious sort of dealing, the rents and benefices of the Church might accresce to, and become the patrimony of private families. Nay, we are even certain, that persons in no ecclesiastical Orders, and very boys too were, by the presentation of our Kings, and the provision of the Popes, set over the Episcopal sees themselves.<sup>2</sup> This then being the bad use our Princes made of their privilege, the natural result of this was, that by far too many of these Prelates being neither bred up in letters, nor having in them any virtuous dispositions, did not only live irregularly themselves, but through neglect of their charge did likewise introduce by degrees such a deluge of ignorance and vice among the Clergy and all ranks of men, that the state of the Church seemed to call loudly for a reformation of both, insomuch that an easy compliance in most people, with a proposed reformation, might have justly again been reckoned the consequence of the corrupt state of the Church in this Nation at that time. And had none but pious and prudent men set about that work, and had they put their hands to the real abuses only, we, in this

<sup>1</sup> See this beautiful reflexion finely set forth by the Lord Herbert, in his life of King Henry VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Such was the case of Robert Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, brother to Matthew, Earl of Lenox. Epist. Reg. Scot. Vol. ii. p. 222.

Kingdom, might have obtained a reformation preferable perhaps to that of any other country : And how greatly had both that age and posterity applauded their conduct, and been obliged to their labours ! but to our grievous misfortune, things went too much otherwise. And because the ignorance and viciousness of a great many of the then priests was too visible either to be denied or palliated, therefore the leaders (or I might more justly say the leading man) of the Reformation presumed boldly to declare against the Order of Priesthood altogether,<sup>1</sup> and to introduce in its room a new fashioned sort of Ministry<sup>2</sup> unknown in the Christian Church for all preceding generations : A model, by its own inward constitution, the fruitful source of innumerable subdivisions and schisms, in so far as it subjects the holy Order to the designation of the multitude in the several nations of Christendom, and by which, of consequence, the Clergy and religion of all countries have an equal claim, and the Priests of the Roman Church are as truly the Ministers of Jesus Christ as any of the Reformed, by their having the unanimous voice of the people on their side. In a word, so intoxicated was the principal director of our Reformation with the extravagancies he had seen in foreign parts, that (contrary to the

<sup>1</sup> The wise and learned Erasmus had cautioned Luther against this mismanagement ; but his good advice had not the just effect. See the letters between these two great men.—[The same advice had been given by Archbishop Hamilton to John Knox, but he disregarded it.—E.]

<sup>2</sup> It has been said oftener than once, that our Reformation was carried on by Presbyters only : A very fallacious affirmation surely, since the persons here pointed at were any other thing as naturally as Presbyters, and were not indeed Presbyters at all. For though it be true that Mr Knox and some others had formerly had the ordination of Priests, that is, Presbyters, yet we know that he, and probably those others too, acted at that time without any regard to their former sacred Orders, and that they disclaimed the same as being of no worth nor authority, insomuch that Mr Erskine of Dun, William Harlaw, taylor in Canongate of Edinburgh, Paul Methven, baker in Dundee, and many more no doubt, were we acquainted with the minute circumstances of these times, came into the same degree with them : And they all might have denominated themselves Bishops, Patriarchs, or Popes, as well as Presbyters, or any thing else they pleased, or whatever we may think fit to call them now ; though indeed they were none of all these Orders, by any title or language known in the Christian Church before that time. And any man may, by the same right, assume to himself the authority of Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, at any time he and his fellows shall find proper so to do.—[No man can be a Presbyter unless ordained by a canonical Bishop.—E.]

good advice given him) unless he got every thing plucked up that had been before, he could never suffer himself to be persuaded but that Popery was still regnant in the land ; and unless Prince and Peer, Priest and People, would accommodate themselves to his devout imaginations (as he owns some of his new-fangled schemes were denominated) there was hardly any safety for them at all. And thus, by his unruly and misgoverned zeal, the goodly polity which had so long continued, and ought still to have subsisted in the Church, was utterly defaced, and the divine worship was left naked and bare beyond any example in antiquity ; and instead of that beauty which might have been the ornament of our land, we relinquished to our neighbouring nation the honour of claiming to themselves the glory of the Reformed Churches. Two things however must be acknowledged to be preferable in our Reformation, namely, a stricter discipline, and a more equal distribution of Clergymen's stipends.

And now, upon the whole, since the best external Reformation either of doctrine or worship, is of no avail without the internal Reformation of the heart and manners, we ought all to reckon it our indispensable duty to set about this in good earnest. We have indeed great reason to thank the Divine Providence that we are rescued from much blindness and error ; but most especially ought we to labour to be making a right use of the light and knowledge, and all the other excellent means of grace we enjoy ; that so we may not be shut out of the heavenly Kingdom, while others who may be in greater darkness, shall for their uprightness and sincerity, and for living up to their light, be introduced into it by the "just Judge of all the earth, Who is no respecter of persons ; but in every nation he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with Him : To Whom be glory and dominion for ever." Amen.

FINIS.



# APPENDIX

[TO BOOKS II AND III.]

CONTAINING THE

ORIGINAL PAPERS AND RECORDS, WITH OTHER  
DOCUMENTS, MENTIONED AND REFERRED  
TO IN THE FOREGOING  
HISTORY.



# APPENDIX

## TO BOOK II.

### I. [ii. 4.]



N the first, to schaw and declair — service and obedience, that the said — of Scotland willis to be done be — of faithful subjects to thair —

*Item*, To schaw unto thair saidis Soverane — in the lait treatie betwix thair Majesties — Valence and Mons. de Randan — upon the vi day of Julij last bypast — suld convene togidder in Parliament the — Julij, and at that day continew — August nixt thaireftir, according — the fairsaid tent day of Julij — said first day of August — quhilk first day of August — thingis ceisit and wes diff.

*Item*, Ze sall declair — day of August, that — James Duke — [Here follows a broken list of the Parliament in August 1560, agreeable enough to that in the Cotton Library, some two or three names excepted, for which see p. 146, [i. 311.] Hist. After the list a piece of an imperfect sentence thus] — For thair partis to be presentit and deliverit to thair Majesties, and to require and to ressave thair Hienes' confirmatioun and ratificatioun thairof, to be brocht in this thair Realme, according to the Treatie, under thair Ratificationis and Greit Seil.

*Item*, In likwiss ze sall declair to thair Majesties, that according to ane Artikle in the said Treatie, that the Estaittis sall nominate twenty-four gude and notable personis of this Realme, of the quhilkis thair Majesties suld cheis sevin, and the saidis Estaittis fyve, quha suld mak the ordinar Counsall to governe the causis of this Realme: And gif it wer thoecht be the saidis Estaittis that xiv suld be chesin of the saidis xxiv, then the King and Quenis

Majesties to name VIII, and the saidis Estaittis VI. The saidis Estaittis hes thoct the gretar nowmer best ; thairfor ze sall present unto our saidis Soveranis Majesties the XXIV nominat be the Estaittis, and desyr and requyr of thair Hienes VIII of the saidis XXIV to be chesin be thame, with commissioun to the said VIII, with VI of the saidis XXIV to be chesin be the saidis Estaittis, to governe the commoun affairis and Estaittis of this Realme, and the said Commissioun to be extendit, with all clauses necessary to the effect foirsaid, subscrivit be the King and Quenis Majesties under thair Greit Seil, ordaining the samin to be insert in the Bukis of Parliament for perpetuall memorie.

*Item*, Ze sall declair to the said King and Quenis Majesties, that the —— to the Nobilitie and people of this Realme —— according to thair bund dewtie, schaw thame-selffis —— to thair Majesties.

*Item*, Ze sall desyr to know our saidis Soveranis the Dutchess Dowriar of —— Guiss, hir spous, and the uther, the umquhill Quene Regentis frendis —— myndis and intentioun anent the burying of hir body ; quhairin we, for our part, will do anent the ceremonyis requirit quhatsum-evir we may, of the Law of God, and according to the hienes of hir estait.

## II. [ii. 27.]

MONSIEUR AMBASSADEUR,—J'ay leu la lettre que vous m'aves escrete par le gentilhomme present porteur, et pour ce j'etant sur mon parterment de ce lieu, je ne puis vous faire reponce plustot qu' à Reims, où j'espere d'être au Sacre de Roy. Je ne feray ce plus long que pour vous dire, quant à Lord James qui est devers moy, il y est venue pour son devoir, comme devers la Souveraine Dame, que je suis, sans charge ou commission qui concerne autre chose que son droit. Je prie Dieu, Monsieur Ambassadeur, vous avoir en sa garde. Escrit à Nanci, ce 22 Avril 1562.

Vostre bien bon amy,  
MARIE.

III. IV. V.—These three numbers having been erroneously twice marked, I have taken care to insert them here, according to the pages where they come in.

III. p. 179. [ii. 58.]—A LETTER FROM THE LAIRD OF  
LETHINGTON TO SIR WILLIAM CECIL.

SIR,—That thus long I have delayed to write unto your Honour, I pray impute it only to my absence: I have been these forty days in the north parts of Scotland with my Lord James, where we have not been altogether unoccupied, but so far forth, as occasion would serve, advancing the religion and common cause. Since our returning I have understood the stay of Monsieur d'Oscl, and judge that you have wisely foreseen the inconveniencies that might have followed upon his coming hither. I do also allow your opinion anent the Queen our Sovereign's journey towards Scotland; whose coming hither, if she be enemy to the religion, and so affected towards that Realm as she yet appeareth, shall not fail to raise wonderful tragedies. Although the religion here hath in outward appearance the upper hand, and few or none there be that openly dare profess the contrary; yet know we the hollow hearts of a great number who would be glad to see it and us overthrown, and if time served, would join with her authority to that effect: But I foresee that the difficulty thereof shall make that which is most principal in intention be last in execution. Sure I am, the suppressing of religion is chiefly meant, but the same must be press'd at by indirect means. First of all, the comfort which we have of the Queen's Majesty's friendship must be cut off by dissolution of the intelligence begun of late; which, being not feasible in her absence, her own presence will make more easy. The Papists, you know, be in their hearts, for religion's sake, altogether enemies to this conjunction. Those that gave themselves forth for Protestants be not all alike earnestly bent to maintain it. Some have been accustomed so to feed upon the French fare, that their delicate stomachs cannot well digest any other. Some be so covetous, that wheresoever the lure of commodity is showed unto them, thither will they fly. Some so inconsistent, that they may be easily carried away by the countenance of their Princess's presence, sometimes shewing them a good visage, and sometimes, as occasion may require, frowning on them. Others

there be so careless and ignorant, that they will rather respect their present ease, which shall bring after it most grievous calamities, than, with the hazard of a little present incommodity, put them and theirs in full security afterwards ; these to be a great number in our late danger, we had large experience ; yet I doubt not but the best sort will constantly and stoutly bear out that which they have begun. Mary, what difficulty and hazard shall be in it, you may judge, when the Queen shall so easily win to her party the whole Papists, and so many Protestants as be either addicted to the French faction, covetous, inconstant, uneasy, ignorant, or careless. So long as her Highness is absent, in this case there is no peril ; but you may judge what the presence of a Prince, being craftily counselled, is able to bring to pass. Every man once in a year hath to do with his Prince's benevolence : If at that time, when his particular business occurreth, her countenance shall be but strange to him, in sight of the peril, in what case shall the subject then be ? Every man hath in his private causes some enemy or unfriend : What boldness shall they not take, seeing an advantage, and knowing their adversary to be out of the Prince's good grace ? She will not be served with those that bear any good will to England. Some quarrel shall be picked to them, not directly for religion at the first, but where the accusation of heresy would be odious, men must be charged with treason. The like of this in that Realm I think hath been seen in Queen Mary's days ; a few number thus disgraced, dispatched, or dispersed, the rest will be an easy prey ; and then may the butchery of Bonner<sup>1</sup> plainly begin. I make not this discourse as our meaning to debar her Majesty from her Kingdom, or that we would wish she should never come home (for that were the part of an unnatural subject) but rather desiring such things as be necessary so to be provided for in the meantime, that neither she, by following the wicked advice of God's enemies, to lose the hearts of her subjects, neither yet so many as tender the glory of God and liberties of their native country to be the sons of death. The best is, that intelligence begun betwixt these two Kingdoms may endure and be increased, the breach

<sup>1</sup> He was a Popish Bishop in England.

whereof, I know, will be attempted by all means possible. The great desire I have of the continuance, maketh me so earnest to wish that her Majesty may be induced, by good means, to enter in the same conjunction ; whereunto if she cannot by one way or other be perswaded, then can I not but doubt of the success in the end. Although I do chiefly respect the common cause and publick estate, yet doth my own private not a little move me to be careful in this behalf. In what case I stand you will easily judge by sight of the inclosed, which I pray you return to me with speed.<sup>1</sup> I know by my very friends in France that she hath conceived such an opinion of my affection towards England, that it killeth all the means I can have to enter in any favour ; but it might be compassed that the Queen's Majesty and her Highness might be as dear friends as they be tender cousins, then were I able enough to have as good part in her good grace as any other of my quality in Scotland. If this cannot be brought to pass, then I see well at length it will be hard for me to dwell in Rome and strive with the Pope. I assure you this whole Realm is in a miserable case. If the Queen our Sovereign come shortly home, the dangers be evident and many ; and if she shall not come, it is not without great peril ; yea, what is not to be feared in a Realm lacking lawful government ? It is now more than two years past that we have lived in a manner without any regiment ; which, when I consider sometimes with myself, I marvel from whence doth proceed the quietness which we presently enjoy, the like whereof I think, all circumstances being weighed, was never seen in any Realm. It would seem impossible that any people could so long be contained in order without fear of punishment and strict execution of the laws ; and indeed I cannot by searching find out any probable reason, but only that it has pleased the goodness of God to give this glory to His truth preached amongst us ; but by all worldly judgment the policy cannot thus long endure : So that for this respect her absence to us is most pernicious. Thus, whether she come or not, we be in a great strait.

<sup>1</sup> In the margin is added, I pray you that the letter inclosed come not to light.

But you will say, hath not the Council the regiment? Yes, some in appearance, but none in very deed; and that which is, doth in a manner serve only for a shadow to so many as do willingly obey: But to know what authority it hath, you must reduce to your remembrance the treaty made at Edinburgh, wherein, for the government of the Realm, was accorded an Article, that the Estates in Parliament should nominate twenty-four persons of the most capable of the whole Realm, of whom the Queen should chuse eight, and the Estates thereafter six; which fourteen so chosen should be the Council. According whereunto the Estates in the next Parliament thereafter nominated twenty-four, whose names were sent to the Queen: but neither would her Majesty, being required, ratify that treaty, confirm our proceedings in that Parliament, nor allow the nomination of the said twenty-four, but hath always deferred, and thus long fed us with hope of her own coming. It is true that some of the persons nominated have taken upon them the management of things since that time, to do the best they might. You may reply, Why? Doth not the whole regiment appertain to the Nobility in absence of your Sovereign? Yes: But how willingly think you will some of the Noblemen obey, which think themselves nothing inferior to the others? and yet being Papists, or otherwise unapt for counsel, were neglected by the Estates in the nomination, and now are stirred up privily and comforted by the Queen to disallow our proceedings: And if the Council should take the way which is most meet for maintenance of their own state and forth-setting of their authority, then fear I that eschewing Scylla they should fall into Charybdis. Many things are requisite to bear out a publick authority, which cannot be done without publick charges; and we dare not once touch any part of the Prince's revenues: The Noblemen's estates be scarce sufficient to maintain their own port, specially absent from their houses. I believe it would be hard for a number of Noblemen in England to continue always at London upon their own charges, where they could have nothing but bought for ready money. Thus if they meddle with no part of the Prince's rents, the publick charges cannot be born; and if they should but meddle with so much as is necessary, there-

upon shall the Queen take occasion to accuse us to all Princes as usurpers of the patrimony of her Crown: So must we either incur in this accusation, or else suffer the whole policy to be dissolved for lack of regiment. I pray you by your next letters let me in this point hear your advice, and what the Queen's Majesty will think in it; for, if her Highness allow our doings, we will the less care what other foreign Princes think of us. For my opinion anent the continuance of amity betwixt these two Realms, there is no danger of breach so long as the Queen is absent; and if all men were so perswaded as I am, or did consider the consequence which I foresee, little peril would be after her coming; but her presence may alter many things. I trust so many as have made promise to the Queen's Majesty shall sooner be driven from your friendship by force, than they will forsake it by their good wills. I will always, at my uttermost, study that no seed of division take root betwixt the Duke of Chastelherault and my Lord James, on whose concord the weal of our cause doth depend: It will serve as well to confirm them in the Queen's Majesty's devotion, as also to encourage them to go constantly and stoutly forward, if they shall understand from her Highness, that so long as they will continue friends to England, her Majesty will not forsake them, but will succour and aid them, if necessity require it, in case the Queen, at her coming home, either mean to alter the state of religion, or yet begin to persecute such as have advanced the common cause. For renewing of a league this I have thought, it would more irritate and offend the Queen our Sovereign Lady, and she will worse take it, as meant particularly against herself, if we now, being delivered from the present fear of strangers, should enter in a-new, than when the King her husband was alive; and these that be faint-hearted amongst ourselves will not so easily be perswaded. Therefore methinks it were convenient, if it could be compass'd, that a league were devised betwixt the Queen's Majesty, the Princes Protestants of Germany, so many of France as profess the religion, the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, at least so many as would embrace it for maintenance of religion; in which league we also would desire to be comprehended: Which cause, as it is most plausible to the world, so will it of us be best allowed.

To the end the Estates may be shortly assembled for answering of the Queen's Majesty's letter, which Mr Randolph hath for them, we have framed a letter for their convocation (whereof I send you herewith a copy) pretending only the Queen's coming; for if the most part knew it were for any matter concerning England, they would absent themselves. It will breed some jealousy to the Queen, if we, after our Assembly, send any of our Nation to the Queen's Majesty; and yet it is most necessary that the present estate of this Realm, and apparent of the future, be imparted to her Majesty: For which purpose I have thought (if you shall allow of it) convenient that Mr Randolph shall come, by whose report you will be more amply informed than you can by writing, and we shall more particularly understand the Queen's intention and your opinion in every behalf. Let me by your next understand what you think hereof. In times coming, when it shall happen the Queen's Majesty to write to the Duke's Grace, it shall be well done that either her Majesty, or at least you by her commandment, write somewhat to my Lord of Arran, his son, to further the matter. So I wish your Honour to fare well. From Edinburgh, the 10th of August 1560.

Your's at Commandment,

W. MAITLAND.

IV. p. 181. [ii. 64.]—THE INDENT BETWIXT THE LORD  
DACRE AND THE MASTER OF MAXWELL.

*Articles indented of Orders taken and agreed upon at Carlile, the 22d of August, in the year of our Lord God 1561, by the Right Honourable the Lord Dacre, Lord Warden of the West-Marches of England foreneust Scotland, and the Honourable Sir John Maxwell, Knight, Lord Warden of the opposite Marches there, and Sir William Cordell, Knight, Master of the Rolls, Sir Thomas Gargrave, Knight, and Thomas Garms, the Queen's Majesty of England's Serjeant at the Law, for and concerning certain matters, attemptats and offences, to be ordered and used as ensueth, and to be observed by the Lords Wardens and Subjects of the West-Marches of both the said Realms.*

FIRST, that justice shall not be long protracted to the hind-

rance of the good subjects of both Realms, and encouraging of offenders, but shall proceed according to the treaty and amity betwixt both Realms; it is ordered and agreed, that one day of march shall be kept by the foresaid Wardens, or their Deputies, upon the 17th day of September next.

Also, it is further agreed and ordered, that at that day either Warden shall make delivery to other reciprocally, after twenty bills or attemptats severally, and that every one of the bills before the principal, under the sum of twenty pounds, and the double and saughe [fine] not to be accounted in that sum.

It is also further ordered and agreed, that deliverance shall only be made for the single value of all attemptats committed before the 20th day of September past, and that deliverance shall be made of double and saughe of all attemptats committed since the said 20th day of September, according to the articles and agreement heretofore taken for both the Realms.

It is further ordered and agreed, that for all other attemptats committed in the foresaid Marches since the last peace, and before the date hereof, deliverance shall be made at one day of march, to be kept in October next, according to such order as shall be appointed by the Councils of both the said Realms.

It is also further ordered, that for all attemptats that is or shall be fil'd for any attemptat done since the said 20th day of September last, deliverance and redress shall be made with double and saughe; and for all offences committed before the said 20th day of September, deliverance and redress to be made only with the single value, according to the foresaid agreement of both Realms.

It is also further ordered and agreed upon, that if any subject of either Realm shall sow any corn or grain upon the grounds of the other Realm where he is not a subject, that the same corn shall be forfeited and lost; and that the Lord Warden of the Marches where the said corn shall be sown shall take, use, or destroy the same at his pleasure: And upon the filing of a bill upon the party that shall offend to enter and sow the ground of the other Realm, the offender to pay the double and saughe for the occupying the said ground. In witness whereof, as well the parties above said,

Lord Wardens, as the foresaid Commissioners, have to both the parts of these Articles indented, set their hands, the day and year first above-written.

WILLIAM DACRE.

JOHN MAXWELL.

WM. CORDELL.

THO. GARGRAVE.

THO. GARNES.

III. p. 237. [ii. 194.]—APUD EDINBURGH, 23 JANUARIJ 1562.

*SEDERUNT—Jacobus Dux de Chatellaraunt, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Jacobus Moraviæ Comes, Alexander Comes de Glencarne; Johannes Dominus Erskin; Thesaurarius, Rotulator, Secretarius, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciariæ.*

IN presence of the Quenis Majestie and Lordis of Secrete Counsale comperit Johne Achisone, Maister-Cunzer, and Johne Aslowane, Burges of Edinburgh, and gaif in this thair Band under-written, and desirit the samin to be insert in the Bukis of Secrete Counsale, with letteris and executorialis of horning or poinding to be given thairupon, for cumpelling of thame to fulfil the samin in forme as efferis: Quhilk desire the Quenis Hienes and Lordis foirsaidis thoecht ressonable, and thairfore ordanit the samin to be insert in the sadis bukis, with letteris and executorialis to be gevin thairupoun in manner foirsaid; of the quhilk the tennor followis,—We, Johne Achisone and Johne Aslowane, Burges of Edinburgh, be the tennor heirof, bindis and oblissis us faithfullie to the Quenis Majestie, and hir Hienes Thesaurar in hir name; forsamekill as hir Grace hes grantit and gevin licence to us, oure partinaris and servandis in oure name, to wirk and wyn in the leid-mynis of Glengoner and Wenlek, samekill leid-ure as we may gudlie, and to transport and carie furt of this Realme to Flanderis, or ony utheris partis bezond sey, twenty thousand stane-wecht of the said leid-ure, comptand sex skoir to the hundreth, trone-wecht, comprehendand thairin five thousand stane-wecht of the said ure ellis send be us to Flanderis, as hir Hienes licence grantit to us thairupoun beris; heirfore we bind and obliss us faithfullie to the Quenis Majestie, and hir said Thesaurar

in hir name, to deliver to hir Grace's Cunze-hous betwix this and the first day of August nixtocum, fourtie-five unce of uter fyne silvir for evry thousand stane-wecht of the saidis twenty thousand stanes of leid-ure, extending in the hale to nyne hundredth unces of uter fyne silvir, without ony farther delay : And heirto we bind and obliss us faithfullie, be thir presentis, and ar content that this oure obligatioun be actit and registrat in the Bukis of Secrete Counsale, with letteris and executorialis of horning or poinding to be gevin thairupoun for compelling of us to fulfil the samin in forme, as efferis. Subscrivit with oure handis at Edinburgh, the xxiii day of Januar, the zeir of God 1562 zeiris.

IV. p. 238. [ii. 192.]—APUD EDINBURGH, 11 FEBRUARY 1562.

FORSAMEKILL as the Quenis Majestie and Lordis of Secrete Counsale undirstanding that in the spring of the zeir callit Lentryne, all kindis of flesche debilitatis, dekayis, and growis out of season, swa that in that tyme thai ar na wiss commodious to be eittin ; and als, that be the tempestuous stormis of the winteris past, the hale gudis wer sa trakit, smorit, and deid, that the prices of the flesche ar risin to sick extreme derth, that the like hes not bene sene within this Realme ; and gif sik derth continew, it will be to the grete hurt of the commonwele thairof ; for remeid of the quhilk, it is statute and ordanit be the Quenis Majestie, with avise of the Lordis of hir Secrete Counsale, that nane of hir Grace's liegis, of quhat estait or conditioun that evir thai be, except sik as ar vesyit with extreme sicknes, eit ony kinde of flesche in the tyme of Lentryne, in ony tyme heireftir, that is to say, fra the            day of Februar to the

day of Marche, undir the pane of ten pundis for the first falt, twentie pundis for the nixt falt, and confiscatioun of all thair movable gudis to our Soverane Ladeis uss for the thrid falt ; and ordanis letteris to be direct to officiaris of the Quenis Sheriffis in that part, charging thame to pas to the mercat-croces of all the burrowis of this Realme, and utheris places neidfull, and thair, be oppin Proclamatioun in oure Soverane Ladeis name and autorite, command and charge all and sindrie hir Grace's liegis, that nane of thame tak upoun hand to eit, in ony tyme heireftir, in the tyme of

Lentryne foirsaid, ony maner of flesche, except sik personis as ar vesyit with extreme sicknes, undir the pane foirsaid; and that na flescharis, oistlaris, cukis, tavernaris, or ony utheris personis, sell ony maner of flesche, or prepair the samin to be sauld to ony of the liegis of this Realme, undir the pane of confiscatioun of all thair movable gudis to our Soverane Ladeis uis, for thair contemptioun.

v. p. 244. [ii. 210.]—This Appendix having swell'd so much beyond expectation, I hope the readers will not take amiss that I have not inserted here the letter of Secretary Lethington, which he read before the Queen and Privy-Council at Dumfries, the 20th of August 1563, in answer to a letter he had received from Sir John Forester, Warden of the Middle-Marches of England: They that have curiosity for such matters, may see the Secretary's letter among the original Acts of Privy-Council. See this Treaty at length in the Border Laws.

v. p. 270. [ii. 267.]

MARIA Dei Gratia Regina Scotorum: Universis et singulis pateat per præsentes. Cum nihil nobis, ex quo in Britanniam appulimus, fuerit antiquius, quàm ut ea inter Scotos et Anglos esset concordia, quam et generis propinquitas, et Christiani nominis charitas, et ex vicinitate regnorum tot contractæ necessitudines postulant; Idque multis et illustribus declaraverimus indiciis, quoties ejus rei declarandæ sese obtulit occasio, utque magis hanc nostram voluntatem animique ad communem tranquillitatem propensionem declararemus, de re omnium maxima, id est de matrimonio, à quo spes posteritatis, et omnis in posterum vitæ ducendæ ratio pendet, statuissemus cum serenissima Anglorum Regina nostra communicare consilia. eque nostra erga eam amore, studio et benevolentia, ejus erga nos resque nostras metiremur; nec tamen ratio temporum, negotiorumque pateretur, ut coram, quod maximopere cupiebamus, iis de rebus ageremus; ad eam rem conficiendam, dilectum et fidelem consiliarum nostrum Gulielmum Maitland à Lethingtoun, Secretarium nostrum primum, nostrum oratorem. Procuratoremque constituimus. et cum liberis mandatis

mittimus, ut quid is cum serenissima Anglorum Regina egerit, convenerit, transegerit, id actum, conventum, transactum, atque æque ratum et firmum habeamus, ac si nos coram eisdem de rebus egissemus, convenissemus et trans-egissemus, omniaque et singula quæ per eum erunt acta, conventa, transacta confirmamus ac rata esse jubemus et volumus. In cujus rei testimonium, hoc diploma sigillo nostro apposito comprobamus et confirmamus. Datum Striviling — die mensis Marcii 1564.

VI. [ii. 278.]—THE PERILS AND TROUBLES THAT MAY PRESENTLY ENSUE TO THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY AND THIS REALM, AND IN TIME TO COME FOLLOW UPON THE MARRIAGE OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE LORD DARNLY, 2D JUNE 1565.

IMPRIMIS, The minds of all such as be affected to the Queen of Scots, either for herself, or for the opinion of her pre-  
tence to this Crown, or for the desire in the change of religion in this Realm, or for the discontentation they have of the Queen's Majesty's succession, or of the succession of any other besides the Queen of Scots, shall be by this marriage erected, comforted, and induced to devise and labour how to bring their designs to pass.

And to make some estimate what persons these are, to the intent the quantity of the peril may be weighed, the same may be comprised in these sorts, either within the Realm or without. First are such as are specially devoted to the Queen of Scots, or Darnly, by blood and alliance; as first of all, the House of Lorrain and Guise for her part, and the Earl of Lenox and his wife, with all such in Scotland as be of their blood there, and have received displeasures by the Duke of Chastelherault and the Hamiltons. The second are all manner of persons, both in this Realm and in other countries, that are devoted to the authority of Rome, and mislike of the religion received here. And of these two sorts are the substance of them comprehended that shall take comfort in this marriage.

Next is to be considered what perils and troubles these kind of men shall intend to this Realm.

First, the general scope and mark of all their desires is, and always shall be, to bring the Queen of Scots to have the

Royal Crown of this Realm ; and therefore, though the devices may vary amongst themselves for the accomplishment hereof, according to the accidence of the times, and according to the impediments which they shall find by means of the Queen's Majesty's actions and government, yet all their purposes, drifts, devices, and practices shall wholly and only tend to make the Queen of Scots Queen of this Realm, and to deprive our Sovereign Lady thereof. And in these their proceedings there are two manners to be considered, whereof the one is far worse than the other.

The one is intended by them, that either for malicious blindness in religion, or for natural affection to the Queen of Scots or the Lord Darnly, do perswade themselves that the Queen of Scots hath presently more right to the Crown than our Sovereign Lady the Queen ; of which sort be all their kindred on both sides, and all such as are devoted to Popery either in England, Scotland, Ireland, or elsewhere.

The other is meant by them, which by less malice are perswaded that the Queen of Scots hath the only right to be the next heir to succeed the Queen's Majesty and her issue ; of which sort few are without the Realm, but here within, and of them not so many as are of the contrary. And from these two sorts shall the devices and practices proceed.

From the first, which imagine the Queen of Scots to have present right, are to be look'd for these perils :—

1. It is to be doubted that the devil will infect some of them to imagine the hindrance of the life of our dear Sovereign Lady by such means as the devil shall suggest to them ; although it is to be assuredly hoped that Almighty God will (as hitherto He hath) graciously protect and preserve her Majesty from such dangers.

2. There will be attempted by perswasions, by bruits, rumours, and such like, to alienate the minds of good subjects from the Queen's Majesty, and to conciliate them to the Queen of Scots ; and in this behalf the frontiers and the North will be much solicited and laboured.

3. There will be attempted some tumults and rebellions, especially in the North ; so as thereupon may follow some open enterprize by violence.

4. There will be, by the said Queen's counsel and friends,

a new league made with France or Spain, that shall be offensive to this Realm, and a furtherance to their title. And it is also very likely that they will also set afoot as many practices as they can, both upon the frontiers and in Ireland, to occasion the Queen's Majesty to increase and continue her charge; thereby to retain her from being wealthy or potent. And for the attempting all these things, many devices will be imagined from time to time, and no negligence will therein appear.

From the second sort, which mean no other favour to the Queen of Scots but that she should succeed in title to the Queen's Majesty, is not much to be feared; but that they will content themselves to see, not only the Queen's Majesty not to marry, and so to impeach it, but to hope that the Queen of Scots shall have issue, which they will think to be more plausible to all men, because thereby the Crowns of England and Scotland shall be united in one, and thereby the occasion of war shall cease. With which perswasion many people may be seduced and abused to incline themselves to the part of the Queen of Scotland.

VII. [ii. 355.]—MR TAMWORTH'S MESSAGE IN AUGUST 1565.

THAT hir Majestie has sent me to impart with zour Hienes certane thingis of importance, als weill for zour Grace as for zour estait at this present: The quhilk the Quenis Majestie my Soverane requireth zour Grace weill to consider and wey, as thingis that cummis from ane that hes mair regard of zour weill-doing than sum wald think that hir Majestie hes.

Quhair hir Majestie hes fund zour Grace's proceeding now of lait verie strange, nocht onlie in zour Grace's action is towartis hir Hienes, bot alswa towartis zour awin subjectis, and that in sic maner as gif zour Grace sall continew the same, as in apperance is sene, the consequens most be sic as in the end hir Hienes is weill assurit bayth zour Grace and zour Realme most nedis resave greit dampnage and mair harme than hir Hienes will now express. The strangeness quhilk hir Majesty consaved in zour Grace towartis hirself consistit in thir pointis: *First*, scho taketh God to witness that the offir maid to zour Majestie of a

mariage in hir awin Realme, being thairto requirit be zour Grace's self, wes be the Quenis Majestie my Soverane sincerlie, seriouslie, and lovinglie menit and intentit for zour Grace's weill, and to advance zour desyre in zour greitest mater. And quhair hir Majestie heris say, that zour Grace is inducit be sinister advyse, as hir Majesty thinkis, contrare to zour awin naturall dispositioun, to report that hir Majestie did nevir nathing thairin bot to abuse zour Grace, quhairwith hir Hienes consciens geving hir witness scho can nocht content himself, bot doeth directlie affirme that all sic that doeth advise your Majestie sa to report of hir Hienes, dois gif zour Grace fals counsale thairin, do untrewlie, for thair awin privat respectis, devyse and consave sic fals and unfenzeit materis.

*Secundlie.* Hir Hienes findis it strange, that quhair zour Grace did send to hir Majestie the L. of Lethingtoun, zour Majestie's Secretar, to requyr hir Majestie's opinioun and guid will in zour Grace's mariage, making mentioun of zour Majestie's dispositioun and favour towartis the Lord Dernlie, gif hir Majestie wald sa thair of allow : Hir Hienes finding ressonabill caus to advys zour Grace to forbeir frome that, and thairfoir sending hir Majestie's servand, Sir Nicholace Throkmortoun, to impart unto zour Grace hir Majestie's mynde in the same ; hir Hienes fand that befoir his cumming, or ony answer ressaved from hir, zour Grace had enterit sa far with the Lord Dernlie, as at the cumming of hir Hienes' Ambassatour, zour Grace wes not in cais to ressave for that mater ony advyse ; and so hir Majestie in hir expectatioun wes plainlie abusit : And zit nevirtheless zour Grace maid promis with greit assurance, and thairupoun pledged zour honour that ze wald forbeir frome the mariage the space of thre monethis, the end quhair of suld be about the xv day of August now present ; quhairupoun evin for zour Grace's promis saik, hir Hienes did mak that accompt certanelie ; and sa be hir Majestie's occasioun did sum uther Princes, hir Hienes nychbouris perswaid thame selfis, quhome hir Majestie knawis, upoun the first brute of zour Grace's love that way, thocht thair of als stranglie as hir Majestie did : And now, contrare unto zour Grace's promise, hir Hienes herith that zour Majestie sould nocht onlie caus the band of matrimonie to be askit the xxii day of

Julij, bot alswa to celebrate the same the xxix of the same, without ony caus notifeit to hir Hienes quhy your Majesty sould brek your promeis to hir Majesty, cannot but note this maner of proceeding sumquhat strange.

*Thirdlie*, For deteining of hir Majesties subjectis the Erle of Lennox and Lord Dernlie, hir Majestie be hir servand Maister Randolphe, alreddie hath gevin your Grace to undirstand quhat scho thinkith thair of, hes nochtwithstanding willit me to renew the same to your Majestie, and alswa to requeir sum convenient answer, considering that the same is directlie aganis the treatie of peace betwix your Grace and hir Majestie my Soverane, as nowther can your Grace nor thai be ignorant; and thairfoir hir Majestie can nocht bot think himself strange usit, your Grace professing sa strict ane amitie with hir, to allure and allow of hir Majesties subjectis, the Erle of Lennox and Lord Dernlie, under pretens of suit for landis to cum thyther, and to procede in this mariage as thai half done, without hir Majesties consent and licens requirit. How greit and unnaturall thair offens is, the world seith it, and hir Hienes cannot forzet it.

*Fourthlie*, Quhair your Majestie sent Maister Johne Hay, Maister of your Grace's requeists, with commissioun to demand of hir Hienes quhairwith scho wes offendit, and quhat mycht satisfie hir Hienes; and having na commissioun to answer thairunto, bot to defer the treatie thairupoun, with answer to men to be appointit thairfoir: And thairby hir Majestie did consave that nathing wes menit bot delay of tyme, considering that hir Hienes knew weill that your Majestie could not be ignorant quhat did offend hir Hienes in the mariage, and quhat scho did mislyke thairin, as it weill apperit be Maister Throkmortoun's embassage; so as gif it had bene planely menit, outhir he or sum uther mycht haif had authoritie to haif maid hir Majestie sum offeris to haif contentit hir Hienes, and that thais offeris had not bene sufficient for hir Hienes satisfactioun, zit mycht hir Majestie haif sene thairin a moir direct dealing with hir Majestie than hes bene. And quhair it apperit be a lettre sent be Maister Betoun, that your Grace will be content to offer all ressonabill conditionis unto hir Majestie, and alswa, gif it sall lyke the Quenis Majestie my Maistres, your Grace will

send for that purpois, and to schaw guid reasonis quhy your Grace makis haist to this mariage, sum ane of youris weill instructit; and to the intent your Grace sall find direct dealling in the Queen my Soverane, hes bene the caus quhy hir Hienes willit me to schaw unto your Grace the first caus of your Majesties offens towardis hir.

*Fyftlie*, The Quenis Majestie perusing the said lettre, findis the sentens somequhat obscure, the quhilk scho requir-eth to be resolvit, quhilk is this—" Je n'estimeray jamais que cela vienne de vous, et sans en chercher autre vengeance, auray recours a tous les Princes mes allies, pour avecques moy vous remonstrer ce que je vous suis par parentage. Vous scavez assez ce que vous avez resolu sur cela." Nixt, scho seith how all your subjectis actionis, counsallis, practizes, and devyzes dois tend to thai thingis quhilk ze weill knaw sall mak discord betwixt thir two Realms, and as it war a divorce in amitie, and how devysis ar ymaginit to offend hir Majestie, be alluring of fugitivis and offenderis, hir Majesties subjectis, to depend upoun your Grace heir; and mony uther sempill devysis within hir Majesties Realme, quhairof hir Majestie is not ignorant. As for the strangenes of your Grace's proceedingis within your Grace's Realme, althoch scho knaweth scho hes not to deal thairin utherwayis than as your nichbour and guid sister, for friendschip to advyse your Grace, or as your Grace's actionis at home may appearandlie touch the repose and tranquillitie of hir Majesties Realme—he hes bene thairof evident exempill; zit for baith these respectis at this tyme, hir Majestie cannot forbeir bot friendlie and nichbourlie admonisch your Grace that ze ar mekill abusit gif ze be sa counsalled: And gif your Majestie do it of your self, than dois your Grace forzet your self marvellouslie, to rais up sic factionis as, be commoun and constant report, is understuid amangis your Grace and Nobilitie, quhairof na maner of guid can insew to zou or your guid subjectis; and if the materis be sa handillit as thai ar reportit, suirle your Grace is seducit be Counsallouris of small understanding, to consave offens and indignatioun againis thame quhome your Grace hes had best tryall of thair fidelitie towardis your Majestie; and thairof hir Majestie requyreth zou to tak guid regard, and not to be owre haistie to ymagine, throch malicious and particular informatioun, ony evill in thame that, be thair

actis, hes schawin thameselffis reddie to spend thair lyvis and all that thai haif for zour Majestie and zour Estait.

And in materis of religioun, if zour Majestie sall be advysed to mak owdir alteratioun or change, as thair is greit appeirance that zour Majestie will, be sick as hes devysit with thameselffis vanelie to perswaid zour Majestie that be persecuting of thois with quhome zour Grace is brocht to be offendit, and think thairby to suppres and extirpe out of zour Grace's Realme, the maner of religioun alreddie ressavit be zour Grace's subjectis, with ordour of law within zour Realme, and consequentlie to ymagine sumquhat ellis to content zour Grace's fantasie in the Quene my Soveranis Realme, as vanelie ze may be perswadit. My charge thairfoir is earnestlie to adyvsse zour Majestie to tak guid heid to sic counsallis and sic vane ymaginationis; for quhat sall insew in zour Majesties Realme to altir religioun, I will not speik, bot wissis zour Grace not to belief fair spechis thairin; bot for ony devysis that zour Grace may be fed with that may conserne the Quenis Majestie my Maistres and hir Realme, hir Hienes can, be Goddis grace, weill assuir zour Majestie, that ze sall find all zour disseignes, consultationis, intelligencis, and devyses, frome quhairsoevir thai come to zour Grace far or neir, vayne and deceytfull. Hir Majestie dowsit not bot to convert thame to the perrell and dampnage of thame quhilk sall creidit thame; and howsoevir zour Majestie dois tak thais advysis, the Quene my Maistres, thinketh heirby that scho is dischargit in honour and in friendship; and according unto that quhilk zour Majestie sall answer, so will hir Hienes direct hir Hienes' answer and actionis as scho sall find meit for himself, hir honour, hir suretie, proffeit, and repose of hir Realme.

And towartis my Lord of Murray, hir Majestie wisseth that zour Grace sould nocht schaw zourselb so subject unto change as to conceave evill of him, of quhome zour Grace hes this lang tyme, upoun just desert, consaved so weill, for his trewth, his lufe, and habilitie to serve zour Majestie and zour Realme; for in sic cais I may weill se that thair be plentie of examplis quhair, for lak of indifferencie, mony sic nobill men has bene justlie constrained to seik sic meanis for saving of thair lyvis, as utherwayis thai nevir wald haif done.

This be part of the occasionis quhilk I gif zour Majestie to undirstand, quhilk the Quenis Majestie my Maistres hes to be offendit with; and thairfor as zour Grace hes in wordis offerit that all hir grevis salbe reparit, so I trust that sum overture zour Majestie will mak unto me thairfor, quhairunto I will willinglie mak sic answer as hir Majestie sall not think himself ony langar [soothed] with wordis, bot performit with dedis on zour Majesties part.

*Answer for the part of the Quenis Majestie to the Propositionn maid be Maister Thomworth upoun the behalf of the Quene of Ingland.*

To the *First* Article, hir Majestie nevir consavit ony sic opinionis of hir guid sister, that scho menit ony uther thing in the proposition of hir mariage bot sincerlie and uprightlie; and nethir hes hir Majestie spokin utherways, nor hes ony gevin hir counsall sa to speik: and gif the contrarie hes bene reportit, the samyn hes na foundment.

To the *Secund* Article, twiching the first part thairfor, hir Majestie hes alreddie maid sufficient answer to Sr Nicolas Throkemortoun at his bein heir, as alswa sensyne to the Quene hir guid sisteris self be hir Ambassatour Maister Johne Hay, purposlie sent for that and uther the like effectis.

To the later part of the said Article, quhairin is allegit a breik of promise upoun hir Majesties part, becaus the same twichis hir Hienes sumquhat in honour bering, is [as] unwilling to violat or spot the same, as hir said derrest sister, or ony uther Prince in Christendome. This is hir Hienes' answer; trewth it is, that at Sr Nicolas Throkemortoun's being in Scotland, hir Majestie did plainlie declair unto him hir full resolutioun to joyne in mariage with the Kingis Grace hir husband, than being Erle of Ross, and that for na caus, nor na respect, scho wald change hir deliberatioun alreddie takin in that mater: Nochtheles for full declaratioun of hir Hienes sinceir meaning towart the Quene of Ingland hir guid sister, and conservatioun of the amytye and guid intelligence betwix thair Majesties, scho wald be content to forbeir the consummatioun of the said mariage for a tyme, during quhilk the doubtis quhilk hir guid sister had conceivit upoun the occasioun of hir choyse in mariage mycht be removit be convenient meanis, and in

sielyk that hir said guid sister sould haif na just occasioun of ony forder scrupill, that be hir matche ony thing wes intendit aganis hir guid sister or hir Realme; according unto the quhilk, hir Majestie assures scho sende with all speid the said Maister Johne Hay, hir Maister of Requeistis, Ambassatour to the Quene hir guid sister, to mak declaratioun of hir meaning, having alsua full authoritie to appoint and nominat men of honour and guid credeit within this Realme Commissionaris for hir, and to joyne with utheris of the like qualitie to be appointit and nominat on the part of Ingland for that purpois, to ressave the nominatioun of thame that sould be appointit, as said is, for the part of Ingland, to aggre upoun the tyme and place of meiting; quhairby, albeit hir Majestie gaif perfyte demonstratioun of hir guid will to deill justlie and uprightlie with the Quene hir guid sister, zit was not hir offer exceptit, bot in plane wordis refusit: and thairfoir, seing the caus for quhilk the offer wes frelie maid to differ the consummation of the mariage, be the Quene of Inglandis refusall to appoint Commissionaris, wes takin away, in vane it had bein for hir Hienes ony langar to delay or dryve tyme, serving to na purpois. And to deill planelie and franklie upoun occasiounis twiching hir awin stait and the Estait of hir Realme, hir Hienes had guid caus to consummat hir mariage in sic ordour and at sic tyme as scho hes done; of the quhilk, being knawin to hirself and to hir awin peopill, scho thinkis na uther Prince will desyre reckning nor accompt. And quhair, in the said Article, it is mentionat that uther Princes thocht as strange of hir Majesties choyse as hir said guid sister did, hir Majestie hes perfyte knowlege and allowance of the principall and greittest Princes in Christendome, and is abill to mak the saymn appeir quhen evir it salbe thocht meit.

To the *Third* Article, hir Majestie can nocht bot marvell that the Quene hir guid sister sould ony wayis insist upoun that heid; for how can it be fund strange that hir Majestie sould detene within hir Realme that persoun with quhome scho hes joynit hirself in mariage, or zit that ane Erle of the Realme of Scotland, termit be thameself be the name of his Erledome within Scotland, sould remane within the same; and weying the haill circumstances of thair personis being alsua recommendit be the Quene hir guid sister, at thair

first reparing toward hir Majestie, and uther, hir Hienes dowbtis nocht bot the warld seith it, and will accordinglye juge that the detening of thame within Scotland is na wayis prejudiciall nor derogatorie to ony Treatie of Peace standing betwix the twa Realmis, and hir Majestie is content to remit the same to the jugement of uther Princes, specialie seing, be thair detening within Scotland, thair nowther hes bene, nor is intendit ony annoyance toward the Quene of Ingland, hir Realme and Estait.

To the *Fourth* Article, The Quene of Ingland mycht haif had sum cullour to find strange that the said Maister of Requeistis had na authoritie to mak hir offeris, gif the materis depending betwix thair Majesties had stand in sic termis that nathing wer to be requirit to be performit to the Quenis Majestie for the part of Ingland, and onlie offeris to be maid for hir Majesties part : bot utherwayis it is to be considerit, that as hir Majestie is weill plesit to mak ressonabill assurance to the Quene hir guid sister in sic thingis as scho may justlie suspect, sa hes hir Hienes to require the lyke assurance to be maid to hir in sic thingis as scho may lauchfullie demand : For quhilk purpois, being to entir in a reciprocus contract, obliging the partiis on bayth sydis, hir Majestie thocht it maist ordourlie to proceed in the same be meting of Commissionaris, being weill instructit and fullie auctorizit to mak ane end of all scrupulis aysing on ather part, quhairby hir Hienes gaif sufficient significatioun that scho intendit na drift of tythe, bot sincerlie to proceed be the ordour accustomat amangis Princes in semblable caissis ; and zit, nochtwithstanding the thingis past, is of the same mynd, gif sa sall pleis the Quene hir guid sister : Or utherwayis, gif Maister Thomworth haif commissioun to require and heir offeris, and to answer the same accordinglye, hir Hienes, for declaratioun of the sinceritie of hir meaning, will not refuse presentlie to mak offeris.

To the *Fifth* Article, hir Majestie, be the haill lettre and wordis thairof, meanis na uther thing bot to desyre to remane in perfyte amytie and guid intelligence with the Quene her guid sister, and to be delt withall, as ressoun and nature requiris a Princesse to deill with ane uther being her nixt cousing : And gif, as God forbid, and as hir Majestie will nocht zit suspect without forder caus be offerit, the con-

trarie sould fall out, her Hienes can do na les nor mene hir cais to uther Princesse, hir Hienes' freindis, allyas, and confidderatis, to quhome thair said cusinage and hir Hienes' interest is weill knawin.

To the first part of the *Sext* Article, hir Majestie is alto-gidder ignorant of ony sic practizes or devysis, and being particularlie informit thairof, sall answer the same particularlie; alwayis hir Majestie will not beleif that her guid sister dois sa disdanefullie juge of hir, or hes hir in sa small estimatioun, that scho will meddill with sempill devysis; for scho willis it be knawin that scho is not of so low a birth herself, nor hes sa small moyens in uther partis, that quhen scho may be dryven to extremities in practizes, scho sall not be abill to mak it appeir to the warld be this, that hir devysis aucht not to be set at sa small a prys. To the lattir part of the said Article, concerning hir Majesties proceedingis within hir awin Realme, hir Majestie hes never bene curious, in tymes bypast, to enquire quhat ordour of Governament hir guid sister observit within hir Realme, nor zit menis to do, thinking it not the custum amangis Princes that ony of thame sould put fute in the regiment of uther Princes thair nyctbouris, knowing thame to be subject immediate to God, and to aw accompt or reckning of thair doingis to na uther bot to Him; and swa hir Majestie lukis for the same at the Quene hir guid sisteris handis, that scho will na wayis meddill with ony materis within the Realme of Scotland, bot trust hir discretioun with the handilling thairof to quhome it onelie appertenis.

To the first part of the *Sevint* Article, twiching the alteration of religioun in Scotland, hir Majestie marvellis quhat report sould be maid thairof, considering hir Majestie hes maid na innovatioun of ony thing, nor zit heireftir menis to do ony thing thairin bot that quhilk sall be maist convenient for the stait of hir Majesties self and of hir Realme, and that be the advyis of hir guid subjectis. As for the uther part of the Article twiching devysis concerning the Realme of England, hir Majestie knawis nane sic; and being condescendit upoun in particular, sall do guid will to cleir hir guid sister thairin alwayis as of befoir: Hir Majestie doeth planelie answer, that scho can nocht weill degest sum termis usit in the pennyng of the said Article, sic as hir

fantasie to be fed with vain ymaginationis, and hir vanetie to be perswadit with uther like; and be Goddis grace it sall weill appeir to the warld be all hir proceidingis, that hir designis, consultationis, intelligencis, and advysis sall prove als substantiall, and na mair vane and deceptfull than sic as hir nychtbouris themselfis hes at ony tyme takin in hand.

To the *Aucht* Article, twiching the Erle of Murray, hir Majestie desyris maist hartlie hir guid sister to meddill na furdur with thair privat caissis concerning him, or ony utheris subjectis of Scotland, than hir Majestie hes heirtofoir meddillit with ony caissis concerning the subjectis of Ingland, quhilk doing, scho sall do the verie office of a Prince and of a guid nychtbour, as scho sall find the lyke upoun hir Majesties part; And in the mene tyme scho prayis her said guid sister to consider how moderatlie hir Majestie hes usit herself in a cais quhairin, for mony respectis, scho had guid occasioun to haif medlit mair earnestlie, that is, in the cais of hir modir-in-law the Lady Margaret, Countes of Lennox, being alswa sa tendir of blude to hir Majestie, quhome being inducit be hir exempill, scho dois maist earnestlie and effectuouslie requeist hir guid sister to releif furth of captivitie, as alswa to restoir hir to hir landis, possessionis, libertie, and formar favour; quhairin, as scho sall nowther offend agains justice nor hir awin honour, sa sall scho do hir Majestie maist acceptabill plesour.

*Finallie*, Gif thair be ony uther occasionis quhilk the Quene hir guid sister hes to be offendit with, the samyn being declarit to hir Hienes, salbe answerit accordinglie.

This next paper following close upon the preceding Answers of the Queen in the broken MS., without any stop, date, or title, but what it here bears, I have thought fit to subjoin it because of the matter it contains.

*Thir ar the Offeris to be proponit to the Quene of Ingland upoun the behalf of the King and Quenis Majesties.*

It is verie hard to thair Majesties to mak ony offeris to repair the Quene of Inglandis greiffis, the occasionis of the same nevir being knawin to thair Majesties selfis, nor zit

declarit at ony tyme, nor be ony persoun, to hir Majestie in particular, albeit at Sr Nicolas Throkmortoun's being in Scotland, he wes ernistlie inquirit thair of, alsweill be the Quenis Majesties self as eftirwart be the Lordis of hir Hienes' Counsall, quhais answer wes, that he wes na wayis instructit to gif ressoun of his Maistres' miscontentment, bot onelie simpillie to declair that hir choyse in mariage wes to the Quene his Maistres, and hir Counsall intolerabill; and siclyke sensyne it wes a speciall poynt of Maister Johne Hayis commissioun, hir Maister of Requeistis, to inquire particularlie the saidis occasionis, quhilkis alsua the Quene hir guid sister wald not oppin unto him: Nochtheles, for declaratioun of the guid will thair Majesties hes to continew the guid intelligence betwix thair Majesties, and guid nychbourheid betwix the twa nationis, and consequentlie to lat the Quene of Ingland undirstand that the Quenis Majesties choyse in mariage sall rather be proffitabill than dangerous to the Quene and Realme of Ingland, the Articles following sall serve.

In the *First*, Thair Majesties being assurit of the Quene thair guid sisteris amytye and freindschip towartis thame in sic sort as eftir salbe specifit, is content to assuir the Quene thair guid sister, that during the terme of her lyff, as alsua the lauchfull issue of hir body, thair Majesties sall nocht, directlie or indirectlie, attempt ony thing prejudiciall to thair said guid sisteris awin tytill, or the lauchfull issue of hir body; or zit, be ony act proceeding of thame, to disturb the quietnes of Ingland.

*Secundlie*, Thair Majesties sall not medill with ony practice or devyse, to haif intelligence with ony subject or subjectis of the Realme of Ingland, in prejudice of thair said guid sister, and the lauchfull issue of her bodie, or zit ressave in their protectioun and maintenance ony sic subjectis of the Realme of Ingland, as thair said guid sister sall haif occasioun to be offendit withall.

*Thridlie*, Thair Majesties sall nocht entir in ony league or confederatioun with ony foreyne Prince, to the hurt, dampnage, or displeasour of the Quene and Realme of Ingland.

*Ferdlie*, Thair Majesties ar content to entir in sic league and confederatioun with the Quene and Realme of Ingland,

as salbe fund fit for the weill of the Princes and subjectis on baith sydis.

*Fyftlie*, Thair Majesties sall not ga about, or procure in ony sort, the alteratioun, innovatioun, or change of the religioun, lawis, or liberties of the Realme of Ingland, albeit it sall pleis God, at ony time heireftir, to call thame to the possessioun of that, to the successioun quhairof thai haif interest.

Be it allwayis understude that thir offeris ar maid in respect of a perfyte amitye to be had with thair said guid sister; and upoun conditioun of the like reassonabill hedis to be perमित to thair Majesties upoun the part of Ingland: That is to say;

*First*, That the Quene thair guid sister sall, be Act of Parliament, Proclamatioun, and utherwayis, as salbe fund expedient be thair Majesties lernit Counsall in the law, establische the successioun of the Crown of Ingland, and appertinentis thairof, failzeing be deceise the Quene thair guid sister and lauchfull issue of hir bodie, first in the persoun of the Quenis Majestie, and the lauchfull issue of hir bodie; and failzieing of the same, in the persoun of the Lady Margaret, Countes of Lennox, modir to the King hir Majesties husband, and lauchfull issue of hir bodie, as the personis be the law of God and nature nixt inheritabill to the Crown of Ingland, and appertinentis thairof; and that the Quene thair guid sister sall not do or procure, or suffir be done or procurit be ony hir subjectis, be law or utherwayis, ony thing prejudiciall or derogatorie to thair Majesties, and the said Lady Margaret, hir Grace's modir, and thair airis interest foirsaid.

*Secundlie*, The Quene thair guid sister sall not meddill with ony practise or devyse to haif intelligence with ony subject or subjectis of the Realme of Scotland in prejudice of thair Majesties, nor zit ressave in thair protectioun and maintenance ony sic subjectis of the Realme of Scotland as thair Majesties sall haif occasioun to be offendit withall.

*Thirdlie*, Thair said guid sister sall nocht entir into ony league or confideratioun with ony foreyne Prince, to the hurt, dampnage, or displesour of thair Majesties and the Realme of Scotland.

And *Finalie*, Thair Majesties wilbe content to aggre to

quhatsumevir thing salbe furder fund expedient for establishing of perpetuall amytie betwix the twa Realmis, the honour and commoditie of the Princes on bayth partis, as salbe particularlie condescendit upoun be the Commissionaris to be appointit for that purpois, or utheris the Princes Ministeris.

VIII. [ii. 361.]—*23d August 1565.*

THE quhilk day, the Provost, Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, Johne Syme, David Forrester, Allan Dickson and William Paterson, Baillies; Alexander Park, Dean of Gild; Mr Robert Glen, Thesaurer; David Somer, Robert Kar, Mr Johne Spence, Alexander Guthrie, Archibald Grahame, James Macfell, Alexander Clark, James Lowrie, William Foulter, Alexander Uddert, Alexander Samsone, and Mungo Hunter, of the Councill; Allan Purves, skinner, Johne Cunningham, wright, Archibald Gray, masson, Johne Purves, taylor, William Gauston, cordiner, George Heriot, goldsmith, Johne Crichtoun, baxter, Nicoll Purves, hammerman, Thomas Dobie, flescher, Johne Scot, wobstar, George Hunter, walker, James Lawson, bonetmaker, and — Wauchop, furrier, all Dekynnis, beand convenit in the Nether Councill-house of this burgh, compearit George Drummond, servand to my Lord Atholl, and producit the King and Quenis Majesties wrytting, of the quhilk the tenour followis,—*REX* and *REGINA*, Baillies, Councill, and Communitie of our burgh of Edinburgh, wee greit zou weill; and for diverse ressonabill causes and considerationis moving us, wee charge and command zou, that zee depose and displace zour present Provost of our said burgh, and in his place that zee elect, receive, and admit our lovit, Symon Prestoun of that Ilk, in Provost thairof, and readilie answer and obey him in all thingis belanging and concerning the said office as appertenis, as zee will answer to us thairupoun. Subscryvit with our hand, at Edinburgh the — day of August, the first and twenty-third zeiris of our Reignis. The quhilk wrytting beand read in presence of the Provost, Baillies, Councill, and haill Dekynnis foirsaid, the said Provost, of his frie will, resignit and gair ovir in their handis his said office of Provestrie, and of his frie will dischargit himself thairof,

and all that mycht appertene thairto; craveing instrumentis and documentis, that nather the King nor Quenis Majesties had ony just caus of offence to imput to his charge quhairfoir he sould be deposit: And further desyrit of the said Baillies, Councill, and Dekynnis, gif ony of thame mycht wordilie burden him with ony sic wrang done be him the tyme of his office past, as mycht merit the punischment of deprivation befor the Councill-terme; quha all, in ane voce, declarit thai had na fault to lay to his charge: And gif it micht please the King and Quenis Majesties, it wer thair plessour that he sould joise the said office quhill Michaelmas nixt; quhairupoun he askit instrumentis as of befor, and that he obeyit the Quenis Majesties wrytting, and swa removit himself.

THE said day, the Baillies, Councill, and Dekynnis fairsaid, ordanis Johne Syme, David Forrester, and Allan Dickson, Baillies; Mr Robert Glen, Thesaurer; James Macfell and William Foulter, of the Councill, this efternoon to pas to the King and Quenis Majesties, desyring to be heard of thame twiching the dischargeing of Johne Knox, Minister, of furder preaching,<sup>1</sup> the deposeing of Archibald Douglas, Provost, and to desyre licens to remane at hame fra the armie or ———, to convene in this town the xxv of August instant, and fra thence to pas forwart for the persuit of the Erle of Murray and his complices, and to report thair answer the morne.

*24th August 1565.*—THE quhilk day, in presence of the Baillies and Councill fairsaid, compearit Mr Johne Spence of Condie, advocat for the King and Quenis Majesties, and in thair names desyrit the Laird of Craigmillar to be electit Provost, conforme to hir Hienes wrytting send with George Drummond. To the quhilk desyre it wes answerit, that gif thai electit befor the Feast of Michaelmas ony Magistrat, it must appear to be prejudiciall to the Act of Parliament statut for electing of officiaris within burgh, and thai abill to incur danger thairthrow: Notwithstanding, thai knawing it to be the King and Quenis Majesties will and plesour,

<sup>1</sup> This matter is touched in our Ecclesiastick Part.

thai wald accept the said Laird of Craigmillar in the office of Provestrie quhill Michaelmas nixt, and obey and serve him according to the desyre of the said wrytting; and the said Mr Johne Spence askit instrumentis.

THE samen day, Symon Prestoun of that Ilk is made burges and gild-brother, acceptit and admittit Provest, to the Feast of Michaelmas nixt, and hes gevin his aith for trew ministratioun of justice, and forder, *in communi forma*.

IX. [ii. 371.]—*Apud Edinburgh, 12 Julij 1565.*

SEDERUNT—*Matthæus Comes de Lennox, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Cancellarius; Joannes Dominus Erskin, Richardus Maitland de Lethingtoun, Miles, Custos secreti Sigilli; Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Justiciarie Advocatus.*

#### ASSURANCE TOWART THE STAIT OF RELIGIOUN.

FORSAMEIKLE as divers evill gevin personis, subjectis of this Realme, irkit of the guid tranquillitie quhilk, sen the arry-vall of our Soverain Lady the Quenis Majestie within the same, and during hir gracious government, hes continewit; wickatlie and ungodlie hes pretendit be untrew reportis to alienat the hartis and luif of the guid subjectis fra hir Hienes, and that hir Majestie had begun, or intentit to impede, stay, or molest ony of thame in using of thair religioun and conscience frelie; quhilk, as in deid it nevir enterit in hir Majesties mynd, sa can nocht hir Hienes mervel aneuch of it, seing the brute spred sa far, contrarious to hir expectatioun, and guid pruiif that all her Hienes lieges hes had of hir clemencie in tyme bypast; quhairfoir, and to the effect that nane of hir Majesties guid subjectis, owthir be thair vane brutis, or be ony seditious personis sollicitatioun, suffer thameselffis to be perswadit utherways nor the verrie trewth is, ordanis letteris to be direct to officiaris of the Quenis Sheriffis in that part, charging thame to pas to the mercat-croces of all burrowis of this Realme, and utheris places neidfull, and thair, be opin Proclamatioun, mak publicatioun of this hir Majestie's mynd and meining; certifying and assuring all hir guid subjectis, that as thai,

nor nane of thame, hes hiddertillis bene mollestit in the quiet using of thair religioun and conscience, sa sall thai nocht be inquietit in that behalf in ony tyme to cum ; bot behavand thameselffis honestlie as guid subjectis, sall find hir Majestie thair guid Prince, willing to doe thame justice, and to schaw thame favour and clemency, bot innovatioun or alteratioun in ony sort.

*Apud Edinburgh, 15 Julij 1565.*

SEDERUNT—*Domini ut in die prædict.*

PROCLAMATIOUN TO CUM TO EDINBURGH.

FORSAMEIKLE as eftir divers wickit, ungodlie, and seditious personis, irkit of the guid tranquillitie quhilk, sen the arryvall of the Quenis Majestie, and during hir gracious government hes continewit, had wickatlie and ungodlie spred untrew reportis amangis the subjectis, as that hir Majestie had intentit to impede, stay, or molest ony of thame in using thair religioun and conscience frelie ; the success of the untrew report hes takin effect, to the greit greif of hir Hienes, seeing a greit nowmer of hir lieges causles to tak on armis, and thairby to ministrat sufficient occasioun of jealousy and mislyking, quhairas indeid hir Majestie nevir presumit alteratioun of the quiet and guid estait of the Commonweill : And sen this defectioun is enterit altogidder contrarious to hir Grace's expectatioun, hir Majestie baith gaif plane declaratioun of hir will and meaning to hir guid subjectis, and with that, provydis for the dew saiftie and preservatioun of the estait quhair God hes placeit hir Hienes, ordainis thairfor letteris to be direct to officiaris of armis, charging thame to pas to the mercat-croces of all burrowis of this Realme, and utheris places neidfull, and thair, be opin Proclamatioun, to mak publicatioun of hir Hienes will and meaning, certifying and assuring all hir guid subjectis, that as thai, nor nane of thame, hes hiddertillis bene molestit in the using of thair religioun and conscience frelie, sa sall thai nocht be inquietit in that behalf in ony tyme to cum, bot behavand thameselffis honestlie as guid subjectis, sall find hir Majestie thair guid Prince, willing to do thame justice, and schaw thame favour and clemency, bot innovatioun or alteratioun in ony sort ; and to charge all and sindrie

hir subjectis, alsweill to burgh as to land, regaltie as roaltie, that thai, and ilk ane of thame, weil bodin in feir of weir, addres thame to cum to hir Majestie, furneist to remaine for the space of xv dayis eftir thair cuming, for attending and awayting upoun hir Heines, and that with all possibill dilligence eftir thai be chargit thairto, under the pane to be reput and haldin assistaris and partakaris with the disobedientis, and to be puneist thairfor accordinglie.

*Apud Edinburgh, 17 Julij 1565.*

SEDERUNT—*Matthæus Comes de Lennox, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Cancellarius; Joannes Dominus Erskin, Custos secreti Sigilli, Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciaræ, Advocatus. Extraordinarii, Joannes Dominus Fleming, Decanus de Restalrig, Presidens Sessionis, Robertus Carnegy de Kinaird, Miles; Magister Jacobus Balfour, Rector de Flysk.*

MAISTER OF REQUISTIS AND ADVOCAT DIRECT TOWART THE  
ERLIS OF ERGYLE AND MURRAY.

THE quhilk day the Quenis Majestie being informit how James Erle of Murray, and Archibald Erle of Ergyle, hes planelie said and perswadit all men, sa far as in thame lyis, to belief that the deid of the said Erle of Murray wes conspyrit and devysit in the back gallerie of hir Hienes' ludging in Sanct Johnstoun be Henrie Erle of Ross and utheris, being in hir Majestie's company, quhilk taill and brute, besydes the sclander that it importis to thame quhilk ar allegit to haif bene the authoris and devysaris, is to hir Hienes self verie prejudiciall, and sic a mater as hir Majestie can nocht suffer untryit, and thairfoir hes presentlie thocht guid, with advyse of the Lordis of hir Privy-Counsall present, to send and direct Maister Johne Hay, Commendator of Balmerinloch, hir Hienes' Maister of Requeistis, and Maister Robert Creychtoun of Elyok, hir Grace's Advocat, towart the saidis Erlis of Murray and Ergyle, or ather of thame, quhome thai sall apprehend; and that thai command, and in the Quenis Majesties name and autoritie requer the saidis Erlis of Murray and Ergyle, or ather of thame, upoun thair alledgiance, and as thai will declair thame guid and faythfull subjectis to hir Grace, and nobill men, to

declair, planelie and uprichtlie, the wordis and brute maid to thame of the said alledgit conspiracie, the forme and maner of it, and the name of the reporter, and that thai put thair said declaratioun in write, and subseryve it with thair handis, send it againe with hir said Maister of Requeistis and Advocat to hir Majestie, certifying and assuring thame, gif thai use delay heirin, or in ony wayis conceilis the sempill trewth of the said brute and report maid, to the effect that the samyn may cum to a clear tryall, than hir Majestie will think na utherwayis of thame bot that thai thameselfis hes forgit and inventit this brute and taill of thair awin heidis, thairby to raise tumult, and be sic untrew report to bring hir Heines and the said Erle of Ross in hatrent of hir guid subjectis.

*Apud Edinburgh, 19 Julij 1565. Præsente Regina.*

SEDERUNT—*Matthæus Comes de Lennox, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Cancellarius; Joannes Dominus Erskin, Custos secreti Sigilli, Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciaræ, Advocatus, Decanus de Restalrig, Presidens Sessionis. Extraordinarii ratione conventus, Alexander Dominus Hume, Joannes Dominus Fleming, Wilielmus Dominus Levingstoun, Patricius Dominus Lyndsay, Hugo Dominus Lovet, Jacobus Dominus Somervell, Joannes Dominus Borthick; Andreas Magister de Erroll; Robertus, Commendatarius de Dumfermling, Robertus, Commendatarius Sancte Crucis, Wilielmus, Commendatarius de Kelso, Andreas, Commendatarius de Jedburgh, Marcus, Commendatarius de Newbottill, Robertus, Commendatarius de Deir; Alexander Stewart de Garleis, Walterus Ker de Cesfurd, Thomas Ker de Pharnyhirst, Joannes Stewart de Traquair, Wilielmus Edmystoun de Duntreth, Milites.*

ASSURANCE TO THE ERLE OF MURRAY.

THE quhilck day the Quenis Majestie having understandit, be the report of Maister Johne Hay, Commendator of Balmerinloch, hir Hienes' Maister of Requeistis, and Maister Robert Creychtoun of Elyok, hir Grace's Advocat, quhilckis be hir Majesties commandment were direct toward the Erlis of Ergyle and Murray; amangis uthir purposis haldin with

thame, had declarit that he wes contentit to cum to hir Majestie for declaratioun of the trewth of the report maid to him toward the allegit conspiracie of his slaughter in Sanet Johnstoun, sa that he mycht be assurit of his lyfe ; and hir Majestie willing that the trewth and sempill veritie of the said untrew brute may be tryit, and that the said Erlis suspitioun and feir may be removit, to the effect that he may be present, and that he be put in full assurance alsweill of his lyfe, as be frie of all uthir bodilie harme, or of displeasour quhatsumevir, be quhatsumevir person, hir Majestie hes assurit, and be the tenour heirop, in the word of a Prince, assuris and takis undir hir Grace's protectioun and defence, aganis all deidlie, the said Erle of Murray, and sic personis as salbe in his cumpany : Lykeas alswa the Lordis of hir Secrete Counsall, and utheris of hir Nobilitie present, upoun thair honouris, credeit, and guid fayth, hes assurit, and assuris thame that thai may saiffie cum and repair toward hir Majestie upoun the third day nixt eftir the resset and syecht heirop, to the effect that the said Erle may frelie discharge him of the said brute allegit be him, as appertenis, on his honour, and cum fullie instructit with all thingis necessar for verificatioun thairof, and nowthir he nor thai of his cumpany salbe molestit, inquietit, or in ony sort grievit or troublit in bodies or gudis in thair cuning and repairing toward hir Majestie, remaining, departing, and quhill he and thai be at the same place and rowme he cumis fra, in full libertie at thair pleasour ; and in fayth and securitie heirop, the Quenis Majestie hes subscryvit thir presentis with hir hand ; lykeas alswa the Lordis of hir Secrete Counsall, and utheris of hir Nobilitie present, at hir Hienes commandment, hes lykwayis subscryvit the samyn.

*Eod. die* —CHARGE ON THE ERLE OF MURRAY.

THE quhilk day, forsameikle as the Quenis Majestie directit hir charge of befoir, with advyis of hir Counsall, commanding James Erle of Murray to send his declaratioun in write, twiching the report maid to him of the conspiracie of his slaughter allegit devysit in Sanet Johnstoun ; quhilk being brocht to hir Majestie be hir servandis send for that purpose, it apperis be hir Hienes and hir Counsall, that his purgatioun in that behalf is nocht sa sufficient as the mater

requirit; thairfoir hir Majestie, to the effect the said Erle of Murray may pretend na excuse, bot that he may surelie repair towart hir Grace for making of his purgatioun, and farder declaratioun of the trewth anent the said alleadgance, ordanis ane officiar of armis to pas, command, and charge the said Erle zit, as of befoir, that he within three dayis nixt eftir the said charge, present himself befoir the Quenis Majestie, within hir Grace's Palace of Halyroodhous, to the effect above-wryttin; with certificatioun to him, and he failzie thairin, that hir Hienes will use sic rigour aganis him in bringing of the said alleadgance to lycht, as hir Grace may of the lawis of hir Realme.

*Apud Edinburgh, 22 Julij, 1565.*

SEDERUNT—*ut in die predict.*

FORSAMEIKLE as eftir divers wickit, ungodlie, and seditious personis, irkit of the guid tranquillitie quhilk, sen the arryvall of the Quenis Majestie, and during hir gracious government hes continewit, had spred untrue reportis amangis the subjectis, as that hir Majestie had intentit to impede, stay, or molest ony of thame in the using of thair religion and conscience frelie; the success of the quhilk untrew report hes takin effect, to the greit grief of her Hienes, seing a greit nowmer of hir liegis causles to haif takin on armis, and thairby to ministrat sufficient occasioun of jelosy and mislyking, quhairas indeid hir Majestie nevir presumit alteratioun of the guid and quiet estait of the Commounweill: And sen this defectioun is enterit altogidder contrarious to hir Grace's expectatioun, hir Majestie man proveyed for the dew saiftie and preservatioun of the estait quhairin God hes placit hir Hienes; ordainis thairfoir letteris to be direct to officiaris of armis, Sheriffs in that part, charging thame to pas to the mercat-croces of the burrowis of Edinburgh, Haddingtoun, Duns, Lawder, Peebles, Lanerk, Linlythgow, Strivling, Clakmanan, Kulros, Cuper, Dumbartane, Renfrew, and thair, be opin Proclamatioun, to command and charge all and sindrie hir Hienes' liegis, alsweill to burgh as to land, regalitie as roaltie, that thai, and ilk ane of thame, weill bodin in feir of weir, with xv dayis provisioun eftir thair cuming, address thame to cum to hir

Majestie with all possible haist and dilligence, eftir thai be chargeit thairto, for awayting and attending upoun hir Hienes, under the pane of tinsall of lyff, landis and gudis.

*Apud Edinburgh, 28 Julij 1565.*

SEDERUNT—*Matthæus Comes de Lennor, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Cancellarius, Joannes Comes de Atholl; Joannes Dominus Erskin, [this is the last time this Nobleman sits in Council under that title,] Patricius Dominus Ruthren; Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciaræ.*

THE quhilk day the Quenis Majestie having understuid be the report of hir traist cusingis and counsallouris, Johne Lord Erskin and Sir Johne Maxwell of Terreglis, Knycht, Wardane of the west-marches of hir Realme, the ardent desyre quhilk James Erle of Murray beris to declare the dewtifull obedience aucht be him to hir Majestie, with quhat earnest will he desyris to speak with hir Majestie, and for discharging of himself of sic brutis as hes bene reportit be him toward the allegit conspiracie of his slauchter: And to the effect that he may be present for demonstratioun thairof, and be put in full assurance alsweill of his lyfe as be frie of all uthir bodilie harme or displeasour quhatsumevir, be quhatsumevir person, hir Majestie hes assurit, and be the tenour heirof, in the word of a Prince, assuris and takis under hir Grace's protectioun and defence, aganis all deidlie, the said James Erle of Murray, and fourscoir utheris personis with him in cumpany, or within, of quhatsumevir estait, degrie, qualitie, or conditioun thai be of: Lykeas alswa the Lordis of hir Secrete Counsall, and utheris of hir Nobilitie present, upoun thair honouris, credit, and guid fayth, hes assurit, and assuris thame that thai may saiffie cum and repair toward hir Majestie betwix the dait heirof and the last day of Julij instant, at ony time, to the effect above-wryttin; and nowthir he, nor thai of his cumpany salbe molestit, inquietit, or in ony sort grevit or troublit in bodies or gudis in thair cuming and repairing toward hir Majestie, remayning, departing, and quhill thai be at the same place and rowme thai came fra, in full libertie at thair pleasour, and xlviii houris thaireftir: And in fayth and

securitie heirof, the Quenis Majestie hes subservyit thir presentis with hir hand ; lykeas alswa the Lordis of hir Secrete Counsall, and utheris of hir Nobilitie present, at hir Hienes' commandment, hes lykwayis subservyit the samyn, day, zeir, and place foirsaid.

*Apud Edinburgh, 22 Augusti 1565.*

SEDERUNT—*Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Cancellarius, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Joannes Comes de Marr, [formerly Lord Erskine,] Patricius Dominus Rathen; Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciarie, Advocatus.*

PROCLAMATIOUN ANENT THE STAIT OF RELIGIOUN.

FORSAMEKILL as the King and Quenis Majesties remembering that sone eftir hir Majesties first arryvall and hamecuming in this Realme, the greit inconvenientis being persavit quhilk might follow of the divisioun standing in the samyn be difference in materis of religioun, and being desyrous to see the samyn pacifit be ane guid ordour, to the honour of God and tranquillitie of the Realme, mynding to tak the samyn be advys of the Estaittis, sa sone as convenientlie thai mycht be assemblit, directit letteris, proclamationis, and chargis throchout hir hail Realme, straitlie commanding all hir lieges, that thai, and everie ane of them sould content themselfis in guid quietnes, and keip peace and comelic societie amangis themselfis : And in the mean tyme, quhill the Estaittis of the Realme mycht be assemblit, and that ane finall ordour, be thair advyis and publict consent, mycht be takin in the saidis materis, that nane of the saidis liegis sould tak upoun hand, privatlie or opinlie, to mak ony alteratioun of the estait of religioun, or attempt ony thing aganis the forme quhilk hir Majestie fand publictlie and universallie standing at hir first arryvall within the Realme, under the pane of deid ; with certificatioun, that gif ony sould cum in the contrair thairof, he sould be haldin ane seditious persoun and raisar of tumult : And albeit the samyn hes bene diverse tymes dewlie proclanit, swa that nane can pretend ignorance thairof ; nochttheles sum forzettand thair dewtie, it is murmurit that thai haif contravenit, and purposlie intendis to contravein the samyn, innovating of the religioun and ministratioun

of the Sacramentis utherwayis then be publict forme, quhilk wer fund at hir Hienes' arryvall, as said is ; utheris personis having alreddie disobeyit diverse thair Majesties chargeis and commandmentis, and swa worthelie denuncit rebellis and put to the horne, to covir thair rebelloun, dois quhat in thame lyis to perswad and mak all the guid subjectis to beleve that thair Majesties, in the condigne prosequitioun of the saidis rebellis, resistaris of thair autoritie, pressis to nocht ellis bot to the plane subversioun of the estait of religioun fund be thame at hir arryvall publictlie standing, as said is ; and be sic untrew reportis, to alienat the hartis of the guid subjectis fra the obedience of thair Hienesses, thair naturall and rychteous Princes and Soveranes under God, albeit thair bigane proceidingis and present clemencie makis a plane declaratioun of the contrair : For eschewing of the quhilk untrew brute and fals rumour, thair Majesties ordanis letteris to be direct to officiaris of the King and Quenis Majesties, Sheriffis in that part, chargeing thame to pas, and in thair Majesties name and autoritie command and charge all and sindrie thair lieges of quhat estait, qualitie, or conditioun that evir thai be of, that thai, and everie ane of thame, sa far as in thame lyis, endeavour thameselffis to observe and keip the said formar Proclamatioun in everie point and conditioun ; and that nane of thame presume to attempt to do any thing that may tend to the violatioun and breking thairof, be the meanis foirsaid, or utheris, prevatlíe or opinlie, under the panes conteint in the samyn.

*Apud Callendar, 2 September, 1565.*

THE ARMY CALLIT BACK.

FORSAMEKILL as the King and Quenis Majesties departis this nycht towart Strivling for reposing of thair Hienesses, thairfoir ordanis ane herauld, or uthir officiar of armis, to pas to the mercat-croces of Falkirk, Linlythgow, Edinburgh, and all utheris places neidfull, and thair, be opin Proclamatioun, in thair Majesties name and autoritie, command and charge all and sindrie thair liegis and subdittis presentlie convenit with thair Hienesses at this present raid, that thai, and ilk ane of thame, meit thair Majesties to morne, the 3d day of September, at Kilsyth, be sun-rysing, and on nawayis

depairt during the tyme preseryvit in the formar Proclamatioun maid to that effect, under the pane of tinsall of lyff, landis and gudis.

*Apud Glasgou, 5 September 1565.*

*SEDERUNT—Matthæus Comes de Lennox, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Joannes Comes de Marr; Patricius Dominus Ruthven. Estrordinarii, Gilbertus Comes de Cassillis, Hugo Comes de Eglintoun; Robertus Dominus Sempill, Jacobus Dominus Ross, Jacobus Dominus Somervell, Alanus Dominus Cathcart.*

CHARGE ON THE LIEGIS TO PUT THAMESELFFIS IN REDDINES.

FORSAMEKILL as the King and Quenis Majesties hes now perfyte knowlege of the manifest defectioun and rebelloun of diverse thair subjectis, quhilk hes nocht onlie armit thame-selffis, and with greit convocatioun riddin and past to and fra in the Realme, doand that in thame lyis to subvert the haill stait of the Commounweill, bot als hes fortifit and withhaldis diverse housis, castellis, and fortalices agains thair Majesties and thair autoritie, mynding, as may weill appeir be thair proccidingis, to abstract all debtfull obedience, and to draw in strangeris and utheris to participat with thame in thair attemptis: And thairfoir it is neidfull and convenient that all thair Majesties guid, faythfull, and trew subjectis be in reddines to cum to thair Hienesses upoun advertisement, owther for persute of the saidis rebellis, or resistance of England, in cais it sall happin to invaid; ordanis letteris to be direct to officiaris of armis, Sheriffis in that part, chargeing thame to pas to the mercate-croces of all the heid burrowis of this Realme, and thair, be opin Proclamatioun, in thair Hienesses name and autoritie, command and charge all and sindrie thair lieges, betwix lx and xvi zeiris, and utheris fensabill personis, alsweill dwelland to burgh as to land, within regalitie as rialtie, that thai, and ilk ane of thame, prepar thameselffis and put thame in reddines, with xx dayis provisioun, as thai salbe commandit, upoun three dayis warning, to cum to thair Majesties, to the effect above-wryttin, to sic part and place as thair Hienesses sall happin to appoint, under the pane of tinsall of lyff, landis and gudis.

*In a Gentleman's pricate Abstract I see marked at this same place and date, an Act in favours of the Heirs of such as should be slain in this Expedition, under command of Matthew Earl of Lennox, to whom Commission of Lieutenantdry was granted. Mr Miln has transcribed this Commission at full length : It bears no date, but is added after another Paper, at Glasgow the 6th September 1565, and gives that Lord, whom the King and Queen call their Fadir, a very large power in these following Sheriffdomes, viz. Lanerick, Stricling, Dumbartane, Renfrew, Air, Wigtoun, Stewartrie of Monteith, and Bailliaries of Kyle, Carrick and Cuninghame, Sheriffdome of Drumfreiss, and Stewartries of Kirkcudbright and Annandirdaill. Which Commission to indure quhill thair Majesties expreslie discharge the samyn.*

PROCLAMATIOUN BEFOIR THE ARMY QUHILK PAST TO DUMFRIES.

FORSAMEKILL as the King and Quenis Majesties hes now perfyte knowlege of the manifest defectioun and rebellious of diverse thair subjectis, quhilk hes nocht onlie armit thame-selffis, and with greit convocatioun riddin and past to and fra in the Realme, doand that in thame lyis to subvert the haill stait of the Commounweill, bot als hes fortifit and withhaldin diverse housis and castellis aganis thair Majesties and thair autoritie : For repressing of quhais temerarious attemptis, and reducing of thame to obedience, or expelling thame furth of the Realme, thair Majesties intendis, God willing, to leif nathing undone that to thair honour appertenis ; and to the effect that thai may be weill and substantiouslie accompaneit, ordanis letteris to be direct to officiaris of armis, chargeing thame to pas to the mercate-croces of the burrowis of Perth, Forfar, Kincardin, Aberdein, Bamff, Elgin, Forress and Nairne, and thair, be opin Proclamatioun, command and charge all and sindrie thair Majesties liegis betwix lx and xvi zeiris, and utheris fensabill personis, als-weill dwelland to burgh as to land, within regalitie as rialtie, dwelland within the boundis of the Sheriffdomes of Perth, Forfar, Kincairdin, Aberdein, Bamff, Elgin, Forress and Nairn, and Stewartrie of Stratherne, that thai, and ilk ane of thame, weill bodin in feir of weir, with palzeonis and uthir neidfull provisionis to ly on the feildis, prepar and addres

thame to meit thair Majesties at Strivling the last day of September instant, and providit to remane for xx dayis eftir thair cuning thairto, pas furthwart and attend upoun thair Hienesses as thai salbe commandit, under the pane of tinsall of lyff, landis and gudis ; and that nochtwithstanding the formar Proclamatioun, commanding the inhabitantis of the saidis boundis to haif convenit with Johne Erle of Atholl, Leuetennent of the North partis of this Realme in Lorne, upoun the xxviii day of the said moneth of September ; quhilk vyage, for the above-mentioned respects, thair Majesties hes delayit and presentlie omittit.

*Apud St Androis, 12 Septembris 1565. Præsentibus Rege  
et Regina.*

SEDERUNT—*Jacobus Comes de Atholl, Joannes Comes de Marr ;  
Patricius Dominus de Ruthven ; Secretarius, Wilhelmus  
Murray de Tullibardin, Computorum Rotulator, Magister  
Jacobus Balfour, Rector de Flysk.*

BAND IN FYFFE.

WE, the Baronis and Gentillmen under-subscrivand, bindis and obliëssis us, and upoun our honouris faythfullie promittis that we, and ilk ane of us, sall trewlie serve the King and Quenis Majesties our Soveranes, and ——— quhome thair Majesties hes constitute and appointit thair Leuetennent within the boundis of the Sherifflomes of Fyffe, Kynross, and Clackmanan, and sall ryis and pas furthwart with him in thair Majesties service als oft as he sall gif advertisement, owther for resisting thair Hienesses rebellis or persewing thame, or expelling them furth of the cuntre ; or to resist and invaid Ingland in cais it sall happin to persew : And gif neid be, ilk ane of us sall concur and assist with utheris, and in that respect sall lay apart all actionis of deidlie fied, or uthir grudge or contraversie standing betwixt us, or ony of us, during the tyme of thair Majesties service, and quhill thair said Leuetennent be dischargit, without all affectioun or respect to ony person or personis, under the pane of perjurie and perpetuall defamatioun, as we will answer to God, and upoun our allegiance to thair Hienesses. The quhilk to do we haif maid our bodilie aithis, and in takin thairof hes subservyit thir presentis with our handis, as followis,—at Sanct Androis the xii day of September.

the zeir of God 1565 zeiris. Sic subscribitur, Henry Maister of Sinclair, Kynneir, David Barclay of Cullerny, Burlie, Balvaird, Johne Anstruther of that Ilke, Johne Boswell of Balmowto, zounger, Patrick , David Spens, James Sandilandis, Andro Wod of Largo, Alexander Trayll, Sr William Bruce of Erlishall, David Myrtoun of Randarstoun, Patrik Lyndsay, Johne Weims of that Ilke,

Johne Forret of that Ilke, with my hand at the pen, led be Alexander Hay, Nottar, William , George Mowbra, zounger of Feyfield, with my hand at the pen, led be the said Nottar above-writtin, Andro Farnay of that Ilke, with my hand at the pen, led be the said Nottar, David Lindesay of Pyetstoun, Sr William Scot.

*Note.*—There is a band to the same purpose by the Baronis of the West Countrie (so is the title), subscribed the 5th day of September, at Glasgow, in presence of their Majesties, by the following persons, viz. Cassillis, Eglintoun, Robert Lord Sempil, James Lord Ross, James Lord Somervel, Alan Lord Catheart, Edward Lord Sanquhair, Matthew Campbell of Lowdoun, Thomas Kennedy of Bargany, Johne Wallace of Craigy, William Hamilton of Sanchar, Knycht, Sr James Hamiltoun of Crawford-Johne, Knycht, William Cuninghame of Capringtoun, Johne Cuninghame of Glengarnock, Johne Muire of Rowallane, Johne Dunbar of Blantyre, William Cuninghame of Cuninghameheid, zounger, John Boswell of Auchinleck, William Baillie of Lamingtoun, Robert Dalzell of that Ilke, William Cuninghame of Craigains.

*Item.* Another band of the men of Nithsdale and Annandale (so is the title), dated at Edinburgh, 21st September 1565, and subscribed there by the following persons, viz. Johnestoun, Closeburne, John Jardane of Aplegirth, James Johnestoun of Corre, William Kirkpatrik of Kirkmichael, with my hand at the pen, led be Alexander Hay, Nottar, at my command.

*Item.* Band of Teviotdale, at Edinburgh, 23d September 1565, subscribed by these persons, viz. Cesfurd, Pharnihirst, Thomas Turnbull of Bedruell, Johne Rutherford of Hunthill, with my hand at the pen, led be Alexander Hay, Nottar, Andro Ker of Litilden, Johne Mow of that

Ilke, with my hand at the pen, led be Alexander Hay,  
Nottar.

DECLARATIOUN OF THE INTENTIOUN OF THE REBELLIS.

HENRIE and MARIE, be the grace of God King and Quene of Scotis, to all and sundrie our liegis and subdittis to quhais knowlege thir our letteris sall cum, greiting: Forsamekill as in this uprore laitlie raisit up aganis us be certane our rebellis and thair assistaris, the authoris thairrof, to syle the eyes of the sympell people, hes gevin thame to understand that the querrel thai had in hand was onlie religioun, thinking with that clock to cover thair uthir ungodlie designes, and swa, under pretence of that plausabill argument, to draw eftir thame a large tale of ignorant personis easie to be seducit; now, for preservatioun of our guid subjectis, quhais cais wer to be pityit gif thai blindlie sould be sufferit to be trappit in sa dangerous a snare, it hes plesit the gudenes of God, be the utterance of thair awin mouthes and writingis to us, to discover the poyson that befor thai hid in thair hartis, albeit to all personis of cleir jugement the samen wes evident anewch of befor: For quhat uthir thing mycht move the principall raisaris of this tumult to pat thame selffis in armis aganis us sa unnaturlie, upoun quhome we had bestowit sa mony benefittis, bot that the greit honour we did unto thame, thai being thairrof maist unworthie, maid thame to mysknow thame selffis; and that thair insaci-able ambitiou could not be satisfyt with heiping riches upoun riches, honour upoun honour, onles thai mycht receave in thair handis us and our haill Realme, to be led, usit, and disponit at thair plessour? Bot this could nocht the multitude haif persavit, gif God for disclosing of thair hypocrisie had nocht compellit thame to utter thair unressonabill desyre to govern; for now, be letteris send fra thame selffis to us, thai mak plane professioun that the establisshing of religioun will nocht content thame, bot we mon, on force, be governit be sic counsall as sall pleis thame to appoint unto us; A thing sa far bezond all measour, that we think the onlie mentioun of sa unressonabill a demand is sufficient to mak thair nerrest kynsfolk thair maist mortall inymies, and all men run on thame without forder scrupill, that ar zealous to haif thair native countrie remane still in the stait of a

Kingdome : For quhat uthir is this bot to dissolve the haill policie, and in a maner to invert the very ordour of nature, to mak the Prince obey, and the subjectis to command ? The lyk wes nevir demandit of ony our maist nobill progenitouris heirtofoir, zea nocht of Governouris or Regentis ; bot the Prince, or sic as occupyit thair place, evir chesit thair Counsall of sic as thai thocht maist fit for the purpois. Quhen we ourselffis wer of les aige, and at our first arryvall in our Realme, we had frie choyse of our Counsall at our plessour ; and now quhen we ar at our full majoritie, sall we be brocht back to the stait of pupillis and minoris, or be put undir tutelage ? Sa lang as sum of thame buir the haill swynge with us thamselffis, this mater was nevir callit in questioun. Bot now, quhen thai can nocht be langar permittit to do and undo all thingis at thair appetyte, thai will put a brydill in our mouthes, and gif us a Counsall choysen eftir thair fantasie. This is the querrell of religioun thai maid zou belief thai had in hand ; this is the querrell for the quhilk thai wald haif zou hasart zour lyffis, landis, and gudis, in cumpany of certane rebellis aganis zour naturall Princes. To speik it in gud language, thai wald be Kingis thameselffis ; or at the leist, leaving to us the bare name and titill, tak to thameselffis the haill use and administratioun of the Kingdome. We haif thocht gude to mak publicatioun heirop unto zou, to the end ze suffer nocht zour selffis to be deceaved under pretence of religioun to follow thame, quha preferring thair particuler advancement to the publiet tranquillitie, and having na caire of zou in respect of thameselffis, wald, gif ze will harkin to thair voce, draw zou eftir thame to zour utter destructioun ; assuring zou that as ze haif heirtofoir had gud experience of our clemencie, and under our wingis enjoyit in peace the possessioun of zour awin gudis and lyffis at libertie of zour conscience, sa may ze be in full assurance of the lyk honestie, and haif us alwayis zour gud and lufing Princes, sa mony as sall contain zour selffis in dew obedience, and do the office of faythfull and naturall subjectis. Gevin under our signet, and subscriyvit with our handis at Sanct Androis, the 3d<sup>1</sup> of

<sup>1</sup> So it has certainly been in the Council-Books, because it is exactly thus in another copy I have of this Proclamation beside Mr Miln's ; but

September, and of our reignis the first and twenty-third zeiris.

*Apud Castlehill*<sup>1</sup> *in exercitu, 10. die mensis Octobris, 1565.*

*SEDERUNT—Presentibus Rege et Regina ; Matthæus Comes de Lennor, Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Jacobus Comes de Bothwell, Joannes Comes de Atholl, David Comes de Crawford, Gilbertus Comes de Cassills ; Patricius Dominus Ruthven, Jacobus Dominus Fleming, Patricius Dominus Gray, Edwardus Dominus Creichtoun, Patricius Dominus Lyndsay, Franciscus Magister de Forbes ; Secretarius, Computorum Rotulator, Magister Jacobus Balfour, Rector de Flysk.*

#### DIVISION OF THE BATTELL.

THE quhilk day the King and Quenis Majesties having their haill armie presentlie in reddlines to pas furthwart for persute of their rebellis, with their assistaris, hes thought convenient to devyde their cumpanyis in battell, as eftir followis ; that is to say, the van-gard to be led be the ryeht nobill and mychtie Lord Matthew Erle of Lennox Lord Dornlie, thair Leuetennent in the west partis of this Realme ; and he to be accompanyit with the Erlis of Cassillis, Eglington, Lordis Sempill, Ross, Cathcart, Sanchar, Sheriff of Air, Laird of Garleis, Sr James Hamiltoun, and remanent our Soveranes liegis within the boundis of his Leutenendrie. The reir-gard to be led be George Erle of Huntlie, Johne Erle of Atholl, and David Erle of Crawford ; and thai to be accompanyit with the Lordis Ruthven, Glamis, Forbes, Drummond, Innermeth, and Commendatare of Deer, supplicand the place of his fader the Erle Marshall, and sic utheris as will accompany thame : The battell to be led be the Kingis Majesties selfe ; being accompanyit with the Erlis of Mortoun, Bothwell, Marr, the Lordis Ogilvy, Fleyming, Levingstoun, Somervell, Borthwick, Zester, Lyndsay, Hume, and haill remanent of the Realme ; provyding that the present ordouring and disposing of the

the mistake has been owing to the Clerk. For the Queen was not in Fife so early as the 3d September.—[Knox makes the date to be the 10th December.—E.]

<sup>1</sup> This is a place on the road towards Dumfries, about ten miles distant therefrom.

battellis foirsaidis be nawayis prejudiciall to the Erle of Angus, his titill and interest quhatsumevir.<sup>1</sup>

*Apud Edinburgh, 19 Octobris 1565.*

**SEDERUNT**—*Jacobus Comes de Mortown, Cancellarius, Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Joannes Comes de Mar; Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciariæ, Advocatus, Robertus Carnegie de Kynnaired, Miles, Magister Jacobus Balfour, Rector de Flysk, Magister Joannes Leslie, Rector de . . .*

FOR ATTENDING UNTO THE COIST-SYDES AND PASSAGES.

THE quhill day the King and Quenis Majesties having diverse wayis ressavit sum adverteisment that nocht only thair rebellis, with thair assistaris in proper personis, daylie and commounlie, at thair plessour repairis and passes be sey and uther wayis throw the countreis of Lowtheane, Fyffe, and Angus, bot als divers suspect and wickit personis hes nocht abstenit panielie to pas and repas to and fra the saidis rebellis, villipendand thairthrow thair Majesties autoritie, and gevand evill exampill to utheris to do the lyke, gif haisty and tymeous remeid be nocht provydit; thairfoir thair Majesties, be the avyis of the Lordis of thair Secreit Counsall, hes thoecht meit and convenient to deput and appoynt the keeping of the havynis and commoun passages within the said boundis, to sic personis, thair trew and faythfull subjectis, as thai sall haif best opinioun of: That is to say, for Culross, Torryburn, &c. [here follows a large list along all the coast.] And ordanis letteris to be direct to officiaris of armis, sheriffis in that part, chargeing thame to pas, command, and charge the personis *respectivè* above-wryttin, and every aue of thame, that thai, within the boundis appoyntit and limitat to thame, keip continwell and suir watche, and diligentlie serche and tak inquisitioun quhat schippis, crayaris, or boittis pas furth of the samyn, or cumis within thame; as alswa, quhat suspect personis being of the saidis rebellis, thair assistaris or servandis, repairis, passis and repassis be the saidis boundis, and tak and apprehend thame, and owther put thame to the King

<sup>1</sup> By this we are assured the Earls of Angus had enjoyed the hereditary privilege of leading the van of our royal armies.

and Quenis Majesties with possibill dilligence, or gif tymeous knowlege and adverteisment of the apprehensioun of thame; and in the tyme of thair taking, to serche and rype thame, as the personis above-wryttin sall think maist meit and convenient; and that thai inquire at the depairting of ony schippis, crayaris, or boitis passand furth of the said boundis at ony port or place above-wryttin, the caus of thair depairting, the place thai ar frauchtit unto, the namis of thair cumpany and equipage, and sic utheris thingis as thai sall find neidfull and requisit; as alswa, to mak the lyke serch and inquisitioun of quhatsumevir schip, crayar, and boit that sall happin to arryve within ony of the portis and places above-wryttin, quhat part and place thai ar cum fra; and finding the vesschellis, or personis, or gudis being thairin suspitious, that thai stay the schippis or vesschellis, tak the sailis fra thair rais, apprehend and imprissoun the personis quhill thai knaw the King and Quenis Majesties will and plessour in that behalf. And that thai charge all and sundrie inhabitantis within the boundis limitat and appointit unto thame, to concur and assist with thame in the executioun of the premissis, under the pane of deid; with certificatioun and thai faillie, gif ony thing beis attemptit in the contrair, compt thairof salbe inquirt at thair handis.

*Apud Edinburgh, 22 Octobris 1565.*

CHARGE ON THE WARDENIS TO ATTEND THE PASSAIGE OF THE  
REBELLIS.

THE quhilk day the King and Quenis Majesties ar suirlic informit that thair rebellis, with thair assistaris, having now withdrawin thameselffis in Ingland, daylie and continwallie at thair plessour ressortis and reparis within this Realme as thai wer thair Hienesses frie liegis, perswadand and seduceand the guid subjectis to the lyke rebelloun and defectioun, and usand utheris unleifull practises; For remeid quhairof, thair Majesties ordainis letteris to be direct to command and charge the Wardenis of the Eist, Midle, and West Marches, that thai, and ilk ane of thame, appoint watches in everie hie passaige and utheris places neidfull, within the boundis of thair chargeis *respectivè*, and

dilligentlie serch and gif attendance what personis' owther passis in Ingland, or cumis thairfra toward this Realme; and finding thame to be ony of the saidis rebellis, thair assistaris, partakaris, servandis, or messengeris, or ony utherwayis suspect, that the caus of thair passaige be inquirit quhome for thai ar cum, and to quhome thai ar direct; and gif thai be found in ony wayis suspitious, that than thair personis be stayit, takin, apprehendit and brocht to thair Majesties, and thameselffis rypit, gif neid be, as the saidis Wardanis will answer to thair Majesties upoun thair uttermaist charge and perell; and that thai command and charge all and sindrie the liegis dwelland within thair boundis to underly sic directioun and appointment as salbe gevin thame be the saidis Wardanis, for fulfilling of the premissis, under the pane of deid; and to command alswa James Erle of Bothwell, Lord Halis and Crychtoun, &c. Leutenent-Generall to all the said Marchis, to sie the premissis fulfillit in all pointis, as he will answer upoun the executioun of his office.

*Apud Edinburgh, 26 Octobris 1565.*

SEDERUNT—*Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Cancellarius, Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Jacobus Comes de Bothwell, Joannes Comes de Atholl; Patricius Dominus Ruthven; Magister de Maxwell; Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Magister Jacobus Balfour, Rector de Flysk.*

PROCLAMATIOUN TO BE REDDIE TO PAS WITH THE ERLE OF  
ATHOLL.

*N. B.*—This Proclamation narrates how that divers wicked persons (from Argyle perhaps) having committed many depredations in Athole, and the bounds adjacent; therefore charging all the lieges between sixty and sixteen, and all other fencible persons within the sheriffdoms of Perth and Forfar, stewartries of Strathern and Monteith, to attend the Earl of Athole, Lieutenant of the north-parts of the Realme, under the pain of tinsal of life, lands, and goods.

*Apud Edinburgh, 29 Octobris 1565.*

SEDERUNT—*Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Cancellarius, Georgius*

*Comes de Huntlie, David Comes de Crawford ; Patricius Dominus Ruthven ; Secretarius, Thesaurarius, Computorum Rotulator, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciariæ, Advocatus, Magister Jacobus Balfour, Rector de Flysk, Joannes Commendatarius de Lindores, Symon Prestoun, de eod. Præpositus de Edinburgh.*

The Earl of Crawford gives his oath, and is received upon the Privy-Council.

#### CHARGE ON THE ERLE OF ERGYLE AND LORD BOYD.

FORSAMEKILL as our Soverane Lordis and Ladyis letteris wer direct, chargeing Archibald Erle of Ergyle and Robert Lord Boyd to haif comperit personallie befor their Majesties at certane dayis of lang tyme bigane, to haif answerit to sic thingis as sould be laid to thair charge, lykeas at mair lenth is contenit in the chargeis direct to that effect : And albeit the saidis Erle and Lord hes bene serchit and socht, zit can nocht the said charge be dewlie execute, because thair is nocht suire passaige to the said Erlis presence and dwelling-placeis, nor zit is the dwelling-place of the said Lord certane ; And thairfoir the King and Quenis Majesties, with the advyce of the Lordis of thair Secrete Counsall, ordanis letteris to be direct to officiaris of armis, Sheriffis in that part, chargeing thame to pas to the mercat-croces of the burrowis of Striviling, Dumbartane, Air, and utheris placeis neidfull, and thair, be opin Proclamatioun in thair Majesties name and authoritie, command and charge the said Erle of Ergyle and Robert Lord Boyd to compeir befor the King and Quenis Majesties, and Lordis of thair Secrete Counsall, upoun the sext day nixt eftir thai be chargit thairto, under the pane of rebelloun and putting of thame to the horne, to answer to sic thingis as salbe laid to thair charge ; and gif thai faillie thairin, the saidis sex dayis being bipast, to denunce thame rebellis, and put thame to the horne, and to escheat, &c.

*Apud Edinburgh, 1 Decembris 1565.*

SEDERUNT—*Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Joannes Comes de Atholl, David Comes de Crawford ; Alexander Episcopus Candidæ Cæcæ ; Secretarius,*

*Thesaurarius, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciarie, Advocatus, Magister Jacobus Balfour, Rector de Flysk, Robertus Carnegy de Kinaird, Miles.*

DECLARATIOUN ANENT THE EXECUTIOUN OF THE SUMMONDIS OF  
TRESSOUN.

THE quhilk day, in presence of the King and Quenis Majesties and Lordis of Secrete Counsall, comperit Mr Johne Spens of Condy, advocat to thair Hienesses, and exponit how, at thair Majesties command, he had lybellit summondis of tressoun aganis Archibald Erle of Ergyle, James Erle of Murray, Alexander Erle of Glencairne, Andro Erle of Rothies, Andro Lord Uchiltrie, Robert Lord Boyd, and divers utheris, to compeir in the nixt Parliament, to begin the Ferd day of Februarij nixt to cum, to heir thame decernit to haif incurrit the cryme of les majestie, and to haif tynt and forfault lyff, landis, and gudis, for certane crymes of tressoun and les majestie specifieit in the said summondis: Bot becaus thair wes diverse of the saidis personis outwith the Realme, and havand na certane dwelling-places, utheris to quhais dwelling-places and presence thair is na suir passage; it behuivit thame be summond be opin Proclamatioun at the mercat-croce of Edinburgh, and utheris croces nixt adjacent, according to the commoun law, and thairupoun desyrit a declaratioun and determinatioun of their Majesties and Lordis foirsaidis: The quhilk being ressonit with guid deliberatioun and avysment, thair Majesties and Lordschipis findis and declaris, that the saidis personis being summondit in maner eftir specifiet, the executioun is als sufficient in all respectis as gif the same summondis wer execute upoun thame personallie, or at thair dwelling-places.

*Apud Edinburgh, 22 Decembris 1565.*

SEDERUNT—*Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Cancellarius, Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Joannes Comes de Mar; Patricius Dominus Ruthven, Alexander Episcopus Candidæ Casæ; Joannes Maxwell de Terreglis, Miles.*

THE NEW RIALL CUNZIET.

It is statute and ordanit be our Soveranis Quene and Kingis

Majesties, with avyse of the Lordis of thair Majesties Privie-Counsall, that thair be cunzeit ane penny of silvir callit the MARY RYALL, the fynes of elevin deneirs fyne, and of weicht ane unce troce-weicht, with twa granes of remeid [*f. allay*], alsweill of weicht as fynes; havand on the ane syde ane palm-tree crownit; ane schell-padoke crepand up the shank of the samyn; ane axill about the tre, wryttin thairin *Dat gloria vives*, the dait of the zeir thairundir, with this circumscription begynning at ane thirsill, *Eurqat Deus et dissipentur inimici ejus*: And on the uthir syde, our saidis Soveranis armis coverit with ane close crown, ane thirsill on ilk syde, with this circumscription begynning at ane croce directlie above the crown, *Maria et Henricus, Dei gratia Regina et Rex Scotorum*,<sup>1</sup> the said penny to haif cours for xxx sh. money of this Realme,<sup>2</sup> the twa-part for xx sh., and the third-part for x sh., all of this samyn fynes and prent, and of weicht equivalent; to witt, the twa-part of weicht xvi deneris, and the third-part viii deneris. In consideration quhairof, we charge David Forest, General of our cunzie, Johne Achesoun, Maister-cunzeour, and all utheris officiaris of our cunzie-hous, ilk ane in thair awin office, to forge, prent, and caus be forgeit and prentit sic peices of weicht and fynes within thair remeids, as is above-specifiet; and that letteris be direct for publicatioun heiroyf in dew forme as efferis, swa that nane pretend ignorance heiroyf.

<sup>1</sup> This was the first large silver-piece that had been coined in this Kingdom. I have elsewhere observed that this is the only instance almost of the King's name being put posterior to that of the Queen. However, to make amends herein, as it were, to the King (though indeed I can hardly see how the Queen could place her husband's name before her own on the publick money of the nation), the famous ewe-tree of Crookston, the inheritance of the family of Darnly, in the parish of Paisley, is made the reverse of this new coin; and the inscription about the tree, *Dat gloria vives*, is no doubt with a view to reflect honour on the Lenox family. This tree, which stands to this day, is of so large a trunk, and so well spread in its branches, that it is seen at several miles distance.

<sup>2</sup> This affords absolute certainty of the value of silver with us at that time, as to its denomination, viz. that the ounce of silver contained but half the number of shillings by what it contains at present; and consequently, that the denomination of our money was then six to one of the English, whereas it is now twelve for one; and that our shilling was double in weight of silver by what it is now.

## x. [ii. 390.]

RYCHT excellent, rycht heich, and mychtie Princesse, oure derrest sister and cousing, we commend us unto zou in oure maist hartlie maner; we perceave that in place of the guid amytie and mutuall intelligence quhilk heirtofoir hes of lang tyme continewit betwix us, thair is to oure greif ane cauldnes enterit in, as we suppose, be informatioun of sum Ministeris quhilk hes nocht so faithfullie reportit the materis than being in hand amangis us, as thair dewtie requirit; zit for removeing thair of on oure part, quhilk be all meanis honest possibill we mynd to do, and reducing of our auld familiaritie to the former estait, we haif thocht guid that ane of oure awin servandis be neir unto zou, quhais report ze may credit, and that be him mair commodiouslie ze may haif intelligence of oure guid will towartis zou in everie behalf; and having fund this berare, Robert Malvile, fit for the purpois, quhome, in respect of his humill submissioun maid to us, and of the sute of diverse Nobillmen and utheris, oure trustie servandis his freindis, we haif pardonit of his formar offenceis, in hope of his honest behaviour and faythfull service in tyme cumming, hes directit him to remane and attend upoun zou, alsweill for continewing of oure guid intelligence of amytie, as to mak us trew advertisment from zou of all materis. Praying zou, derrest sister, not onlie to gif him acces and favorabill audience as occasioun sall require it, bot alswa to credeit him fra tyme to tyme on oure behalf, as we sall particularlie wryte unto him.

RYCHT trustie and weil-belovit, we greit zou weill: The berare heirof, Robert Malvile, being of us, at the ernist sute of diverse Nobillmen and utheris, oure trustie servandis his freindis, pardonit of his formar offenceis, hes thocht meit to direct him to oure derrest sister and cusing the Quene zour Maistres, to attend upoun hir for sic busines as be a lettre of oures send with him to hir ze will knaw, quhairto we doubt not bot ze wilbe maid previe. And for that we haif heirtofoir fund that ze, as a guid Minister, hes done guid offices amangis us, wald not pretermit at this present to wryte alswa unto zou with the said Robert, to desyre and

pray zou that ze will continew zour formar fassioun of doing, in bestowing zour labouris for nurissing and mantaining of the guid intelligence betwix us and oure said derrest sister, and that be zour meanis the said Robert may haif acces to hir frome tyme to tyme, quhairby, as ze sall declair the frute of zour guid ministerie, sa will ze do us acceptabill plessour in this behalf.

XI. [ii. 411.]—*A Discourse of the late troubles that happened in Scotland betwixt the Noble and Mighty Princess Mary, by the Grace of God Queen of Scots, and her husband Henry the King, with other Earls, Barons, Gentlemen and Freeholders, Merchants and Craftsmen, on their part, the 9th day of March 1565. Written in Berwick the last of April 1566.*

WHEREAS the Lord Ruthven of Scotland, aged forty-six, was visited by the hand of God with great trouble and sickness, having two infirmities, an inflammation of the liver, and a consumption of the kidneys, whereby he kept his bed continually, for the space of three months, under the cure of medicines, as the Queen's French Doctor, Dr David Preston, and Thomas Thomson, Apothecary, and so feeble that he scarcely might walk twice the length of his chamber. In the mean season the King, husband to the Queen, conceived an hatred against the Italian called David Ricchio, and about the 10th of February the King sent his dear friend and cousin George Douglas, son to his uncle Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, and declared unto the said Lord Ruthven how that the said David abused the King in many sorts, and staid the Queen's Majesty from giving him the Crown-Matrimonial of Scotland, which her Majesty had promised to him sundry times, besides many other wrongs which he could not bear longer, and behoved him to be revenged; and because the said Lord Ruthven was one to whom he trusted, in respect that his children and the King were cousins of the first degree,<sup>1</sup> he required his counsel which way he might be revenged of the said David. The Lord Ruthven answered, "That he would give no answer

<sup>1</sup> He married a natural daughter of the Earl of Angus, who was thereby indeed aunt-natural to the King.

in that matter, because he knew the King's youth and facility to be so, that sundry of the Nobility before, giving him counsel suitable to his honour, he revealed the same to the Queen's Majesty, whereby her Grace had them in high displeasure, and therefore would have no dealing with his proceedings till he understood that he could better keep his own counsel ;" with which answer the said George Douglas departed to the King. About the 12th of February the King hearing the answer, was much discontented, and said, " 'Tis a sore case that I cannot get any of the Nobility to assist me against this villain David." To which George answered, " The default was in himself, in that he could not keep his own secret." Then the King took a book, and swore thereon " That what counsel the Lord Ruthven would give him, he would not reveal the same to the Queen, or to any other ;" and immediately dispatched the said George Douglas again to the Lord Ruthven to declare what oath the King had made. Notwithstanding, the Lord Ruthven remained eight days ere he would give any advice therein. Then again George being sent unto him, the said Lord understood the King's intent was the slaughter of David, and considering he had now a good time to labour for certain of the Nobility banished the Realm, answered, " That he would not meddle with the King's affairs unless the King would grant that the Lords banished for the Word of God might return to their country and estates ;" to which he yielded, on condition that they should stand by him by their subscription, which Ruthven promised. On which the King directed the said George Douglas to the Lord Ruthven with certain Articles to be subscribed by the Lord Ruthven and the rest, which was done ; and they sent certain Articles to the King to be subscribed on his part, which he did, and the same was delivered to the said Lord Ruthven, who demanded Articles for the Earl of Murray, Argile, &c., which was granted, and delivered to the said Earl, the tenor whereof ensueth :—

*Certain Articles to be subscribed by James Earl of Murray, Archibald Earl of Argile, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, Andrew Earl of Rothes, Robert Lord Boyd, Andrew Lord Ochiltree, and other complices of the Noble and Mighty*

*Prince Henry, King of Scotland, which they offer, with all lowliness, to the said Prince, for whom they pray.*

1. THE said Earls, Lords, and complices, shall become, and by the tenor hereof becomes, true subjects and faithful servants to the noble and mighty Prince Henry, King of Scotland, husband to our Sovereign Lady ; That they and theirs will take his part in all his causes and quarrels against whomsoever it be, to the uttermost of their power, and shall be friends to his friends, and enemies to his enemies, and therein neither spare their lands, lives, or estates.

2. The said Lords and their complices shall, at the first Parliament after their return, grant, give, and ordain the Matrimonial Crown to the said noble Prince all the days of his life ; and if any person or persons withstand or gainsay the same, the said Earls, Lords, and their complices, shall take such part as the said noble Prince liketh, in all sorts whatsoever, for obtaining the same.

3. *Item*, The said Earls, Lords, and their complices, shall fortify and maintain the said noble Prince in his just title to the Crown of Scotland, failing of succession of our said Sovereign Lady, and shall justify and set forward the same at their uttermost : And if any man will usurp or gainsay the said just title, the said Lords, &c. shall defend the same without fear of life or death ; and shall pursue, slay, or expel the said usurpers.

4. As to the religion established by the Queen's Majesty since her arrival into this Realm, whereupon Proclamations and Edicts were made, that they and every one of them shall fortify and maintain the same at their uttermost power.

5. *Item*, As they are become true subjects to the said noble Prince, so shall they not spare life or limb in setting forward all that may tend to the advancement of his honour.

6. *Item*, The said Earls, &c. shall labour at the Queen of England's hands for the title of the said Prince's mother and brother, as they may by any means.

*Certain Articles to be fulfilled by the Noble and Mighty Prince Henry, King of Scotland, Husband to our Sovereign Lady, to James Earl of Murray, Archibald Earl of Argyle, Alex-*

*ander Earl of Glencairn, Andrew Earl of Rothes, Robert Lord Boyd, Andrew Lord Ochiltree, remaining in England.*

1. THE said noble Prince shall obtain their remissions, if they require the same, for all faults, of whatsoever quality or kind, and persevere in pursuing for the same till obtained, as soon as, by their help and supply, he obtain the Crown-Matrimonial, and stop and impede, that they shall not be called nor accused for whatsoever crime; and freely remit and forgive the said Earls, Lords, and their complices, all crimes, of whatsoever quality or condition they be, and to bury and put them in oblivion as if they had never been; and shall receive them at their return thankfully, as other true and faithful subjects and servants.

2. *Item*, We shall not suffer the said Earls, &c. to be called or accused in Parliament, nor suffer any forfeiture to be laid against them, but shall stop the same to our uttermost power.

3. *Item*, That the foresaid Earls, &c. returning into the Realm of Scotland, shall use and enjoy their lands, livings, benefices, as before their passing into England, and maintain and fortify them in the enjoyment of the same against all persons, to the uttermost of our power.

4. *Item*, As to the said Earls, &c. their religion, we are contented and consent that they use the same, according to the Queen's Majesty's Proclamation made thereupon; and if any person or persons offer to make impediment therein, we shall take part with the aforesaid Earls, &c. to the uttermost of our power. And after their return, upon their adhering and good service to be done to us, we, the said noble Prince, shall consent, aid, and assist to the establishing the religion now profest, and concur with them, if any power shall withstand them.

5. *Item*, We shall fortify and maintain the said Earls, &c. against whomsoever, in all their just causes and quarrels.

All this while the King kept sight from the Queen's Majesty all his proceedings; and as her Majesty sought by subtile means to learn of him what was in his mind, so he crafted with her to understand her mind. In the mean time, he sending to the Lord Ruthven, saying that he would

not abide David any longer ; and if his slaughter were not hasted, he would slay him himself, yea though it were in the Queen's chamber ; the said Lord Ruthven counselled him to the contrary, and thought it not decent that he should put hand on such a mean person ; whereupon the said Lord Ruthven affixed a day whereon David should be slain, though he would have him rather to be judged by the Nobility. To which the King answered, that it was cumbersome to them in such a case, but would have him hang'd or dispatched otherwise. In the mean time, the King and Queen's Majesties rode to Seton-house : The King burning in his desire of the slaughter of David, sent divers privy writings in his own hand to the Lord Ruthven, and a message to George Douglas, to be shewed to Ruthven, to have all things in a readiness against his return to Edinburgh, towards the slaughter of the said David, otherwise he would put the same in execution with his own hands. Mean time the Lord Ruthven practising with the Earl of Morton, the King's nigh kinsman, and the Lord Lindsay, whose wife was a Douglas, and with a number of Barons and Gentlemen, to assist the King in such affairs as he had to do, and that they should have their religion freely established, conform to Christ's Book, and to the Articles subscribed by the King to the Lords.<sup>1</sup> And after the King's return from Seton, he directed George Douglas to the Earl of Morton and Lord Ruthven, to see what day should be appointed, with place and time for performance of the enterprize against David : To which they answered, that they would have a sufficient number ready against Friday or Saturday the 8th or 9th of March, and they thought it best to take him in his own chamber, or in passing through the close, which the King refused simply ; and that he could not be taken in his own chamber, for the last night he tarried late with the Queen's Majesty, he lay in the other cabinet, and sometimes in Seignior Francis chamber, and sometimes in his own cham-

<sup>1</sup> [What an idea does it give us of these men, promising each other indemnity for all the crimes of which they might be accused—guaranteeing the possession of the Church benefices they had sacrilegiously seized—and confirming the establishing of the new religion “conform to Christ's Word”—on the condition of aiding in the perpetration of a most atrocious murder, in the presence of the Queen, who was far advanced in pregnancy !—E.]

ber, which had sundry back doors and windows through which he might easily escape; therefore he would have him taken at supper-time, sitting with her Majesty at the table, that he might be taunted in her presence, because she had not entertained her husband according to her accustomed manner, nor as she ought of duty. To which the said Earl and Lord were loath to yeild; but no reason would prevail, and he devised the matter himself as followeth:—

Upon Saturday at supper, Morton, and Ruthven, and Lindsay should have been ready, so many as would be partakers with the King, and as soon as he sent them word; the Earl Morton should go up to her Majesty's chamber, and the Lord Ruthven to come through the King's privy-chamber; and that the King should pass up before a private way to the Queen's chamber, and open the door, where-through the said Lord and his company should enter; and when the King himself should be speaking with the Queen's Majesty, the rest of the Gentlemen and Barons to be in the Court of the gates. Whereupon, the said Earl of Morton and Lord Ruthven, considering the King's device toward the killing the said David in the Queen's Majesty's chamber, considering he was a young Prince, and having a lusty Princess afterwards to lie in his arms, who might perswade him to deny all that was done, and alledge that others perswaded him to the same, thought it necessary to have surety thereupon, who made a bond to the Earls, Lords, Barons, Freeholders, Merchants and Craftsmen, in the King's name, declaring, that what was to be done was his own device and invention; and by bond obliged himself, his heirs, &c. to them, their heirs and successors, to keep them skaitless for executing David in the Queen's Majesty's presence, or otherwise, as the said bond more at large declareth.

Upon Saturday the 9th of March, conform to the King's ordinance and device, the said Earl Morton, Lord Ruthven, and Lord Lindsay, having their men and friends in a readiness, abiding the King's advertisement; the King having supp'd the sooner for the same purpose; and the Queen's Majesty in her cabinet, within her inner-chamber at supper, the King sent for the said Earl, Lords, and their accomplices, and desired them to make haste and come to the Palace, for he should have the door of the privy-chamber open, and

should be talking with the Queen before their coming. The said Earl Morton, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, with their accomplices, entring the Palace by the King's commandment, and the said Earl Morton to the King's outer-chamber, and certain with him; and the said Lord Ruthven the other way, through the King's chamber to the cabinet, up to the privy way to the Queen's chamber, as the King directed them, and through the chamber to the cabinet, where they found her Majesty at supper, at a little table, the Lady Argile at the one end, and David at the other end, his cap on his head, the King speaking with her Majesty, with his hand about her waste.

The said Lord Ruthven at his entring in, said unto the Queen's Majesty, let it please your Majesty that yonder man David come forth of your privy-chamber, where he hath been over-long. The Queen answered, what offence hath he done? Ruthven answered, that he made a greater and more hainous offence to her Majesty's honour, the King her husband, the Nobility and Commonwealth. And how? said she. If it would please your Majesty, said the Lord Ruthven, he hath offended your honour, which I dare not be so bold as to speak of. As to the King your husband's honour, he hath hindered him of the Crown-Matrimonial which your Grace promised him, besides many other things which are not necessary to be expressed; and hath caused your Majesty to banish a great part of the Nobility, and to forfeit them, that he might be made a Lord. And to your Commonweal he hath been a common destroyer, hindring your Majesty to grant or give any thing but what passed through his hands, by taking of bribes for the same; and caused your Majesty to put at the Lord Ross for his whole land, because he would not give over the lands of Melvin to the said David, besides many other inconveniences that he solicited your Majesty to do. Then the said Lord Ruthven said to the King, Sir, take the Queen your wife and sovereign to you, who stood all amazed, and wist not what to do. Then her Majesty rose upon her feet, and stood before David, he holding her Majesty by the plates of her gown, leaning back over the window, his dagger drawn in his hand, and Arthur Areskin, and the Abbot of Holyrood-house, and the Lord Keith, master of the hous-

hold, with the French pothecary ; and one of the chamber, began to lay hands on the Lord Ruthven, none of the King's party being there present. Then the said Lord Ruthven pulled out his dagger, and defended himself until moe came in, and said to them, lay no hands on me, for I will not be handled. At the coming in of others into the cabinet, the said Lord Ruthven put up his dagger ; and with the rushing in of men, the board fell into the wall, meat and candles being thereon, and the Lady of Argile took one of the candles in her hand. At the same instant the Lord Ruthven took the Queen in his arms, and put her into the King's arms, beseeching her Majesty not to be afraid, for there was no man there that would do her body any harm more than they would do their own hearts ; and assured her Majesty, that all that was done was the King's own deed. And the remnant of the gentlemen being in the cabinet took David out of the window, and after they had him out of the Queen's chamber, the said Lord Ruthven followed, and bade take him away down to the King's chamber the privy way ; and the said Lord returned to the cabinet, thinking that the said David had been taken down to the King's chamber ; the press of the people hurled him forth to the outer-chamber, where there was a great number standing who were vehemently moved against him, so that they could not abide any longer, but slew him at the Queen's fore-door in the other chamber. Immediately the Earl Morton passed forth of the Queen's outer-chamber to the Nether-Court, for the keeping of the same and the gates, and deputed certain Barons to keep certain chambers until he knew the Queen's Majesty's pleasure and the King's. Shortly after, her Majesty said to the Lord Lindsay, Arthur Areskin, and the Earl Morton, to pass to David's chamber to fetch the black coffer, with the writings and cyphers, which the said Earl Morton delivered, and gave the chamber in keeping to John Symple, son to the Lord Symple, with those goods, both gold and silver, and apparel therein. In the mean time the Queen's Majesty and the King came forth of the cabinet to the Queen's chamber, where the Queen's Majesty began to reason with the King. My Lord, why have you caused to do this wicked deed to me ? considering that I took you from low estate, and made you my

husband? What offence have I given you that you should do me such shame? The King answered, I have good reason for me, for since yonder fellow David came in credit and familiarity with your Majesty, you neither regarded me, entertained me, nor trusted me after your wonted fashion; for every day before dinner you were wont to come to my chamber, and past the time with me, and this long time you have not done so; and when I came to your Majesty's chamber, you bare me little company except David had been the third person; and after supper your Majesty used to sit up at the cards with the said David till one or two after midnight: And this is the entertainment that I have had of you this long time. Her Majesty answered, that it was not a gentlewoman's duty to come to her husband's chamber, but rather the husband to come to the wife's. The King answered, how came you to my chamber in the beginning, and ever till within these six months, that David fell into familiarity with you? Or am I fail'd in any sort in my body? Or what disdain have you of me? Or what offences have I done you that you should coy me at all times alike, seeing I am willing to do all things that becometh a good husband? Suppose I be of mean degree, yet am I your husband, and you promised me obedience at the day of your marriage, and that I should be participant and equal with you in all things; but you have used me otherwise, by the perswasion of David. The Queen answered, my Lord, all the offence that is done me, you have the wite thereof, for the which I shall be your wife no longer, nor ly with you any more, and shall never like well till I cause you have as sorrowful a heart as I have at this present. Then the Lord Ruthven made answer, and besought her Majesty to be of good comfort, to entertain her husband, and use the counsel of the Nobility, and then her government would be as prosperous as in any King's days. The said Lord Ruthven being sore fell'd with his sickness, and wearied with his travel, desired her Majesty's pardon to sit down, and called for drink for God's sake; so a Frenchman brought him a cup of wine, and after he drank, her Majesty began to rail at him, saying, is this your sickness? He answered, God forbid your Majesty had such a sickness. Then the Queen said, if she died of her child,

or her Commonweal perished, she would leave the revenge thereof to her friends, to be taken of the said Lord Ruthven and his posterity; for she had the King of Spain and the Emperor her great friends, and likewise the King of France her good-brother, with her uncles of Lorraine, besides the Pope's Holiness, and many other princes in Italy. Ruthven answered, that these noble princes were over great personages to meddle with such a poor man as he was, being her Majesty's own subject: And what her Majesty said, that if she, or her child, and Commonweal perished, she said Lord Ruthven would have the wyte thereof; he answered, if any of these *three* perished, her Majesty's self and her particular Council should have the wyte thereof before God and the world; for there was no man within the Palace but would honour and serve her Majesty as became true subjects, and would suffer no harm to come to her body more than to their own hearts: And if any thing be done this night that your Majesty mislikes, the King your husband, and none of us, is in the wyte; which he confessed to be true.

At this instant, Gray knocked fast at the Queen's door, declaring that the Earls of Huntly, Athole, Bothwell, Cathness, and Sutherland, the Lords Fleming, Levingston, the Secretary, and Tullibardin the Comptroller, with their officers and servants, were fighting in the close against the Earl Morton and his company, being on the King's part. The King hearing the same would have gone down, but the Lord Ruthven stay'd him, and went down himself, desiring the King to entertain the Queen's Majesty in the mean time. The said Lord Ruthven went down supported by the arms, and before his coming, the officers were going in at their houses, and the Lords were holden in at the gallery-door by the Earl Morton and others, who were constrained to pass up to the gallery, and to their chambers; so the said Lord Ruthven passed up to the Earl Bothwell's chamber, where he found Huntly, Cathness, Sutherland, and divers others, where he shewed the whole proceedings of that night, and how it was invented by the King himself, as his hand-writ should shew; and how he had sent for the Lords that were banished in England, and Argile, who would be there before day. And

because there was some enmity unreconciled between the Earls of Huntly and Bothwell, and Argile and Murray, the same should be made up at the sight of the Nobility, they doing the like. Whereupon the Earls of Huntly and Bothwell gave him their hand, and after they drank, the said Lord Ruthven took his leave of them, and passed to the Earl of Athole's chamber, accompanied with the Earls of Cathness and Sutherland and the Lord Gray, and found with the said Earl, the Comptroller, Secretary, and James Balfour, with divers others; and because of the familiarity between the said Earl and Ruthven, the Earl began to be angry with Ruthven for concealing from him what enterprise soever he had to do, who answered, that it was the King's attempt and device, and that none of them had any further meddling therein than as the King commanded, as he had writing to testify; and that it was the King's secret, and fear'd that if he had given him knowledge thereof, he would reveal it to her Majesty, which might hinder the purpose, and cause the King to have holden Ruthven for a dishonest man. The Earl perceiving all to be the King's own doing, desired Ruthven to go to the King, and obtain leave for him to pass into his own country, with them that were then in the chamber with him.

Meanwhile Bothwell and Huntly hearing of the other Lords return out of England, thought it better to escape than remain; so they went out at a low window, and away. Meantime, while the Lord Ruthven was with Athole, the King declared to the Queen's Majesty, that he had sent for the Lords to return again, whereunto she answered, that she was not to blame that they were so long away, for she could be content to have them home at any time but for angring of him; and to verify the same, when the Queen gave remission to the Duke, he was discontent therewith. Then came the Provost of Edinburgh, and a great company of townsmen armed, to the outer-court of the Palace, where the King called out of the window to them to return to their houses, for he and the Queen's Majesty were in good health. The Lord Ruthven being come up to the Queen's chamber, where the King was, he shewed them that there was no hurt done. Then her Majesty enquired what had become of David? Ruthven answered, that he believed in the King's

chamber, for he thought not fit to shew how he died. Then her Majesty asked the said Lord Ruthven what kindness was betwixt Murray and him? Remember you, said she, what the Earl Murray would have me do unto you, for giving me the ring? Ruthven answered, that he would bear no quarrel for that cause, but would forgive him and all others, for God's sake; and as for that ring, it had no more vertue than another ring, but was a little ring with a pointed diamond in it. Remember you not, said her Majesty, that you said it had a vertue to keep me from poisoning? Liketh your Grace, said he, I said so much, that the ring had that vertue; but I take that evil opinion out of your head, of presupposition that you conceived that the Protestants would have done, which he knew the contrary, and that the Protestants would do no more harm to your Majesty's body than to their own heart. It was so imprinted in your Majesty's mind, that it could not be taken away without a contrary impression. Then said her Majesty to the Lord Ruthven, what offence or default have I done to be thus handled? Enquire, said he, at the King your husband. Nay, said she, I will enquire of you; who answered, Madam, if it would please your Majesty to remember that you have this long time a number of perverse persons, and especially David a stranger Italian, who hath ruled and guided the country without advice of the Nobility and Council, especially against those Noblemen that were banished. Her Majesty answered, were you not one of my Council? why would you not declare if I would do any thing amiss? because your Majesty would hear no such thing in all the time your Majesty was at Glasgow and Dumfries, but when ever you called your Council together, did things by your self and your privy persons, albeit your Nobility be at the pains and expences. Well, said her Majesty, you find great fault with me, I will be content to set down my Crown before the Lords of the Articles, and if they find that I have offended, to give it where they please. Then answered the Lord Ruthven, God forbid Madam: But who chose the said Lords of the Articles? Not I, said she. Saving your Majesty's reverence, said he, you chose them all in Seaton, and nominated them; and as for your Majesty's Council, it hath been suffered to wait this long time, and what was

done it behoved them to say it was your Majesty's pleasure. And to the Lords of the Articles, your Majesty first chose such as would say whatsoever you thought expedient to the forfeitures of the banished Lords : and, now when the Lords of the Articles have sitten certain days reasoning if they could find any principal cause why they should be forfeited, no Madam, not so much as one point, except false witness be brought in against them : Whereunto she gave no answer. Then the Lord Ruthven perceiving that her Majesty was very sick, he said to the King it was best to take leave of her Majesty, that she might take her rest : So the King took his good-night, and came forth of the Queen's chamber, and we with him, and left none there but the ladies and gentlewomen : And when the King came to his own chamber, Ruthven declared unto him the message he had from the Earl of Athole to the King, to have leave to return home ; which the King was loath to do, unless he gave him a bond that he should be his. To which Ruthven answered, that he was a true man, and kept the thing he said as well as others their hand-writing and seals. Then the King desired the Lord Ruthven to fetch Athole to him, which he did ; who, after he had talked with the King, he desired the said Earl to be ready to come to him whensoever he sent for him. He answered, whensoever it would please the Queen's Grace and him to send for him, he would gladly come at all times ; and desired the King that he might speak to the Queen, which the King denied : And the Earl took his leave, and passed to his chamber, and the Lord Ruthven with him ; for he made him ready, and in his company the Earls of Sutherland and Cathness, the Master of Cathness, the Secretary and Comptroller, with James Balfour, the Lord Grahame, with divers others. Immediately the King directed two writings subscribed by his own hand, on Saturday after the slaughter of David, to certain men in Edinburgh bearing office, charging them to convey men-in-arms, and make watch in the town, and to suffer none to come out of doors except Protestants, under all high pain that after might follow. And upon the morrow, which was Sunday the 10th of March, directed a letter, subscribed with his own hand, making mention that it was not his will that the Parliament should hold, for divers causes, and dis-

charged the same by the tenor thereof: And therefore commanded and charged all the Estates, and others warned to the said Parliament, to depart Edinburgh within three hours, under pain of loss of life, lands and goods, except such as the King, by his special commandment, caused to remain: Which letter was openly proclaimed at the market-cross, and fully obeyed. The gates being locked, the King being in his bed, the Queen walking in his chamber, the Lord Ruthven took charge of the lower gate and privy passage, by the King's commandment, and David was thrown down the stairs from the Palace where he was slain, and brought to the Porter's lodge, who taking off his cloaths, said, this was his destiny; for upon this chest was his first bed when he came to this place, and now he lieth a very niggard and misknown knave. The King's dagger was found sticking in his side. The Queen enquired at the King where his dagger was? who answered, that he wist not well. Well, said the Queen, it will be known hereafter. Upon the morrow, which was Sunday the 10th, the King arose at eight, and passed to her Majesty's chamber. At his coming from her, she desired him to let all the ladies and gentlewomen come to her, which was granted: And at his coming down, shewed the same to the Earl Morton and Ruthven, who yielded to the same, yet shewed the King they feared her Majesty would traffique by them with the Lords, and all others that would do for her: Likeas it followed; for her Majesty wrote some writings, and caused others to be written in her name to the Earls of Argile, Huntly, Bothwell, Athole, and others. After that the King had dined on Sunday, he past up to her Majesty's chamber, where the Queen made as if she would part with child, complaining that she could not get any of her gentlewomen to come to her, Scots nor French. The King sending word to the Earl Morton and Ruthven, they were all admitted to her that would. At the same time her Majesty apprehended that the Lord Ruthven would do her body harm, and sent the Lord Semple his son to the Lord Ruthven, to enquire what her Majesty might trust to in that respect? whose answer was, that he would do no more harm to her body than to his own heart; and if any man intended to do otherwise, he would defend her body to the uttermost of his

power; and said, her Majesty had experience the night preceding, when he suffered none to come nigh her Majesty's person to molest or trouble her. The said John Semple brought the said message to the Lord Ruthven at two of the clock on Sunday afternoon, sitting in the King's outer-chamber at his dinner; and at four the King came down to his chamber, where Ruthven shewed him the Queen was about to steal out about the throng of her gentlewomen, as he was advertised: So the King commanded him to give attendance thereunto, and put certain to the doors, and let no gentlewoman pass forth muffled. About seven or eight of the clock, the Earls of Murray and Rothes, with their accomplices, out of England, and<sup>1</sup> lighted at the Abbey, and were thankfully received of the King, and passed to the Earl of Murray's house to supper. Immediately the Queen sent one of her ushers, called Dersell, for the said Earl of Murray, who passed unto her Majesty, who received him pleasantly, as appeared; and coming from her, passed to the Earl of Morton's house, where he remained that night. At this time the King was communing with the Queen's Majesty, and after long reasoning with him, she granted to ly with him all night. He coming to her chamber, and putting all men out of his outer-chamber, except the waiters of his chamber, made a complaint that the Queen's gentlewomen would not go forth of the door unmuffled. At the King's coming down, he shewed the Earl Morton and the Lord Ruthven the whole manner of his proceeding with her Majesty, which they liked no way. The King grew effeminate again, and they said unto him, we see no other but that you may do what both you and we will have cause to repent: But he would have the said Earl and Lord to rid all the house conform to her Majesty's desire, which they did; and the said Lord went and lay in the King's wardrobe, and after he was laid down, George Douglas came to him, and shewed him that the King was fallen asleep, the said Lord caused the said George to go and wake him; and after wakeing of him two or three times, and finding him still asleep, he would wake him no more, at which the Lord Ruthven was discontent. The King slept till six in the morning, when the Lord Ruthven came and reproved him that he did not keep promise with the Queen

<sup>1</sup> Either there is something wanting, or this *and* is superfluous.

in lying with her all that night : He answered, that he had fallen into such a dead sleep that he could not awake, and put the fault to William Elder, one of his friends, that permitted him to sleep ; but always, said he, I will go and take my night-gown and go up to the Queen. Then said the Lord Ruthven, I trust she shall serve you in the morning as you did her at night. The King passed upon Monday the 11th of March to the Queen's chamber, and sate on the bedside, she being asleep, or pretending to be so, and sate there by the space of an hour. Then when her Majesty waked, she enquired of the King why he came not up yesternight ? He answered, that he fell into such a dead sleep that he waked not before six ; and now I come and offer myself to have lyen down by your Majesty, and you will not suffer it, saying you are sick : And then she said she would rise incontinent. Then the King fell in reasoning with her concerning the return of the Earls that were banished, and of forgiving all offences, and also of the slaughter of David ; who, as appeared to him, was contented ; for the King came down to his own chamber merrily at eight, and shewed Morton and Ruthven the proceedings between her and him, who answered him, All was but words, and instead of your perswading her Majesty, we fear she will perswade you to follow her desire, because she was trained from her youth in the Court of France. Now, said the King, will you let me alone, and I will warrant to bring all to a good end. After the King had put on his cloaths, he passed at the ninth hour to the Queen's chamber, where he reasoned of many things with her Majesty ; and after returning to his dinner at two, he declared to Murray and Morton, Ruthven and Lindsay, that he had obtained of her Majesty that the said Earls and Lords should come in presence, and she would forgive all things bypast, and bury them out of her mind as they had never been. The said Earls and Lords answered, that fair speaking was but policy, and suppose it promised, little or nothing would be performed. Always the King took in hand, and bade them make what security they pleased, and her Majesty and he should subscribe the same. After dinner the King again passed into the Queen's chamber, where the midwife was made to come to him, and said to him, that the Queen would not fail to depart with child,

if her Majesty went not into some other place where there was more free air, and divers of the ladies said the same; and the King returned to his chamber at three after noon, and declared the same to the Earls and Lords; and in the mean time came in the French doctor, who declared to the King that it was not possible for the Queen's Majesty to eschew a fever, which if she took, she could not eschew to miscarry, if she did not depart from that place to some sweeter and pleasanter air. The doctor being departed, the King asked the said Earls and Lords what they thought of the speaking of the doctor? They said they feared all was but craft and policy. But the King would not credit the same, and said that she was a true Princess, and he would set his life for what she promised. And between four and five in the afternoon the King passed to the Queen, and took the Earls Morton and Murray with him, also the Lord Ruthven, and leaving them in the outer-chamber, the King went in to know if her Majesty would come to the outer-chamber, or admit the Lords to come in; and she came out to the outer-chamber led by the King, the said Earls and Lords sitting down on their knees, made their speech by the Earl of Morton, chancellor, and offer their particular orations by themselves. And after that her Majesty had heard all, her answer was, that it was not unknown to the Lords that she was never blood-thirsty, nor greedy upon their lands or goods since her coming into Scotland, nor would be upon theirs that were present, but would remit the whole number that were banished, or were at the last deed or death of David, and put all things in oblivion as if they had never been, and so caused the said Earls and Lords to rise on their feet, and afterwards her Majesty desired them to make their own securites, and she would subscribe the same. Then her Majesty took the King by the hand, and the Earl of Murray by the other, and walked in the said outer-chamber by the space of an hour, and then passed into her inner-chamber, when she and the King appointed that all they that were on the King's part should go forth of its place. After supper, at six a clock, the King coming down to his chamber, the Articles which were for their security were given to the King to be subscribed by the Queen, which the King took in hand to be done, and desired the said Lords

to remove, that her Majesty's guards and servants might order all as they pleased. The Lords answered, you may make us do what you please, but it is sore against our wills, for we fear that all is but deceit that is meant towards us, and that the Queen will pass away shortly and take you with her, either to the Castle of Edinburgh, or Dunbar. And the Lord Ruthven protested that what bloodshed or mischief should ensue thereon, should fall upon the King's head and his posterity, and not upon theirs. The King said he would warrant them all: So they parted and took their leave of the King, and passed all out of Holyrood-house to the Earl of Morton's house, where they supped. And on the morrow, which was Tuesday the 12th of March, the Lords hearing the Queen's Majesty with the King was departed contrary to their expectation, after the matter was appointed, they required one another's opinion; which concluded all to remain within the town of Edinburgh till such time as they might send some Nobleman to her Majesty for performance of the Articles promised for their security; and to that effect they sent for the Lord Semple, and desired him to pass to the Queen at Dunbar, with the Writing of the Lords, which he granted to do, and received the same, with the copy of the Articles which the King received before, and promised to do his utter diligence to get the same subscribed: Who coming to Dunbar, presented the Lords' Writings to their Majesties; which was evil taken of the Queen, who made him to remain three days: Who, at his return, reported that there was nothing to be looked for but extremities to all those Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen that were at the slaughter of David, notwithstanding her Majesty's promise. At that time her Majesty wrote to all Earls, Lords, and Barons to meet her at Haddington the 17th or 18th day of March, and directed her general letters, charging all men above sixteen to be at the said meeting in armour, with weapons after the sort of war; and sent a charge to the Lord Areskin, Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, to fire on the town unless the Lords departed out of it. On Saturday the 23d, her Majesty caused to summon the Earl of Morton and the Lord Ruthven, with their accomplices, the Master of Ruthven, Laird of Ormestone, Warestone, Halstone, Everstone, and others, to appear before her Majesty

within six days, under pain of rebellion, and putting them to her Majesty's horn; which before hath never been used in Scotland,<sup>1</sup> but newly invented by them that understood not law. And how her Majesty hath handled the Barons, and others our poor brethren at Edinburgh, and how they are oppressed by the men of war, God knoweth, Who will put remedy thereto when He thinketh best; and how the Barons' wives are oppressed, by spoiling their places, and robbing their goods, it would pity a good heart.<sup>2</sup> And whereas her Majesty alledged, that night that David was slain, some held pistols to her Majesty's breast; some struck so near her Majesty that she felt the coldness of the iron, with many other such like things; which we take God to record, there was not one stroke in her Majesty's presence; nor was David stricken till he was at the farther door of her Majesty's outer-chamber. And her Majesty maketh all thir allegations to bring the said Earl of Morton, Lord Ruthven, and their complices, into great hatred with foreign Princes, and with the Nobility and Commons of the said Realm, who have experience of the contrary, and know that there was no evil meant to the Queen's body. The Eternal God, Who hath the rule of all Princes in His hand, send her His Holy Spirit, that she may rule and govern with clemency and mercy.

Since the former division, the King hath revolted from the Queen to the Lords, and now is come to her again. The constancy of such a King I leave to you to judge of.

The Earls of Murray and Argile are come to Court. This 20th of April, the French Ambassador, passing through Berwick, was accompanied with the brother of David, who is now Secretary to the Queen.

XII. [ii. 423.]—*Dunbar, 16 Marcij 1565-6.*

SEDERUNT—*Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Jacobus Comes de*

<sup>1</sup> Mr Knox will certify the contrary; for he honestly acknowledges that this "practice was devised in the Earl of Huntly's case, before the battle of Corrichie." And may be that writer, had the matter been different, would have here found out a divine judgment. But it is observable that judgments are all for, not against him.

<sup>2</sup> It might have even pitied a wicked heart to have seen a poor miserable creature crying for justice, to be forcibly torn from the Prince's presence, and butchered in a most barbarous manner! A good heart would not engage in a murder of any kind.

*Bothwell, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Wilielmus Comes de Mariscal, David Comes de Crawford, Gilbertus Comes de Cassills, Georgius Comes de Caithnes,*——

PROCLAMATIOUN TO MEIT AT MUSSELBURGH.

THE King and Quenis Majesties, understanding that be vertew of thair Majesties Letteris and Proclamationis direct of befoir under thair Majesties subscriptionis, the inhabitantis of the sheriffdomes of Edinburgh principall, within the Constabularie of Hadingtoun, Linlythgow, Strivling, Lanark, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peiblis, Berwick, Lawder, and utheris specifiet in the saidis Proclamationis, wer warnit to conveyn and meit thair Hienesses at Hadingtoun and Musselburgh respective, the 16th, 17th, and 18th dayis of March instant, with viii dayis provisoun and victuallis eftir thair cuning, as in the saidis former Proclamationis past thairupoun at mair lenth is contenit: And thair Majesties, God willing, being of purpois to be at Hadingtoun this nixt Sonday, the 17th day of March instant, ordanis thairfoir letteris to be direct to officiaris of armes to pas to the mercat-croces of the said burgh of Hadingtoun, and utheris places neidfull, and thair, be opin Proclamatioun in thair Majesties name and autoritie, command and charge all and sundry thair Hienesses legeis, alsweill convenit as heir-eftir sall happin to conveyn be vertew of the saidis former Proclamationis; that thai, and ilk ane of them, remane and await at the places foirsaidis, appoyntit in the samyn Proclamationis, sufficientlie provydit for the space of viii dayis eftir thair cuning; and to attend and pas furthwart with thair Majesties towart thair Hienesses burgh of Edinburgh, or uther place as thai salbe commandit, conforme to the saidis former Proclamationis past thairupoun of befoir, under the pane of tynsall of lyff, landis and gudis.

*Edinburgh, 10 Marcij 1565-6.*

SEDERUNT—*Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Wilielmus Comes de Mariscal, Joannes Comes de Mar; Joannes Dominus Fleming; Joannes Maxwell de Terreglis, Miles, Symon Prestoun, de eod. Præpositus de Edinburgh, Jacobus Balfour de Pittendriech, Miles, Thesaurarius, Alexander Episcopus Candida Casæ, Joannes Commendatarius de Lindores,*

*Joannes Commendatarius de Balmerinock, Magister David Chalmer, Cancellarius Rossen.*

CHARGE ON THE PERSONIS DELAITIT OF THE SLAUCHTER OF  
DAVID RICCIO.

THE quhilk day, the King and Quenis Majesties, for certane ressonabill caussis and considerationis moving thair Hienesses, ordanis letteris to be direct to Herauldis, or uther Officiaris of Armes, Sheriffs in that part, chargeing thame to pas, and in thair Hienesses name and autoritie command and charge James Erle of Mortoun, Lord of Dalkeyth, Patrick Lord Ruthven, Patrick Lord Lyndesay of the Byris, William Maister of Ruthven, George Douglas, son naturall to umquhill Archibald Erle of Angus that last deceissit, Andro Ker of Fawdounsyde, William Douglas of Quhittinghame, Mr Archibald Douglas, Parsoun of Douglas, bruther to the said William; Johne Cockburne of Ormies-toun, James Johnestoun of Elphingstoun, Johne Creichtoun of Bruntstoun, William Lawder of Haltoun, James Sandilandis of Calder, James Giffert of Sheriffhall, William Douglas of Lochlevin, Adam Erskin, Commendature of Cambuskynneth, Johne Monteith, Fear of Kerse, Patrick Murray of Tibbermure, Patrick Wod of Bonytoun, Patrick Bellenden of Stanehous, bruther to Sr Johne Bellenden of Auchnowle, Knycht, Justice-Clerk, Thomas Scot of Cambusmichaell, Andro Murray of Balvard, David Murray his bruther, Thomas Dischingtoun in Ardros, George Dischingtoun his bruther, Andro Dischingtoun, James Johnestoun of West-Row, Johne Carmichaell, zounger, of that Ilk, Archibald Carmichaell, his bruther, James Douglas of Todholes, James Somervell in Humby, Patrick Somervell his bruther, David Somervell, Mr James Macgill, Mr Thomas Douglas in Clappertoun, James Douglas of Knytifrig, Johne Douglas in Howden, James Lermonth of the Craig, Alexander Wardlaw of the Hill, Alexander Quhytlaw of Newgrange, Patrick Quhytlaw, his son, William Twedie of Drummelzeare, Adam Twedie of Drava, Johne Brown of Cultirmains, James Stewart of Doun, Knycht, Alexander Ruthven, bruther to the Lord Ruthven, Johne Douglas in Scheill, Hector Douglas in Spittlehauch, James Douglas thair, Thomas Scot of Abbottishall, David Lyndesay of Pyotstoun,

George Douglas, bruther-germane to Francis Douglas of Langnudry, Thomas Towe [or Cowe], Richard Cranstoun, servandis to the Secretare, Robert Lermonth in Drein, Richart Mureheid in Crawford-Mure, James Cochrane, Johne Somervell of Cambusnethame, Johne Douglas in Glespen, William Watt in Murefute, Johne Macmorem in Hesylsyde, William Inglis in Serogtoun, Diones Inglis in Braidley, Johne Mowbray in Deyn, Alexander Borthwick in Kirknewtoun, Walter Wod, servand to Patrick Wod of Bonytoun, Mr Andro Hay, Parsoun of Renfrew, James Weddirspune of Brighous, Andro Lamby, Johne Edmonstoun of that Ilk, personallie, or at thair dwelling-places; and failzieing thair of, be opin Proclamatioun at the mercat-croces of the heid burrowis of the sherifffdomes quhair thai dwell, to compeir personallie befor the King and Quenis Majesties, and Lordis of thair Secrete Counsall, at Edinburgh, or quhair it sall happen thame to be for the tyme, upoun the sext day nixt eftir thai and ilk ane of thame be chargit thairto *respectivè*, to answer to sic thingis as salbe laid to thair charge, under the pane of rebelloun and putting of thame to our horne; and gif thai failzie thairin, the said sex dayis being bipast, to denounce thame rebellis, and put thame to the horne, and to escheat, &c.

*Edinburgh, 2 Maij, 1566.*

SEDERUNT—*Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Archibaldus Comes de Ergyle, Jacobus Comes de Murray, Jacobus Comes de Bothwell, Joannes Comes de Atholl, David Comes de Crawford, Georgius Comes de Caithnes, Joannes Comes de Mar; Joannes Maxwell de Terreglis, Miles, Alexander Episcopus Candidæ Casæ, Episcopus Rossen, Præpositus de Edinburgh, Joannes Commendatarius de Balmerinoch.*

DEVYIS FOR REBELLIS THAT WER AT RICCIO'S MURDER.

FORSAMEIKLE as our Soveranis referrit to the Lordis of Secrete Counsall to devyis the way how the personis rebellis, culpabill or suspect of the lait haynous attemptat perpetrat in thair Majesties Palice, salbe ordourit; The Lordis thinkis expedient that all that wer of the devyis, counsall, or actualle at the committing of the slauchter, salbe prosecute

be ordour of Justice, and the samyn scharplie execute on thame: And as for the commonis and utheris that accidentalie cum thaireftir to thair Majesties Palice, thai offerand to abyde the law for the devyis, cousalling, and actuall deid of the slauchter, that than thair supplicationis be hard, and ordour taken with thame, owther be warding, banissing, or fying, be payment of soumes of money.

*Apud Edinburgh, 3 Junij, 1566.*

SEDERUNT—*Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Georgius Comes de Càithnes, Clericus Registri, et Episcopus Candidæ Casæ.*

FOR REBELLIS ACCESSORIE TO RICCIO'S MURDER.

FORSAMEKILL as it is humlie meanit and complaint to our Soveranes Lord and Lady be Maisters Johne Spens of Condy, and Robert Creichtoun of Elyock, their Advocates, that quhair James Erle of Mortoun, Patrick Lord Lyndesay of the Byris, William Maister of Ruthven, William Douglas of Quhittinghame, Mr Archibald Douglas, his bruther, James Giffert of Sheriffhall, Johne Creichtoun of Bruntstane, James Johnestoun of Elphingstoun, Andro Ker of Fawdounsyde, James Somervell of Humby, David Somervell, Patrick Somervell his brether, Patrick Bellen-den of Stanehous, George Douglas, callit the postulat sone-naturall to Archibald Erle of Angus, Alexander Ruthven, bruther to umquhill the Lord Ruthven, Patrick Murray of Tibbermure, Mr Thomas Douglas of Clappertoun, James Douglas of Knytifrig, Johne Douglas in the Schiell, James Johnestoun of Westraw, Johne Carmichaell, zoungar, of that Ilk, Archibald Carmichaell, his bruther, Hector Douglas in Spittlehauch, James Douglas thair, Andro Dischingtoun, bruther to the Laird of Ardros, Robert Lermonth in Drein, Johne Mowbray in Deyn, Patrick Wod of Bonytoun, Alexander Guthrie, burges of Edinburgh, William Johnestoun, bowar thair, Andro Armstrang thair, James Zoung, cutlar thair, Thomas Brown, cordinar thair, William Cheyn, &c. with diverse utheris thair complices, ar lauchfullie denuncit rebellis, and put to the horne for non-compieiring befor thair Majesties and Lordis of thair Secrete Counsall, to answer to sic thingis as sould be layd to thair charges, as

in the letteris direct thairupoun mair fully is contenit : And albeit the said rebellis be delaitit of the vyle and tressonabill slauchter of umquhill David Riccio, thair Majesties Secretare in Franche, committit in thair Hienesses presence, within thair Palice of Hallyrud-hous ; and als, of the tressonabill keiping and halding of the Quenis Grace persoun in captivitie and firmance, and of sindrie uther abhominabill crymes ; and that thairthrow it pertenis to the sheriffs, stewartis, and baillies of the haill Realme, bayth to burgh and to land, within regalitie and rialtie, for to serch, seik, tak, and apprend the saidis rebellis, and bring thame to be puneist for thair demeritis according to the lawis of this Realme ; nochtwithstanding, our Soveranis as zit can persave lytill or na executioun of thair devoir and offices in that part, quhairthrow the saidis rebellis spair nocht to remane within this Realme, and to haunt and resort quhair thai pleis, in manifest contempt of our Soveranis autoritie ; Lykas alswa diverse utheris thair Majesties legeis, in contrare thair dewtie, ceissit nocht to reset, harbry, and supply the saidis rebellis with meat, ludging, and uther necessaris, and to intercommoun with thame in tressonabill maner, in manifest vilipending of thair Hienesses autoritie, and lawis of the Realme ; quhairfoir, thair Majesties ordanis letteris to be direct to officiaris of armis to pas, and in thair Hienesses name and autoritie command and charge all and sindrie the liegis of this Realme, that thai, and ilk ane of thame, ceis and abstain fra all forder resetting, supplyeing, supporting, or intercommunung with the saidis rebellis in tressonabill maner, under the pane to be callit thairfoir, and puneist as art and part with thame, in thair tressonabill and wickit deids with all rigour, conforme to the lawis and practik of this Realme : And als, to charge all and sindrie the sheriffs, stewartis, and baillies within this Realme to pas, serche, seik, and apprehend the saidis rebellis, and bring thame to the justice, to the effect above-wryttin ; and to that effect, thair Majesties, be thir presentis, committis full power to the saidis sheriffs, stewartis, and baillies, to mak conventioun of thair Majesties liegis in weir-lyke maner, and to invaid the saidis rebellis within and without strenthis, as best sall serve for the purpois, and conforme to the Actis of Parliament maid thairanent ; quhairintill, gif the saidis

officiaris sall be fund remisse and negligent, thai salbe puneist as favouraris with the saidis rebellis in thair rebelioun and wickit deids.

XIII. [ii. 448.]—The former reason, viz. the bulkiness of this Appendix, obliges me to retrench the original French copies of the Letters here referred to; especially seeing there will be free access to the politest part of readers to see them in their present repository.

XIV. [ii. 467.]—*Letter of the Council of Scotland to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Ambassador in France.*

MY LORD—After our hartlie commendationis, we onderstand that Mons. de Croc hes presentlie send this bearer expreslie to advertis the Quene-Moder of the Quenis Majestie our Soveraygnis disease, quhilk is greit indeid. And nochtheles becaus we fear that the suddayn advertisement thairof rais bruyt, that the danger is greiter then zit appeiris to us, we haif thoct gude to wryt thir few lynis unto zou, that ze be not ignorant of the trewth, quhilk is, that hir Majestie hes bene sick thir sex dayis bypast, and this nicht hes had sum dwaumes of swouning, quhilk puttis men in sum feir; nochtheles we see na takynis of death, and hopis in God that He will schortlie releave hir Majestie, and restoir hir to hir health, and will not suffer this pure Realme to fall in that miserie as to lack sa gude and gracious a Governour. All thingis ar in Godis handis; bot assuritlie. for our opinionis, we see na appeirance of death; quhilk we wryt to the effect that neither ze zourselb be discouragit, nor suffer utheris to be farther then ressoun is. An sa we commit zour Lordschip to God. Frae Jedburgh, the xxiii October, in the morning, in haist.

Zour Lordschipis assurit freindis,

HUNTLY.	JAMES STEWART [E. MURRAY.]
ATHOL.	W. MAITLAND.

[*Postscript by Secretary Maitland.*]

Gif I had knawin a quarter of ane hour soonar, I wald haif maid zour Lordschip a langer discourse; bot the berar, his hastie departure, mon serve me for ane excuse,

quhilk I pray zour Lordschip tak in gude part. I sall,  
God willing, mend it heirafter.

*Lettre de M. le Croc, Ambassadeur de France, a M. l'Archev.  
de Glasgo.*

MONSIEUR—Je pense que les Seigneurs de ce pais qui vous ont escript, ne vous ont pas tant estonné par leurs lettres, que je fais par la myenne, pour ce que le Courier qui fut envoyé, fut retardé sept ou huit heures apres que j'eusse escript. Nous commençasmes à esperer beaucoup mieulx de la Reyne, ce que nous avons toujours fait depuis de mieulx en mieulx. Pour l'heure, les medecins n'en doutent plus. Si est ce qu'elle a des vommissemens apres ce qu'elle prend qui sont un peu facheux, mais pour cela, les medecins ne s'estonnent point, car elle dort fort bein et posement. Ceste nuit passée elle a dormy cinq heures sans s'éveiller. Je vous assure, que sa Majesté estoit bein secouruë, et Dieu scait comme tous les Seigneurs qui sont icy s'y employent. Vous pouvez penser la peine en quoy ils estoient, et l'extremité que c'eust esté de ce pauvre Roiaume. Le Roy est à Glasco, et n'est point venu icy. Si est ce qu'il a esté adverty par quelqu'un, et a eu du temps assez pour venir s'il eust voulu; c'est une faulte que je ne puis excuser. J'ay adressé cette depesche au Gouverneur de Barwic, et le prie la faire tenir à Monsieur de la Forrest, esperant que dans cinq ou six jours la Royne sera en estat de signer, et que sa Majesté depeschera bientost un autre Courier, par lequel je vous manderay plus amples Nouvelles. Je n'ay pont voulu escrire à Monseigneur le Cardinal de Lorraine de si facheux propos: car il semble que ce Prince n'entend jamais que fortune malheureuse qui luy vienne de jour à autre. Si croy je que la Royne luy aura envoyé la lettre qui j'ay escripte à sa Majesté. Je vous prie s'il vous vient à propos, de votre part le descharger d'un ennuy qu'il aura receu si grand. Me recommandant humblement à votre bonne grace, je prie Dieu, Monsieur, vous donner bonne et longue vie. De Jedouart, ce xxiv Octobre 1566.

Votre humble et obeissant Serviteur,

LE CROC.

*Letter of Mr John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, to the Archbishop of Glasgow, upon the Queen's sickness.*

MY LORD—After maist hartlie commendationis, I wryt upoun haist to zour Lordschip with Sanderis Bog, quha was send by Mons. de Croc, this last Weddensday, to adverteis of the Quenis Majesties seyknis, quhilk at that tyme was wonderous gryt; for assuritlie hir Majestie was sa handleit with gryt vehemencie, that all that was with hir war disparit of hir convalescens. Nochtheles, soon after the departing of Sanderis Bog, hir Majestie gat sume relief, quhilk lestit quhill Furisday at ten houris at evin, at quhilk tyme hir Majestie swounit agane, and failziet in hir sicht, hir feit and hir neis was cauld, quhilkis war handleit be extreme rubbing, drawing, and utheris cureis, be the space of four houris, that na creature culd indure gryter pane; and throch the vehemencie of this cure hir Majestie gat sume relief, quhill about sax houris in the morning on Fryday, that hir Majestie become died, and all hir memberis cald, eene closit, mouth fast, and feit and armis stiff and cauld. Nochtheles Maister Naw, quha is ane perfytt man of his craft, wald nocht gif the mater ovr in that maner, bot of new begoud to draw hir neis, leggis, armis, feit, and the rest, with sic vehement tormentis, quhilkis lestit the space of three houris, quhill hir Majestie recoverit agane hir sicht and speeche, and gat ane gryt swyting, quhilk was halden the releif of the seyknis, becaus it was on the nynt day, quhilk commounlie is callit the creisis of the seyknis, and swae heir thocht the culeing of the fever. And sensyne continuallie, thankis to God, hir Majestie convalescis better and better; but the vehement presse of vomiting and laxative, with the gryt pane of rubbing and drawing of hir members, quhilkis hir Majestie hes sustenit, hes maid hir sa waik, that sche is nocht abill haistlie for travell furth of thir partis. Always, I assuir zour Lordschip, in all this seyknis hir Majestie usit himself marvelous godlie and catholie, and continuallie desyrit to heir speik of God and godlie prayaris, and causit me remane continueallie with hir to that effect. to remember hir on hir dewtie, and pray continueallie besyd hir. Hir Majestie hes maid the maist godle exhortationis to all the Nobilitie being heir at this present tyme, that evir Prince or uthir

maid at sic tyme, first making hir confessioun to God of hir offenceis; recognossand Him Creator of all, and hir to be the wark of His handis, desyrand His godlie will to be fulfillit; that gif it hes plesit His Majestie to suffer hir to remane in this present wardill for the governing of His pepell committit to hir cair, or to reseif hir to His bliss, sche glaidlie wald accept that thing quhilk His godlie will hed appoyntit, and with als gude a hart and will to die as to leif; protestand alwayis that scho deit in the Catholie Fayth, in the quhilk sche was nurissit and brocht up intill; of the quhilk hir Majestie tuke me oft to witnes. And thaireftir turnit hir to hir Nobilitie, and besechit thame to tak attendance to the governing of this our Realme; and to the effect thai may do the same the bettir, that thai keip luf, unitie, and charitie amangis thameselffis, rehersand quhat gryt gudnes cunnis of unitie and concord, and be the contrair, of discord and desolationis; and recommendit alswa hir sone, the Prince, to thair governance, praying thame effecteouslie to suffer nane to be with him in cumpany in his zouthheid that war of evill conditionis, or wald gif him evill exempill in maneris, bot that sic war present with him quha wald and culd instruct him in vertew and in all godlienes, and nocht to suffer him to tak or use ony evill conditionis and inclinationis quhilk may fall unto him throch his fader, moder, or ony his naturall parentis. Thaireftir hir Majestie recommendit unto thame the stait of religioun within this Realme, praying thame effecteouslie to truble nor press na man in his consciens that professit the Catholie religioun, aggreging meikle the prik and stinnell of consciens, quhilk is ane fair mater to prease; with hir awin determinationis to die constant in the Catholie religioun. Thaireftir recommendit hir servantis, sum in particular, and sum in generall, to be rewardit for thair gude service.

*Last.* Hir Majestie send for Mons. du Croc, and thair, in his presens, declarit hir constant mynd to die in the Catholie religioun, the gude mynd hir Majestie bair and bairis at all tyme to the Realme of France, and Crowne thairof and alliance, and recommendit hir sone, the Prince, to the King and to Madame the Quene-Moder: and requestit the Nobilitie present to keip thair amytye as sche hes done in tyme past, and to bring up hir sone in the same friendschip; and

desyrit du Croc to mak hir hartlie commendationis to the King, the Quene-Moder, the Cardinall, and utheris hir friends in France, and desyrit him to requeist the King and Quene to grant ane zeir of hir dowarie to reward hir servantis in France, with mony uthir godlie and profitabill exortationis and prayaris, sa perfytlie as neiver we hard ane speik in the maner, being swa handillit with sa gryt infirmities, quhairof this is the sumare. Thaireftir the Lordis heir present, sic as the Erlis Huntlie, Murray, Boythwell, Rothés, Cathnés; Lordis Levingstoun, Arbroth, Setoun, Zeister, Borthwick, Sommerveill, with mony uthir Baronis and Bischops, hes concludit and promissit faithfullie to retane thameselffis togidder till thair cuming to Edinburgh, and thair to mak ane conventioun, and oppin the Quenis testament, and caus the same be put to executioun, gif it may stand with the lawis of the Realme; utherwayis, to appoint such for the governing of the cuntrie and keiping of the Prince as accordis of the law; And in the mene tyme to suffer na brek in ony part of the Realme; and quha evir attempis to begin ony troubill in ony part, thai all salbe ennemyis to the beginnar, besyd that he salbe punisit be the law. And swa this promisse is maid in cace ony thing happen, quhilk is the best can be taken at this present. Bot I hope in Eternall God that He will nocht suffer us to be swa plagit to tak fra us sic ane Princes, quhilk, gif He dois for our iniquityis, we luk for nathing bot for gryt troubill in thir partis, less God in His gudeness schaw His mercy upoun us. The King all this time remaneis in Glasgow, and zit is nocht cum towart the Quenis Majestie. The Quenis Majestie is sa waik in hir persoun, that hir Majestie can nocht be empeschit with ony besines concerning the Nunce, bot alwayis hir Majestie maid ane depesche befor seche fell seik, bot at this present may nocht be inquest thair of; and thairfoir it is gude ze solisit the Cardinall of Lorraine to cause the Nunce tak patience, for hir Grace is verry desyrous to haif him heir, bot alwayis wald haif his cuming differrit to the baptisme war endit. In the mene tyme it sall be gude zour Lordschip bear him gude company, that he tak na evill opinioun of the differring of his answer, for the causis occurrand. As zour Lordschip findis opportunitie, it will pleis zour Lordschip remember on my

business; the quhilk I dout not bot my Lord Cardinall of Lorraine will solisit and hauld hand, gif his Lordschip be remembrit thairupoun. In respect I remane contineuallie with the Quenis Majestie, being my allane, for lack of concurrens, quhairthrow it is meikle to be mervallit that the Papis Halynes is sa difficile in granting of my provisioun, gif his Halynes be weill informit; and in respect thair is sa few of this cuntrie that suitis for securitie furth of thai partis, quhilk I do nocht without the disdane of mony: Bot, God willing, I sall constantlie do my dewtie, quhilk I pray God to grant me at all tyme His strenth to persevere, quha alsua haif zou in His protection. At Jedburgh, the xxvi day of October, lait at even. ——— The Quenis medicinar, and Maister Naw, hes wondrous gude houp of hir Grace's convalesens, in respect hir Grace is passit this nicht without seiknes, quhilk was fearit, be reason of her awin consaith that sche fearit this Saturday at even to be seikest of all. Bot I trest God of His infinite gudenes, throw the prayaris of mony maid for hir at this present, hes preservit hir to the avansement of His glorie, and comfort of His pepill committit to hir cure, quhame I hop zit to be weill governit be hir mony zeiris. It will pleis zou send answer agane with Capitane Hay, the bearer. Mons. du Croc seing the Quenis Grace's infirmitie to haif maid hir waik, hes wryttin to the Ambassadouris, that gif thai be nocht cum furth of France as zit, to remane still quhill he send word, or stay in Lunden. Sielyk, my Lord Boythwell is heir, quha convalescis weill of his woundis; and thair is gude obediens and quyetnes upoun the Borderis baith of England and Scotland. As ony uther occurris, zour Lordschip salbe advertisit. I sall do dilligens to collect the Quenis Grace's exhortationis and latter declarationis of her will, that sa godlie and vertuous sayingis pereis not, and send the same to zou: Bot this I wryt for shortnes, with the berrer at this present; and God Eternall be zour helpar. At Jedburgh, this Sunday at morning, the xxvij October 1566.

Vester ex animo,

JOANNES, Episcopus Rossensis.

## XV. [ii. 473.]

EFTIR our maist hartlie commendationis to zour gude Lordschipis : Quhairas the Quenis Majestie, our Soverane, hes understuid be the report of hir familiar servitour, Robert Malville, the gude offeris maid to hir behuif be the Quenis Hienes hir gude sister zour Soverane : Hir Majestie thinkis hirsell obleist to do the Quene, zour Maistres, quhatsoever a gude sister and tendir cousing aucht, quhair scho findis sa greit thankfullnes, and that scho could not declair the affectionoun scho beris towart hir said derrest sister bettir nor that quhilk scho did quhen scho lukit not to haif brukit this lyff xij houris in hir lait seikness ; at quhilk tyme hir meaning wes, that the speciall cair of the protection of hir sone sould rest upoun zour Soverane : Hir Hienes belevis zour Lordschipis hes alwayis bene gude Ministeris to move zour said Soverane to schaw hir awin ressonabill favour to the advancement of the Quene, our Maistres, in that quhilk is rycht, and firmelie lukis ze will sa continew. Hir Grace takis hirsell, as we doubt not bot zour Lordschipis knawis, to be the Quene, zour Soveranis, nixt cousing, and nixt hirsell and the lauchfull issue of hir body, to haif grettest interest of all uther to that quhilk hes bene, as is reportit, laitlie mentionat in the Parliament-hous : And albeit scho be not of mynd to presse the Quene hir gude sister farder than sall cum of hir awin gude plessour, till put that mater in questioun ; zit becaus in that cais scho will be jugeit be the lawis of the Realme of Ingland, hir Majesty dois effectuously requier zour Lordschipis to haif respect to Justice with indifferencie, quhensoever it sall pleis the Quenis Majestie thair to put the same mater in deliberatioun.

XVI. [ii. 476.]—THE PROTESTATION OF THE ERLES OF HUNTLEY AND ARGYLL, TOUCHING THE MURTHOUR OF THE KING OF SCOTS.

WE, George Erle of Huntlie, Lord Gordoun, and Great Chancellor of Scotland, and We, Archibald Erle of Ergile, Lord Campbell and Lorne, and Greit Justitier of the said Realme ; It mott be kend till all and syndrie quhais knowledge thir presentis sall cum, how we, being informit that sum disobedient subjectis to the Quenis Majestie our Sove-

raïne lady, for excuse and covering of thair taking armor agains hir Hienes, impresoning of hir maist nobill persoun, usurping of hir Grace's auctoritie, practising the keiparis of the principal places and forteressis of hir Realme, invading thair of, reving and spoiling hir Majesties pretious meubles, jewills, and stains of greit valor, durst, in leying falsly and calumniously, accuse hir Hienes to haif bene of the foirknowledge, counsalit, dewysit, perswadit, and comandit the murthor committed in the person of umquhile Henry Stewart, her Majesties husband ; will, for the dewitie of gud and faythfull subjectis, and discharge of our consciences afor God and the warld, declair that quhilk we knaw of the said murthor. That is to say, in the yeir of God, 1566 yeiris, in the moneth of December, or thairby, after her Hienes greit and extreme seiknes and retourning from Jedwart, her Grace being in the Castell of Craigmillar, accompaneit be us above written, and be the Erlis of Bothuel, Murraye, and Secretaire Lethingtoun ; the said Erle of Murraye and Lethingtoun come in the chambre of us, the Erle of Ergile, in the morning, we being in our bed, quha lamenting the banishment of the Erle of Mortoun, Lordis Lindsay and Rowen, with the rest of their factioun, said that the occasion of the murthor of David, slaine by them in presens of the Quenis Majestie, was for to trouble and impesche the Parliament, quhairin the Erle of Murraye and others sould have bin forfeited and declarit rebellis : And seing that the same was chieflie for the veil-far of the Erle of Murraye, it sould be estimit ingratitude gif he and his friends, in reciproque manner, did not inter-poyse all that wair puissance for relief of the saids banished ; quhairfor thai thoct that we, of our part, sould hafe bene as desyreous thairto as thai war : And we agreing to the same, to doe all that was in us for thair relief, provyding that the Quenis Majestie sould not be offendit thairat. On this Lethingtoun proponet and said, that the nerrest and best way till obtaine the said Erle of Mourtounis perdoun, was to promise to the Quenis Majestie to fynde an moyen to make devorcement betwixt hir Grace and the King hir husband, wha had offendit hir Hienes sa hielie in mony wayes : Quhairunto, we answering that we knew not how that mycht be done ; Lethingtoun said, (the Erle of Mur-

raye being ever present) my Lord cair you not thair of, we sall fynde the meane weil aneuch to make her quyte of him, so that ye and my Lord of Huntlie will only behald the maiter, and not be offendit thairat; and then thai send to my Lord of Huntlie, praying him to come to our chalmer. This is as thai dealit with us particularlie; now latt us schaw quhat followit eftir that we war assemblit. We, Erle of Huntlie being in the said chalmer, the saidis Erle of Murraye and Lethingtoun oppynit the matter lykwise to us in manner forsaid, promesing if we wald consent to the same, that thai sould fynde the meane to restoir us in our awin landis and offices, and thai to stand gud freind unto us, and caus the said Erle of Mortoun, Rowen, and all the rest of that company to do the like in tyme coming. Our answer was, it sould not stop be us, that the matter come not to effect in all myght be profitfull and honourabill baith for thame and us, and speciallie quhair the pleasor, veill, and contentment of the Quenis Majestie consisted. And thairon we foure, viz. Erlis of Huntlie, Ergile, Murraye, and Secretaire Lethingtoun, past all to the Erle of Bothuellis chalmer to understand his adwyse on thir thingis proponit, quhairin he ganesaid not mair then we. Swa thairefter we past altogidder toward the Quenis Grace, quhair Lethingtoun, eftir he hade remembrit hir Majestie of ane greit nombre of grevous and intollerable offencis that the King (as he said), ingrait of the honour ressaivit of hir Hienes, hade done to hir Grace: And continowing every day from evil to worss, proponit, that gif it pleisit hir Majestie to perdonne the Erle of Mortoun, Lordis Rowen and Lyndsaye, with thair company, thai sould fynde the meanes with the rest of the Nobilitie, to make devorcement betwixt hir Hienes and the King hir husband, quhilk sould not neid hir Grace to mel thairwith. To the quhilk it was necessary that hir Majestie take heid to make resolution thairin, asweill for hir awin easment, asweill of the Realme, for he troublit hir Grace and us all; and remaining with hir Majestie, wald not ceis till he did hir sum uther evil turne, quhen that hir Hienes wald be mekill impeschit to put remeid thairto. Eftir thir persuasions, and utheris dyvers, quhilk the said Lethingtoun used, by theis, that every ane of us schew particularlie to hir Majestie to bring hir to the said

purpose ; hir Grace answerit, that under twa conditionis she might understand the same : The ane, that the devorcement war made lauchfullie : The uthir, that it war not prejudice to hir son ; uthirwise hir Heines wald rather endure all tormentis, and abyde the perrelles that mycht chaunce hir in hir Grace's lyftyme. The Erle of Bothuel answerit, that he dowtit not bot the devorcement might be maid, but prejudice in any wyse of my Lord Prince ; alleging the example of himself, that he ceissit not to succeid to his fatheris heritage without any difficulty, albeit thair was devorce betwixt him and his mother. It was als proponit, that eftir thair devorcement, the King sould be him allane in one part of the cuntry, and the Quenis Majestie in ane uther, or ells he should retein him in ane uther Realme. And heiron hir Majestie said, that peradventure he wald change opinioun, and that it war better that she hir self for ane tyme passit in Fraunce, abyding till he acknowlegit himself. Then Lethingtoun taking the speache, said, Madame, fancie ye not we ar heir of the principall of your Grace's Nobilitie and Counsale, that sall fynde the moyen that your Majestie sall be quyte of him without prejudice of your sone ; and albeite that my Lord of Murraye heir present be lytill les scrupulus for ane Protestant, nor your Grace is for ane Papist, I am assurit he will looke throw his fingeris thairto, and will behald our doeings, saying nathing to the same. The Quenis Majestie answerit, I will that ye do nathing quhairto any spot may be layit to my honor or conscience, and thairfor I pray you rather let the matter be in the estait as it is, abyding till God of His goodness put remid thairto ; that ye believing to do me service, may possibill turne to my hurt and displeasor. Madame, said Lethingtoun, let us guyde the matter amongis us, and your Grace sall sie nathing bot gud, and approvit be Parliament. Swa after the premissis, the murther of the said Henry Stewart following, we juge in our conscience, and haldis for certane and treuth, that the saids Erle of Murraye and Secretary Lethingtoun war autors, inventors, devyseris, counsalors, and causeris of the said murthor, in quhat manner, or be quhat somevir personis the same was execute. And quhair the sadis Erle of Murraye and Lethingtoun, or any of thame, will denaye and gainsaye to the foresaid, we are deliberat to defend the same be law of

armes as our awin proper honor, in quhatsumevir place thai will cheise in Scotland afor the Estaitis theirof; owt of the quhilk Realme we cannot pass be ressoun of the trublis are thairintill: And gif the Quenis Majestie of Ingland pleisis to send any in hir name to heir and se the premissies defendit, that same sal be putt to execution in thair presens. And albeit that Lethingtoun be nouthier of quality nor bloode equal unto us, notwithstanding we will admitt and ressaif him in combat with the said Erle of Murraye, gif thai will baith present thameselfis thairto. And quhair ane of thame only wald deny and ganesaye it that is afor hersit, and accept the said combat, outhier the ane or the uthir of us shall ressaif the same; protesting, that gif thai answer not directlie to this our present attestatioun, declaratioun, accusatioun, and cartell, thai sal be repute giltie and vainquesiet of the said murthor. In witness of the quhilk we have subscriyved thir presentis with our handis, and sealis of our armes affixit thairto, at \_\_\_\_\_, the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, and at \_\_\_\_\_, the \_\_\_\_\_ day of the said moneth, the yeir of God ane thousand five hundred threescoir aucht yeiris, and of our Soveraine Ladyis reginne the xxvij yeir.

*Ane Answer by the Earl of Murray Regent, to the forsaid Protestation, pasted on the back therof, 19 January 1568-9.*

BECAUSE the custume of my adversaries is and hes bene, rather to calumpniat and back-bite me in my absence then before my face, and that it maie happen thaim when I am departit furth of this Realme, slanderouslie and untrewlie to report untruthis of me, and namely, towards sum spechis halden in my hearing at Craigmillar in the moneth of November 1566. I haif alreddie declarit to the Quenis Majestie, the effect of the haill purposes spokin in my audience, at the same time sincerely and trewlie, as I will answer to Almighty God, unconcealing ony part to my remembrance, as hir Hienes I traist will report: And farther, in case any man will say and affirm that evir I was present quhen ony purposes was halden at Craigmillar in my audience, tending to ony unlawfull or dishonourable end, or that evir I subscrivit any band there, or that ony purpos was haldin anent the subscribing of any band be me to my knowlege, I avow

they speke wicketlie and untrewlie, quhilk I will mantene aganis thame, as becums an honest man, to the end of my lyff; onlie this far, the subscription of bandis by me is trew, that indeed I subscriyvit an band with the Erlis of Huntlie, Ergile, and Bothuile, in Edinburgh, at the beginning of October the same yeir 1566, quhilk was devisit in signe of our reconciliation, in respect of the former grudgis and displessors that had bene amongis us: Quhairunto I was constrenit to make promis before I culd be admittit to the Quenis presence, or haif any schew of hir favor; and thair was nevir na uther band ethir maid or subscrivit, nor yet proponit to me in ony wyse before the murthor of umquhile the King, father to the King, now my Soveraine: Nowthir yit aftir the murthur wuld I evir, for ony persuasion, agree to the subscription of ony band, howbeit I was earnestlie urgit and pressit thairto be the Quenis commandment. This far I thochte guid to put in write and leif behynde me, in cais (as I haif before said) my adversares in my absence, hald speche, and report untrew materis of me, to my dishonor or disadvantage. Subscrivit with my hand at London, the nyntene day of Januar 1568.

JAMES REGENT.

Below is written in Secretary Cecil's hand, thus—19 Januar 1568, An Answer of the Erle of Murray to a wryting of the Erle of Huntly and Argyll.

XVII. [ii. 506.]

THE evidence I intended to have inserted here is that of Thomas Neilson, which I did not take notice the readers might find in Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. However, it is to be observed that Mr Crawford of Drumsoy has subjoined the following note to the copy of this deposition, which he has transcribed from the Cotton Library, viz.: "This paper is written in a miserable hand: I have left blanks for such words as I could not read; nor is the sense lost though they should never be filled up. As for Crawford's deposition mentioned in the preceeding Journal, it is not to be found in Caligula, only, so far as I can guess, it seems to be stolen; at least either it, or some other paper,

is torn out just before Neilson's." The Journal here mentioned by Mr Crawford is also contained in Anderson's Collections, vol. IV, part 4, from p. 170 to p. 178. It might indeed have been expected that the original copies of these Sonnets, &c. said to have been found in the box brought down from the Castle of Edinburgh, should have been preserved as the best instructions to posterity against the Queen; but as this has not been done, it may create no small suspicion of some iniquitous dealing in the matter. It is true there is in the Council-Books a sort of declaration, &c. as the reader sees here below, but let the ingenuity of these noble Peers be ever so spotless, I conceive it had been incumbent on their Lordships to have caused make out an authentick double of Dalgleish's examination, where, from whom, and by whose command he received the box, together with a list of all the papers contained therein, signed not only by their Lordships and their Clerks, but by public Notaries likewise, that so the fact might have been handed down with all humane certainty. But of all this nothing is done; nay, there is not so much as a vestige to be seen either of the box or papers now remaining; and for what we can discern, was not to be seen any time after the conferences at Hampton Court were over. The English Lords who sate in these conferences found the form of the writing of the Sonnets, &c. to agree with the hand-writing of our Queen: But as there is little consequence to be drawn from thence, (where so many dexterous heads and hands may be supposed to have been employed in the forgery,) we know that by this time Queen Elizabeth, as well as her trusty Secretary formerly, were engaged in measures directly against our Queen's enlargement; and so may it safely be presumed that such Lords only would be called to the conferences as would be pliable to all the intentions of their mistress. Follows the Act I promised on p. 367. [ii. 515.]

*Edinburgh, 16 September 1568.*

*SEDERUNT—Jacobus Dominus Regens, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun; Patricius Dominus Lindsay; Episcopus Orchaden, Commendatarius Dumfermling, Commendatarius Balmerinoh; Secretarius, Clericus Justiciarie, Magister Henricus Balnaves.*

## DISCHARGE TO MY LORD MORTOUN.

THE quhilk day, the nobill and potent Prince James Erle of Murray, Lord Abernethie, Regent to our Soverane Lord his Realme and legeis, grantit and confessit him to haiff ressavit fra James Erle of Mortoun, Lord Dalkeyth, Chancellor of Scotland, ane silver-box ower gilt with gold, with all missive letteris, contractis, or obligationis, for mariage-sonetis or luif-balletis, and all utheris letteris contenit thairin, send and past betwix the Quene our said Soverane Lordis moder, and James, sumtyme Erle Bothuile; quhilk box, and haill peices within the samyn, wer takin and fund with umquhill George Dalgleisch, servand to the said Erle Bothuile, upon the xx day of June, the zeir of God 1567 zeiris: And thairfoir the said Lord Regent for himself, and takand the burding upoun him for the remanent Nobillmen and utheris professing the querrell and obedience of our Soverane Lord, exoneris, quite clames, and discharges the said Erle of Mortoun of the said box, and of all the saidis missive wryttingis, contractis, obligationis, sonetis, luif-balletis, and utheris letteris quhatsumevir fund and contenit thairin, the tyme of his recept and intromissioun thairwith; testifying and declaring that he hes trewlie and honestlie observit and keipit the said box, and haill wrytis and peices fairsaid, within the same, without ony alteratioun, augmentatioun, or diminutioun thairof in ony part or portioun: And als, the said Lord Regent, upoun his honour, faythfullie promittis that the said haill letteris and wryttingis salbe alwayis reddie and furtheumand to the said Erle Mortoun, and remanent Nobillmen that enterit in the querrell of revenging the King our Soverane Lordis faderis murthour, quhensoevir thai sall haif to do thairwith, for manifesting of the ground and equitie of thair proceedingis to all quhome it effeiris.

Here is a public and authentic acknowledgment that a box with papers was found with Dalgleish on the 20th day of June 1567: But Dalgleish was not executed for the murder of the King until the month of January following. May we not therefore justly say, Why was no question put to Dalgleish during the time of his trial, or at his

death, concerning this box? And why were so many questions put to Paris, the Frenchman, concerning the letters, &c.? I say not that the story of the box did affect Dalgleish's partnership in the murder, but so neither did Paris's carrying of the Queen's letters. And I can never think but that, seeing these pretended letters, &c. were to serve as the greatest evidence against the Queen, it had been but prudent to have left something on record concerning the truth of their being found. To say that a box was found, is a very easy matter; but it was not so easy to make Dalgleish own at his death that the box was found with him. To counterfeit the Queen's hand, or to say it was like to the Queen's hand, was an easy matter; but to transmit to posterity the original papers and writings, has not been found so adviseable, although in the close of the Act above, they seem sensible they ought to have done so. Mr Buchanan's sonnets, &c. may be true copies of the papers said to be found in the box; but it is as true they may not be so, for what posterity now knows, or ever can know. He may say the sonnets, &c. are agreeable to the Queen's style of writing; but I am pretty sure Monsieur Brantôme, who was better acquainted with the Queen's manner of writing, says the contrary. In a word, unless stronger evidence can be assigned against the Queen than what these letters amount to, I suspect it would be too scrimp to determine the mind of any Judge in a criminal matter. Nor will the preceding Sederunt of the Queen's avowed enemies carry great weight with others that are not on the same bottom.

As to the other letters mentioned on p. 367, [ii. 515.] published at Westminster in the year 1726, I acknowledge to have made a very heedless observation, by supposing them to be originally in English, &c. although I had often and many times lookt into their preface. I may now however, take the freedom to observe, that the publisher of these letters might have thought it incumbent on him to have acquainted the world who this Secretary of the Earl of Bothwell was, and what family he means, whose race is now extinct, and the name of the gentleman into whose hands the letters are now fallen, and what is presently

become of the letters. At the rate this publisher goes to work, it is the easiest thing in the world to produce letters every moment. It were therefore to be wished the pretended original letters were deposited in some publick repository, that men might have access to inspect them, and compare them impartially with our Queen's handwriting ; otherwise, what is said concerning them is of no value at all. Next, as to the publisher's remarks on each letter, and the contents of the letters themselves, I think I may safely say they consist nearly of one continued anachronism, and such like inconsistencies. The first two letters he would have to be written in the year 1563 ; but the Lord Darnly never saw Scotland before the 1565. To follow forth more of these misdates is needless ; any reader may easily examine them by the authentick letters, negotiations, &c. contained in this History of ours. Then, for the Earl of Bothwell, I do not remember that any writer has at all made mention of any intrigue betwixt the Queen and his Lordship so early as this gentleman would insinuate. A Lady Lacy within Scotland I remember not. In the sixth letter, the Queen is made to say that the Earl of Morton was within Scotland betwixt the time of the murder of Riccio and the birth of the Prince : A most manifest absurdity ! And again, that " Hamilton came in and broke off our conversation." But so it is, that Hamilton the father, I mean the Duke of Chastellherault, went, by the Queen's licence, beyond sea in the end of the year 1565, and had never seen her face for some time before her marriage with Darnly ; nor did he ever return into Scotland all the time her Majesty was in the possession of the Crown. And Hamilton the son, or Earl of Arran, was long before this fatuous, and continued still to be so, and was kept in a sort of prison at this very time. This sample may be sufficient to overturn all the alledged ingenuity of these letters : And it would visibly appear they had been forged by some person who has been at no pains to adjust his times—an oversight which most commonly, but justly, is the misfortune of wicked impostors.

XVIII. [ii. 552] — EXTRACT OF THE DECIPHERING OF A LETTER OF QUEEN MARY'S TO HER AMBASSADOR, THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW, FROM SHEFFIELD, 1ST JUNE 1576.

— ON m'a donné avis de la mort du Comte de Bothuel ; et qu' avant son docez, il fist une ample confession de ses fautes, et se declara autheur et coupable de l'assassinat du feu Roy, mon mary, dont il me decharge bien expressément, jurant sur la damnation de son ame pour mon innocence. Et d'autant s'il estoit ainsy, ce temoignage m'importeroit de beaucoup contre les fausses calomnies de mes ennemis ; je vous prie d'en rechercher la verité, par quelque moyen que ce soit. Ceux qui assisterent à laditte declaration, depuis par eux signée et scellée en forme de testament, sont Otto Braw du chateau d'Eleambre, Paris Braw du chateau de Vascut, M. Gullunstarne du chateau de Fulkenstere, l'Eveque de Skon, et quatre Bailiffs de la ville, &c.

*The same in English.*

— I HAVE advice of the death of the Earl of Bothwell ; and how that before he died he made an ample confession of all his sins, and among the rest, that he owned himself to have been the author, and in fact likewise guilty of the murder of the late King my husband ; and in terms most express, nay, upon the very damnation of his soul, declared me innocent thereof. If this be the real truth, you must easily discern the advantage it would be to me in defeating the false calumnies of my enemies. I pray you therefore try all means to come into the precise knowledge of this fact. I am told that the persons who assisted at the emitting this declaration, and which was afterward signed and sealed by them in form of a testament, were Otto Braw of the Castle of Cambre, Paris Braw of the Castle of Vascut, Mr Gullenstearne of the Castle of Fulkenstere, the Bishop of Seonen, and four Bailiffs of the town.

*Extract of a Letter, in cypher, of Archbishop Beaton to Queen Mary, 30th July 1576.*

— Il y a desja long temps que nous avons entendu les nouvelles de la mort du Comte de Bothuel ; et des ce temps, la Reine-mere a escrit (ainsi que M. de Lausac m'assuré)

à l'Ambassadeur du Roy en Danemarq, pour envoyer le testament en forme : Ce qu'il n'a encore fait. Je trouveroies bon d'y envoyer de Monceaux, qui entreprendroit volontiers le voiage : Mais vous voyez le peu de puissance que j'ay de luy delivrer de l'argent. —

*The same in English.*

— WE received the news of the Earl of Bothwell's death a good space ago ; since which time the Queen-mother here (as Mons. Lansac acquaints me), has wrote to the King her son's Ambassador in Denmark, to transmit hither a copy of the testament in form ; but this hath not hitherto been done. I would think it very proper to send over into these parts Mons. de Monceaux, and I know also he would willingly enough undertake the journey ; however, your Majesty cannot but see that I am in no capacity to afford him money necessary for such a journey. —

Bothwell's foresaid Testament or Declaration was brought to Scotland about the end of the year 1576, or beginning of 1577 ; of which the Archbishop of Glasgow gives the Queen the following account in a letter in cypher, the 4th January 1576-7, whereof follows the extract :—

*Extract of a Letter of Archbishop Beaton, in cypher, to the Queen, 4th January 1577.*

— GARTELY [Barelay] dés son arrivée in Escosse, fut fait prisonier, parce qu'il divulga ce qu'il avoit entendu à Londres, du testament du feu Comte de Bothuel ; et à ce que l'on dit a esté contraint d'envoyer un homme en Danemarq pour la verification d'iceluy. Monceaux n'a voulu entreprendre le voiage sans avoir argent contant. Les 500 livres qu'il a receu par votre liberalité, avoient esté dependus, à ce qu'il dit, avant qu'ils estoient receus.

Sur ce propos, je ne veux oublier à vous dire ce qui m'a esté rapporté par un gentilhomme, qui m'a dit l'avoir entendu du Contrôleur Tullibairn, qui estoit dans la Chambre de Monseigneur le Prince [Jacques VI.] votre fils à Sterlyng ; ayant ledit Tullibairn entre ses mains la copie du dit testament, en le lisant à un autre gentilhomme, mon dit Seigneur vint à l'improviste les acoster de la table où il escrivoit, et à force voulut voir ce que le dit

Tullibairn tenoit entre ses mains, encore qu'il luy refusa deux ou trois fois. Et l'ayant leu de mot à mot, sans leur dire aucune paroles, le leur remit entre les mains. Et apres avoir achevé ce qu'il avoit à escrire, il se mit plus guay que de coutume, à entretenir les gentilhommes qui estoient à l'entour de luy; ce qu'il continua toute cette après dinée, à son souper, et après souper: ce qui rendit toute l'assistance curieux de sçavoir l'occasion. Ensorte que ledict Tullibairn luy demanda après souper, en luy disant, qu'il avoit tousjours aimé et honore, mais à cette heure-là, plus que j'aimais, le voyant si gaillard et disposé, avec un si bon visage, entretenir les Seigneurs qui le visitoient. Il luy respondit, "Tullibairne, n'ay-je pas juste occasion, m'ayant été imprimé si souvent et de si long temps, les accusations et calomnies de la Majesté de la Reine ma mere, de ce que aujourd'huy j'ay vû une si ouverte approbation de son innocence?" [To which the Archbishop adds,] Dieu luy donne sa grace, s'il luy plait, d'augmenter ce que plus que naturellement il a desja, au rapport de tout le monde, de bon commencement en toutes choses vertueuses.

*The same in English.*

—— GARTELY [BARCLAY] was clapt up in prison how soon he arrived in Scotland, because he took the freedom to talk what he had heard at London concerning the late Earl of Bothwell; and it is said likewise that he has been obliged to send some one into Denmark to obtain the certainty of what he reported. Monceaux would by no means undertake the journey without he got ready money in his pocket: for he affirms the L.500 which your Majesty made be paid unto him, had been all expended before he received this sum.

And here I can't but acquaint your Majesty with somewhat that was imparted to me by a gentleman who says he had it from the Laird of Tullibardin, Comptroller; the story is this: Tullibardin being one day in your son, the Prince's chamber, [K. James VI.] at Stirling, was by chance reading to another gentleman the Earl of Bothwell's testament. The Prince on a sudden rose from the table where he was writing, and would needs have a sight of the paper which Tullibardin held in his hand, notwithstanding his refusal once and again

to deliver it. The Prince then read it all over, and delivered it back again without saying one word. But after he had finished what he had been writing, he began to talk with the gentlemen that were present, more pleasantly than usual, which he likewise continued to do all the afternoon, in the time of, and after supper was over. The company being earnest to dive into the ground of this behaviour, Tullibardin told the Prince after supper, that as he had always loved and honoured him, he could not but do so in a more eminent manner at present, since he perceived him to be so very cheerful, and to entertain the Lords and gentlemen that came into his presence with so agreeable a manner and kindly countenance. Hereupon the Prince replied, “Tullibardin, have not I very good reason to do so; for whereas formerly grievous accusations and calumnies have been all along impressed upon me against her Majesty my mother, this day I have seen a manifest declaration of her innocence?” [Here the Archbishop adds,] may Almighty God, by His heavenly grace, augment (if it be His holy will and pleasure) the happy beginning of all vertuous things, which, by the report of everybody, are already in him.<sup>1</sup>

*Extrait d'une Lettre de la Reine Marie à M. de Glasgo, son Ambassadeur en chiffré, à Scheffield, du 6. Janvier 1577.*

— J'AY eu avis que le Roy de Danemareque a envoyé à cette Reine [Elizabeth] le testament du feu Comte de Bothuel, et qu'elle l'a supprimé secretement, le plus qu'il luy a été possible. Il me semble, que le voiage de Monceaux n'est necessaire pour ce regard, puisque la Reine-mere y a envoyé, comme vous me mandez.—

*The same in English.*

*Extract of a Letter by Queen Mary to her Ambassador the Archbishop of Glasgour, written in cypher, from Sheffield, 6th January 1577.*

— I HEAR the King of Denmark has sent to this Queen

<sup>1</sup> The Prince, or King James VI., was then only ten years six months old. But we see by this passage what *good* instructions he had used to receive from Buchanan, and his other masters that Morton kept about him.—[Bishop Keith here speaks ironically.—E.]

[Elizabeth of England] a copy of the Earl of Bothwell's testament; and that she has suppressed it as far as she is able. I begin now to be of opinion that Monceaux's journey is not necessary, seeing you tell me the Queen-mother has dispatched one away thither.—

*Copy of a Relation of the Earl of Bothwell's Declaration at his death, by one that was present.*

LE COMTE DE BOTHUEL malade a l'extremité, au chateau de Malmay, a verifié ce qui s'ensuit.

L'Evesque de Scone, avec quatre grands Seigneurs, à sçavoir, les Seigneurs Berin Gowes du chateau de Malmay, Otto Braw du chateau d'Ottenbrocht, Paris Braw du chateau de Vescut, et M. Gallunstarne du chateau de Falcenstrie, avec les quatre Bailifs de la ville, prièrent le dict Comte de declarer librement ce qu'il sçavoit de la mort du feu Roy Henry, [Darnley] et des autheurs d'icelle, comme il vouloit repondre devant Dieu au jour du jugement, là où toutes choses, tant cachées soyent elles, seront manifestées.

Alors le Comte remonstrant pour sa grande foiblesse qui le detenoit, qu'il ne pouvoit discourir tout ce qu'il en sçavoit par lui-même, affirma la Reine innocente de la ditte mort; lui seul, ses parents, et quelque noblesse autheurs d'icelle.

Estant derechef prié desdicts Seigneurs, de declarer quelques uns, nomma my Lord Jacques Comte de Morray, my Lord Robert Abbé de Sainte-Croix, (maintenant Comte des Isles Orchades) tous deux freres bastards de la Reine, les Comtes Argueil, Crauford, Glencarn, Morton, my Lord Boyd, les Barons de Ledington, Buccleugh et Grange.

Poursuit après, comme par enchantement, auquel dés sa jeunesse, à Paris, et aillieurs, il s'estoit beaucoup addone, il avoit tiré la Reine à l'aymer, soy depestrant de sa femme.

Le mariage consommé, cherchoit tout moyen à faire mourir le petit Prince, et toute la Noblesse qui n'y vouloit entendre.

Après, comme [il] avoit debauché deux filles d'un grand Seigneur de Danemarque, les menant en Escosse, et deux autres d'un grand Seigneur de la Ville de Lubeeque, sous ombre de mariage avec leur filles, et tant d'autres filles nobles, tant en France que Danemarque, Angleterre et

Escosse : demandant pardon à Dieu, recevant son corps, estant attenué mourut.

Tout cecy plus à plein, a esté escrit en Latin et Danois, signé du scel du Roy de Danemarque, et des assistants surnommez, et viendra quelque jour en lumiere, pour averer l'innocence de la Reine d'Escosse.

L'adjoincte copie ayant esté donné par un marchand digne de foy, assistant alors à la derniere attestation dudict Comte.

*The same in English.*

THE Earl of Bothwell being sick unto death in the Castle of Malmag, made solemn faith of what here followeth, viz. :—

The Bishop of Schonen, together with four great Lords, namely, Berin Goves, governour of the Castle of Malmag, Otto Braw of the Castle of Ottenbrucht, Paris Braw of the Castle of Vescut, and Mons. Gullensterne of the Castle of Falkenstrie, and together likewise with the four Bailiffs of the town, prayed the said Earl to declare freely and truly what he knew of the death of the late King Henry [Darnly] and of the authors thereof, according as he should answer before God at the Day of Judgment, where all things, how secret soever they may be here, shall be laid open.

Then the said Earl, declaring that through his present great weakness he was not able to discourse all the several steps of these things, testified that the Queen was innocent of that death, and that only he himself, his friends, and some of the Nobility, were the authors of it.

And being thereafter pressed by those Lords to name some of the persons that were guilty, he named my Lord James Earl of Murray, my Lord Robert Abbot of Holyroodhouse, (now Earl of Orkney,) both of them bastard brothers of the Queen, the Earls of Crawford, Argile, Glencairn, Morton, my Lord Boyd, the Lairds of Lethington, Buccleugh, and Grange.

He declared, likewise, that as he had from his youth addicted himself much to the art of enchantment at Paris and elsewhere, he bewitched the Queen to fall in love with him, and so invented means to get rid of his own wife.

That after the marriage was consummated, he sought all

means how to destroy the infant Prince, and the whole Nobility that would not fall in with him.

He added, that he had debauched two daughters of a great man in Denmark, with pretext to carry them over into Scotland, and other two virgins, daughters of a great man in the town of Lubeck, under promise of marriage, and many other women of rank in France, Denmark, England, and Scotland; for all which he begged God's pardon, received the holy Sacrament, and died.

This whole narrative, and much more largely extended, was written both in Latin and Danish, and sealed with the King of Denmark's seal, and of the persons who assisted, as above, and may come to light one day for verification of the innocence of the Queen of Scots.

This present copy of this instrument was imparted by a merchant of good faith and reputation, who was present at this last attestation of the Earl of Bothwell.

*Extrait d'une Lettre de la Reine à M. l'Archeveque de  
Glasgo, du 2 May, 1578.*

— MADAME [LA COMTESSE] DE LENOX—Ma belle mere, est decedée depuis un mois en ça; ayant laissée une sienne petite fille, dont la Reine d'Angleterre s'est retenuë la garde. J'escris à ceux qui sont prés de mon fils, de faire instance en son nom de cette succession; non pour envie que j'aye qu'elle luy demeure, mais pour servir de declaration, qui luy et moy ne devons estre reputez ni traittez en estrangers au Royaume d'Angleterre, puisque nous sommes nais dans la meme Isle. Cette bonne Dame s'estoit, graces à Dieu, fort bien reconnuë vers mois, depuis cinq au six ans que nous avons eu intelligence ensemble: et m'a advouée par lettres escrites de sa main, que je garde, le tort qu'elle m'avoit fait en ses injustes poursuites, dressées, comme elle me la fait entendre, par son consentement, pour avoir été mal informé: mais principalement, par exprés commandement de ladite Reine d'Angleterre, et persuasion de ceux de son Conseil, qui avoient toujours empesché nostre appointment; lorsque ayant connu mon innocence, elle vouloit desister de me poursuivre, jusqu' à refuser pleinement d'advouer ce qu'ils feroient contre moi soubz son nom. —

*The same in English.*

*Extract of a Letter from the Queen to her Ambassador in France, the Archbishop of Glasgow, 2d May 1578.*

— THE COUNTESS OF LENOX, my mother-in-law, died about a month ago, and the Queen of England has taken into her care her Ladyship's grand-daughter. [This, no doubt, is the Lady Arabella Stewart, only child to Charles Earl of Lenox, who died anno 1576.] I would desire those who are about my son to make instances in his name for this succession, not for any desire I have that he should actually succeed unto it, but rather to testify that neither he nor I ought to be reputed nor treated as foreigners in England, who are born within the same Isle. This good lady was, thanks to God, in very good correspondence with me these five or six years bygone, and has confessed to me, by sundry letters under her hand, which I carefully preserve, the injury she did me by the unjust pursuits which she allowed to go out against me in her name, through bad information, but principally, she said, through the express orders of the Queen of England, and the perswasion of her Council, who also took much solicitude that she and I might never come to good understanding together. But how soon she came to know of my innocence, she desisted from any further pursuit against me; nay, went so far as to refuse her consent to any thing they should act against me in her name.—

To the above letter, my correspondent in Paris subjoins this that follows, viz.—“What the Queen writes here of the Countess of Lenox being fully persuaded of her Majesty's innocence of the crime laid to her charge by the calumnies of her enemies, fomented by the Council of England, is confirmed by other letters of her Majesty's, particularly in the years 1574, 1575, 1577; among others, that this lady had exhorted her to endeavour to get the Prince, her son, removed forth of the hands he was in, lest he might be delivered up to the Court of England.”

And now that I have imparted to the reader, both here and elsewhere, sundry valuable papers from the Scottish Col-

lege in Paris, I judge it most proper to communicate also part of a missive letter which I have lately received from that seminary:—" *Paris, 25th May 1733.*—For your farther information as to the remains of the last Archbishop of Glasgow, our second founder, I must tell you, that though all, or almost all his papers and letters of negotiations should naturally have come to this house, to which he left the small remains of his fortune, to wit, his moveables; yet it happens that many of these papers were scattered and wanting, before our time, by several chances, and it is even much that there are so many remaining as yet. The first time that I had occasion to see them here, in or about A. D. 1686 or 1687, they were lying in confused heaps or bundles in old trunks, without lock, in a wardrobe exposed to all hands, and thus they had lyen for about eighty years after the Archbishop's death; and besides that, many of them were carried off by curious or unskilled people during that time, as I found by some important papers found in a Scots gentleman's house in the country, the remains of which I recovered. Besides, I say, accidents which happened to them since the Archbishop's death, I find, by Councillor Blackwood's letter to the Archbishop, that he had the use of many important pieces concerning Queen Mary, in the Archbishop's own time, whilst he was writing at Poitiers the Apology for that Queen, and so of others. But as I formerly wrote to you, to prevent farther dilapidations of these papers in time to come, after reading them all over, and arranging them in order of time, we have caused bind them up in volumes, and cypher'd the pages. The chief reason why I take notice to you of the loss made before our time of many of them, by the little concern and ease our predecessors had of them, is to answer an objection made to me, more than once, that it would seem that Queen Mary's cause was not sufficiently justifiable since there were no more important pieces for her justification to be met with now among the Archbishop, her trustee's, papers, and I doubt not but that there were many and more important pieces among them when the Archbishop died, than now remain. —

By the same conveyance I received the following :—

*Extract of the Principal Heids contenit in the last Letter that came fra the Quenis Hienes, our<sup>1</sup> Maistres, direct frome Bowton, the 19th December 1568.*

WE haif resavit the Eik<sup>2</sup> gevin in be the Erle of Murray and his complices : And quair thai haif said thairintill, or at ony tyme, that we knew, counsallit, devysit, persuadit, or commandit the murthour of our husband, thai haif falslie, tratouruslie, and mischantlie leid, imputeing unto us malitiouslie the cryme quhairof thai thameselffis ar authoris, inventoris, doeris, and sum of thame proper executoris. And quhair thai allege we stoppit inquisitionis and dew punishment to be maid on the said murtheroris, and siclyke of the sequele of the mariage with the Erle Bothwell ; it is sufficientlie anserit in the replie gevin in at Yorke to thais twa pointis, and diverse utheris thair allegences, gif thai be weill considerit.

And quhair thai charge us with unnaturall kyndnes towart our sone, allegeing we intendit to haif causit him follow his fader haistellie. Howbeit the naturall luif the moder hes to the barnes is sufficient to confound thame, and misters na uther anser ; zit, considering thair proceedingis bypast, quha did him wrang in our womb, intending to haif slane him and us baith, thair is nane of gude judgement bot thai may easilie persais thair hypocrasie, how thai wald fortifie thameselffis in our sonis name, till the tyrannie war better establissit.

And to the effect our gude sister may understand we ar not willing to lett thair fals inventit allegeances pas owr with silence, adhering to zour former protestationis, ze sall desyr the inspectioun and doublis of all thai haif producit aganis us.

And that we may see the allegeit principall writtingis, gif thai haif anye, producit ; and with Godis grace we sall mak sic anser thairto, that our innocencie salbe knawin to our gude sister, and all utheris Princes ; and siclyke, sall charge thame as authoris, inventoris, and doeris of the

<sup>1</sup> Viz.—Queen Mary's Commissioners at the conferences in England.

<sup>2</sup> See this infamous paper so stiled in Anderson's Collections, Vol. iv. Part 2, p. 119.

said cryme thai wald imput to us, and prove the samin sufficientlie, swa that we may haif our gude sisteris presence as our adversaris hes had, and ressonabill space and tyme to get sic verificatioun as appertenis thairto, and to add, as tyme, place, and neid sall requair.

Tho' this paper ought, strictly speaking, not to have come into this Appendix, as being posterior in time to the contents of the preceding History; yet, it being uncertain when another volume of it may come to light, and Mr Anderson's Collections being already in the hands of the publick, and it being generally believed that these Collections do contain a faithful list of all the papers that might serve to justify, as well as condemn our Queen, in the matter of her husband's murder: These things being considered, I thought my readers might receive this preceding paper with a sort of satisfaction, since Mr Anderson has not thought fit to publish the same, tho' he had it before his eyes in the Cotton Library, Calig. B. 9, f. 287, with the very title it here bears; a copy whereof was, at the same time, sent to the Archbishop of Glasgow. It is to be observed, that by the two last pieces of the conference at Westminster and Hampton-Court, viz. Queen Elizabeth's answer to Queen Mary's Commissioners, the 16th December 1567 (Anderson's Collections, Vol. iv. Part 2, p. 179), and Queen Elizabeth's letter to Queen Mary, 21st December 1567 (ibid. p. 183). By those two pieces, I say, Queen Mary is supposed to take the guilt upon her, if she made no answer to the accusations contained in the Eik. Now, Queen Mary made answer, and the substance of it is contained in the extract above set down. This being done, doth not the omission to insert this extract or answer in Mr Anderson's Collections, seem to import that the publisher intended that his readers should look upon Queen Mary as having taken the guilt upon her? and that the conferences both at York and Westminster ended in that acknowledgement? Was this fair dealing in a writer that brags so much of his impartiality?

*Note.*—These extracts contained above are all original.

## XIX. [ii. 601.]

SANCTISSIMO Domino nostro Papæ. B. Pater, ex brevi S. vestræ, literisque reverendi Patris Episcopi Dunblanen. Oratoris nostri, intelleximus quâ benevolentîâ ac pietate paternâ S. vestra nos prosequi dignatur: cum, non solum cognito nostri Regni statu nobis condoluistis, verum etiam manus adjutrices, ex vestræ liberalitatis munificentia, adhibere, aliosque Principes Catholicos, in nostrum subsidium, vestrâ persuasione impellere, ac Nuncium Apostolicum, qui in nostris laboribus vice vestrâ adsit, tantâ diligentîâ ad nos destinare decreveritis. Pro quibus in nos collatis beneficiis, gratiam quam debemus, referre non possumus. Certò tamen pollicemur, nos nunquam à Catholica religione, ac S. sedis Apostolicæ observantiâ defecturos: quod re ipsâ Nuncius vester, cum primùm ad nos pervenerit, testatum reperiet; quem brevi ad nos venturum speramus. Cujus adventum, una cum pecunia ex vestra liberalitate ad nos missa, non sine magno desiderio expectamus. Dei opt. maximi gratiâ, vestrâ ope, Principumque Christianorum auxilio, nobis persuademus res nostras in meliorem statum propediem reduci posse. Quod ipse conferre dignetur qui solus omnia potest, et tuam S. incolumem, in multos annos, nobis et Ecclesiæ suæ conservet. Edinburgi, &c.

REVERENDISSIME Domine, cognitum nobis est ex literis Archiepiscopi Glasguen. Oratoris nostri, et aliorum fide dignorum relatione, quàm — nostra per te in Galliis tractetur, quippe qui non solum Christianissimum Regem ad nostrum subsidium adhortaveris, verum etiam Sanctissimi — et auctoritatem in causis nostris lubenter quotidie interponas — Quare certò persuasum habeas nos nostraque omnia tibi vel maximè devincta. De nostro, et Regni nostri statu, egimus satis abundè cum Oratore nostro; eundemque admonuimus, ut te de singulis certiore redderet. Ex illo, quid consilii penes Nuncium Apostolicum, quem S. ad nos destinare decrevit, per nos captum fuerit, plenius intelliget Dominatio tua; quam diu sospitem et incolumem ad vota nostra conservet Deus opt. max. Dat. Edinburgi, decima sexta die Julij 1566.

The other letters concerning this Nuncio the readers may see in Con's Life of Mary Stuart Queen of Scots, *sub fin.*

XX. [ii. 610.]—*Edinburgh, 2 Julij, 1567.*

#### ACT OF EDINBURGH.

THE quilk day the Provost, Baillies, Counsell, and Dekynnis of the burgh of Edinburgh, being convenit in the Counsell-hous of the samyn, comperit nobill and miehtie Lordis, the Lordis Erlis of Mortoun and Atholl, having with thame the maist honourabill and godlie band, laithie made and subserivit be thair Lordschipis and utheris of the Nobilitie of this Realme; beand in effect, that thai, the saidis Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, and utheris subscrivaris of the said band, for thameselffis, kin, freindis, and all that will do for thame, bindis and obleissis ilk ane of thame to utheris, upoun respect of thair dewtie toward thair Soverane, the Commonweill of this thair native cuntrie, and honour of the same, that thai altogidder, as said is, with thair hail force, power, and strenth, sall persew the cruell murthararis of the King, our said Soveranis husband, to thair uttermost, seik and procure the dissolutioun of the unlauchfull mariage maid betwix hir Hienes and the Erle Bothuile, be all meanis lauchfull; as alswa our said Soverane to be relevit of the thraldome, bondage, or ignominie and schame quhilk sche hes sustenit and underlyis be the said Erlis occasioun; and the persoun of our undoubtit and innocent Prince reposit to full suirtie, and relevit of the imminent danger quhilk now he standis in; and finallie, justice restorit and uprichtlie ministrat to all the legeis and subjectis of this Realme: The quhilk maist godlie and honourabill band, in presens of the said Provost, Baillies, and Counsell, being red and considerit, thai all, in ane voce, understanding the samyn to be bayth honourabill and godlie, ratifies and approvis the samyn, and grantis, and consentis, and promittis thair assistanee and fortificatioun to the saidis Lordis, in furthsetting, persewing, and avanceing of the premissis to thair utter power: And for assistanee heirof, hes requiestit and desyrit the Rycht Honourabill Sir Symon Prestoun of Craigmillar, Knycht, Provost of Edinburgh, for thame and in thair names, with the saidis Lordis, to sub-

servye the said band, quhilk salbe als sufficient as gif thai had subservyit the samyn with thair proper handis; and for observing heiroyf, ordanis this present Ordinance to be insert and registrat in the Counsall-bukis of the said burgh, and for the mair suire testificatioun of thair consentis, as said is. *Extractum de Libro Actorum Consilii Burgi de Edin-burgh, per me Alexandrum Guthre, principalem scribam curiæ dicti Burgi, sub meis signo et subscriptione manualibus.*

A. GUTHRE.

XXI. [ii. 685.]—A PLATT EXECUTORY, DEvised PER  
LETHINGTON, AUGUST 1567.

THE conceptionis of thame that wer within the castell, toward the publick stait of the Realme, wer thir:—

First, That the publick controversie sould haif bene com-ponit be the Quene of Inglandis mediatioun, be quhome thai offerit thameselffis to be directit in this behalf, and thoct by hir meanis to haif obtainit that the Stait sould haif bene governit be a Counsall of 24, 16, or 12; and the affairis directit in the names of the King and Quene con-junctlie.

Efter thai perceaved na likelyhood of the obteneing of a conjunct authoritie, thai wer content to give thair obedience to the King, and wer about to perswaid that this forme of government wes fittest to serve the Quene of Inglandis turne to keip this cuntrie at hir devotioun, seeing it wes easier to hir to keip sum part of a nowmer, and ever to haif sum fac-tioun of thame (since it is hard to a nowmer to continew with-out particularis), then to keip ane at hir devotioun, having the haille government alane, quha seeing his commoditie, wald not spair to run a contrar course, gif sche had not sum utheris that, with hir favour and countenance, nicht counter-vail him.

Be this forme of government thai thoct thai sould con-ciliat the gude willis of a greit part of the Nobilitie, quha be this mean sould be callit to haif thair part of the govern-ment, and sould haif bene assurit that little sould procede bot be thair advyis.

Gif this had bene fund strange, or a noveltie, and sus-pectit in a monarchie (quhilk sum fear), thai wer in hope to

haif obtenit ane indifferent regiment of five, to witt, twa of everie partie, and ane neutrall, quha wes thocht to be the Erle of Atholl; and gif he micht be movit to incline to thair course (as thai putt na doubt he micht) the ballance sould haif inclinit altogidder that way.

Or gif this had bene suspectit or mislykit of, for the Erle of Athollis religioun [Popish], thai hopit assuritlie to haif obtenit that the Stait sould be governit be four of the principall of the Nobilitie, the Duke's house being exceptit, quhais consent thai wald haif procurit. Quhilk four thai went about to perswaid, wer the Erlis of Huntlie, Ergile, Atholl, and my Lord Regent that presentlie governis, or my Lord of Mar. Gif this had bene impetrat, it wes lykelie that the Erlis of Huntlie and Atholl running one course, and either winning the Erle of Ergile, or keiping him in indifferencie, with the assistance of the Castell, and remanent of thair fellowschip, the Quene of Inglandis indifferent favour and countenance, and the assurit favour and quiet intelligence of France, that thai sould haif had the chief management of the affairis, and carryit the whole sway of the Realme efter thame, and swa, with tyme, had the moyen to haif restorit the Quene, at leist to haif re-establischt hir autoritie, as materis sould haif happenit to haif fallen out in foreign cuntries.

The foreign nation in quhome thai had greitest confidence wes France, quhairfra thai sould haif had threescoir thousand franks be zeir during the troubills, to be paid quarterlie. That quhilk Jhone Chisholme brocht hame wes for the first quarter.

The cause quhy the King of France wes sa earnest to mentein that factioun, and beirs sa greit emnitie to the Kingis stait, is, that he thinkis not onlie he hes lost be that mean the amitye and gude intelligence sa lang continewit between this Realme and his Crowne, bot alswa that he receaved diverse foyles, and bene constranit to suffer greit indignities of Ingland; he intendis be all meanis possibill to subvert the present Stait, and alter the government, quhilk he thinkis, havand quietit his awin countrie, sould be easie to compas, either be force, the Quene of Ingland beand utherwayis occupyit, or be capitulatioun, or componand his differences with the Quene of Ingland, and offerand himself

to be a mean to divert the violence intendit aganis hir and hir cuntrie.<sup>1</sup>

XXII. p. 435. [ii. 716.]

It is hoped the Readers will be pleased (upon account of the former reason still) to view these subscribers in the places mentioned on the foregoing, p. 434. [ii. 716.]

XXIII. [ii. 725.]—*Edinburgh, penult. August, 1567.*

SEDERUNT—*Dominus Regens, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Joannes Comes de Mar, Alexander Dominus Hume, Robertus Dominus Sympill.*

#### NEW CUNZIE.

It is statute and ordanit be my Lord Regent, with advyis and counsall of the Lordis of Seereit Counsall, that thair be cunzeit ane penny of silver callit the JAMES RYALL, the fynes of elevin deneirs fyne, and of weicht an unce troyis-weicht, with twa grains of remeid, alsweill of weicht as fynenes, havand on the ane syde ane swerd with ane crown upoun the same, on the syde of the said crown a hand putting a finger to the price of the peice; on the uther syde thairof the dait of the zeir, half on the ane syde, half on the uther of the swerd, with this circumscription begyning at the syde of the crown directlie above the said price, *Pro me si mereor in me*; and upoun the uther syde, our Soveranis armis coverit with ane clois crown, and ane *J* crownit on the ane syde, and ane *R* crownit in like maner on the uther syde of the samyn, with this circumscription begynand directlie above the crown, with thir titles, *Jacobus 6, Dei gratia Rex Scotorum*; the said penny to have course for threttie schillingis money of this Realme, the twa-part for twentie schillingis, and the third-part for ten schillingis, all of the same fynes and prent, and of weicht equivalent; to witt, the twa-part of weicht of sextein deneirs, and the third-part of the eight deneirs troyis-weicht. In consideratioun quhairof, my said Lord Regent, with the advyis of the Seereit Counsall, in our Soverane Lordis name, commandis

<sup>1</sup> The readers may see another paper by this gentleman, containing a project in favour of the Queen, in Anderson's Collections, Vol. iv. Part 2, p. 140.

and chargeis David Forrest, Generall of his Hienes cunzie-hous, Johne Acheisoun, maister-cunzeir, Andro Hendersoun, wardane, James Mosman, assayour, and James Gray, sinker, and all meltaris, forgearis, and prentaris within the said cunzie-hous, ilk ane in thair awin office, to do thair dilligence in melting, forgeing, and prenting of the said peices as thai salbe commandit be the Generall and Maister-cunzier thairto, according to the weicht and fynes, within thair remedis, as is above specifyt; and that letteris be direct for publicatioun heirof, in dew forme as effeiris, swa that nane pretend ignorance heirin.

XXIV. [ii. 754.]—*Edinburgh, 23 Augusti, 1567.*

SEDERUNT—*Jacobus Moravia Comes Dominus Abernethie, Requi Scotia Regens, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Joannes Comes de Atholl, Alexander Comes de Glencairne, Joannes Comes de Marr, Robertus Comes de Buchane; Joannes Magister de Grahame, Alexander Dominus Hume, Patricius Dominus Lyndsay, Wilielmus Dominus Ruthven, Patricius Dominus Gray, Robertus Dominus Sympill, Wilielmus Dominus Borthwick, Henricus Dominus Methven, Jacobus Dominus de Trophechin.*

#### CHARGE TO PRESENT THE SEILLIS.

FORSAMEKILL as it hes plesit Almightie God to call our Soverane Lord the King to the Crown and Government of this Realme, quhairthrow it is convenient that all the seillis and signettis be maid in his Majestie's name, and the auld seillis callit in, broken and destroyit, that na thingis pas thairby in tyme cuming: Thairfoir my Lord Regent, with the advyis of the Lordis of Secreit Counsall, ordanis letteris to be direct to discharge all the auld seillis and signettis within this Realme quhairin the name and circumscription of the Quene, our Soverane Lordis derrest moder, is contenit; and to command and charge that na letteris, charteris, patentis, or uther thing quhatsumevir pas in tyme cumeing, bot under our Soverane Lordis name, and under the seillis containing his name. And als to charge George Erle of Huntlie, Lord Gordoun and Badzenoch, to bring, present, and produce befoir my said Lord Regent the twa greit seillis being in his handis and keiping; that

is to say, the ane of silver, conteining in the circumscrip-  
 tioun *Maria Dei gratia Regina Scotorum*, maid in the tyme  
 that Marie, Quene Dowriare of this Realme accepted the  
 regiment thairrof; the uther seill of tyn, conteining in the  
 circumscription *Franciscus et Maria Dei gratia Rex et  
 Regina Scotorum, Delphinus et Delphina Viennen.*, and all  
 utheris greit seillis, gif ony be in the said Erle's handis,  
 upoun the eighth day nixt eftir the said Erle be chargeit  
 thairto: Sr Robert Maitland of Lethingtoun, Knycht, to  
 bring, present, and produce the previe seillis quhatsumevir,  
 being in his handis; Francis Tennent, Mungo Tennent, his  
 sone, and William Oigill, the testimoniallis of the greit  
 seillis being in thair handis; Sr Johne Bellenden of Auch-  
 nowle, Knycht, the seillis of Justiciarie on the south and  
 north sydes of the water of Forth: Maisters Robert Mait-  
 land, Alexander Sym, Edward Henryson, and Clement  
 Littill, Commissaris of Edinburgh, the seill of the Commis-  
 sariot of the Jurisdiction of Edinburgh; Thomas Mak-  
 cartnay, Keipar of the Cocqueit Seill of Edinburgh, James  
 Curll, Keipar of the custum stampis of the said burgh, to  
 bring, present, and produce the samyn befor my said Lord  
 Regent and Counsall upoun the morne eftir the charge, to  
 the effect above wryttin, under the pane of rebelloun and  
 putting of thame to the horne; or ellis to compeir upoun  
 the dayis particularlie above specifyit, and allege ane resson-  
 abill caus quhy the samyn aucht not to be done; with cer-  
 tificatioun to thame, an thai failzie, letteris salbe direct  
*simpliciter* to put thame to the horne: And als to charge  
 all the Commissaris, Clerkis of cocqueitis and custumaris  
 within this Realme, to compeir and rander, present and  
 deliver all thair commissar-seillis, cocqueit-seillis, and cus-  
 tum-stampis befor my said Lord Regent and Counsall,  
 upoun the eighth day nixt efter the charge, to the effect  
 above specifyit, under the said pane of rebelloun, and  
 putting of thame to the horne; or ellis to compeir and  
 schaw ane caus quhy: With certificatioun an thai failzie,  
 letteris salbe direct to put thame to the horne

xxv. [ii. 781.]

*Item.* IT is fundin and declarit be the thre Estatis and haill  
 body of this present Parliament, that the dimissioun and

over-geving of the Crowne and regiment of this Realme, maid be the Quenis Grace, our Soverane Lordis derrest mother, be vertew of hir letteris of commissioun and procuratioun subscrivit with hir hand, and under hir previe seill, of the dait the xxiv day of Julij last bypast, was, and is, and salbe in all tymes cuning haldin, repute, and estemit lauchfull and perfyt,<sup>1</sup> according to the samin commissioun producit, avysit, and admittit be the saidis thre Estatis : And als, that the coronatioun and inauguration of our said Soverane Lord, sone to his said derrest mother, and native Prince of this Realme, maid and solemnizat, conforme to the said commissioun, at Striveling, the xxix day of the said moneth of Julij, be the Erlis, Lordis, Prelatis, Commissaris of Burrowis, Barronis, and utheris faithfull and trew subjectis assemblit and convenit for that effect, was dewlie, rychtlie, and ordourlie done and execute,<sup>2</sup> and als lauchfull and vailzeabill in the self in all respectis, and his Majestie als rychteouslie investit and possessit in this Kingdom, as his said mother, his guidschir, grandschir, or ony uther his maist nobill progenitouris, native Princes of this Realme wer, and hes bene of befoir, or as gif hir Grace (the tyme of the said coronatioun) had bene departit out of this mortall lyfe, or had comperit personallie in presence of the hail thre Estatis of this Realme assemblit in Parliament, and maid the said dimissioun, notwithstanding ony maner of tytill, action, or enteres, or ony uther thing that presently may or can<sup>3</sup> heirefter be objectit in the contrare. And als ratifyis, apprevis, and confirmis the said dimissioun, coronatioun, and inauguratioun of our said Soverane Lord, and all thingis done, or that heirefter sall happin to be done in his Hienes' name and autoritie.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If there was compulsion offered to the Queen to make her sign this demission, no power on earth can render it lawful and perfect in itself. We would ridicule the infallibility and dispensing power of the Pope in such a matter ; But men never see their own faults in the same light with these of their neighbours.

<sup>2</sup> It was not duly, rightly, and orderly done and executed according to the Queen's commission, by which they pretended to act. It were to be wished that nothing was ever enacted to be right, which sense (besides reason) declared to be wrong.

<sup>3</sup> This is a short way to loose the Gordian knot ; an easy manner to obtain and establish right, and defeat all objections.

<sup>4</sup> It might perhaps be no improper question, Whether the King's

*Item.* Anent the Artickle proponit be the Erlis, Lordis, and uther Nobillmen, quha tuik armis at Carbarrie-hill, upon the xv day of Junij last bypast; and anent thair conveningis of befoir, and of the cause of the apprehensioun of the Quene, mother to our Soverane Lord; and quhidder the saidis Nobillmen, and utheris quhilkis tuik armis of befoir hir said apprehensioun, and quhilkis joynit with thame, and assistit thame at that tyme, or ony wayis sensyne, hes done the dewtie of Nobillmen, gude and trew subjectis of this Realme, and na wayis offendit nor transgressit the lawis in that effect, or ony thing depending thairupon, outhir preceding or following the samin: Our Soverane Lord, with avise of my Lord Regent, and thre Estatis, and hail body of this present Parliament, hes fundin, declairit, and concludit, and be this present Act findis, declairis, and concludis, that the cause and occasioun of the conventiounis and messageis of the saidis Erlis, Lordis, Nobillmen, Barronis, and utheris faithfull and trew subjects; and consequentlie thair taking of armis, and cuming to the feildis with oppin and displayit baneris, and the cause and occasioun of the taking of the said Quenis person upon the said xv day of Junij last bypast, and halding and detening of the samin within the housis and fortalice of Lochlevin, continuallie, sensyne, presentlie, and in all tyme cuming: And generallie, all uther thingis inventit, spokin, writtin, or done be thame, or ony of thame, to that effect, sen the tent day of Februar last bypast, upon the quhilk day umquhile Henry, King, then the said Quenis lauchfull husband, and our Soverane Lord the Kingis derrest father, was tressonable, schamefullie and horrible murthourit, unto the day and dait of this present Act, and in all tymes to cum, tuicheing the said Quene, and detening of hir person. That the cause, and all thingis dependand thairon, or that ony wayis may pertene thairto, the intromissioun, or disponing upon hir propirtie, casualteis, or quhatsumever thing pertening, or that ony wayis mycht pertene to hir, wes in the said Quenis awin default, in sa far as be divers hir previe letteris writtin halelie with her awin hand,<sup>1</sup>

inauguration and authority was suspended upon the acts done at Stirling on the 29th July bypast, or upon the act of this day at Edinburgh.

<sup>1</sup> Not to insist on the facility of counterfeiting hand-writing, can we imagine that all the petty Members of this Parliament could justly take

and send be hir to James, sumtyme Erle of Bothwell, cheif exeecutour of the said horribill murthour, alsweill befor the committing thair of as thairefter: And be hir ungodlie and dishonourabill proceeding to ane pretendit mariage with him, suddandlie and unprovisitlie thairefter, it is maist certaine that scho was previe, airt and pairt of the actuall devise and deid of the foirnamit murthour of the King hir lauchfull husband, and father to our Soverane Lord, committit be the said James, sumtyme Erle of Bothwell, his complices and pertakeris; and thairfoir justlie deservis quhatsumever hes bene done to hir in ony tyme bygaine, or that salbe<sup>1</sup> usit towardis hir, for the said cause, in tyme cuming, quhilk salbe usit be advise of the Nobilitie, in respect that our said Soverane Lordis mother, with the said James, sumtyme Erle of Bothwell, zeid about be indirect and colourit menis, to colour and hald back the knowlege of the treuth of the committaris of the said cryme: Zit all men in thair hartis war fullelie perswadit of the authouris and devysaris of that mischevous and unworthie fact, awaiting quhill God sould move the hartis of sum to enter in the querrell, for revengeing of the samin. And in the mene tyme, ane greit pairt of the Nobilitie, upon just feir to be handlit and demanit in semblabill maner as the King had bene of befor, persaving als wa the Quene sa thrall, and swa blindlie affectionat

it on their conscience that these letters were really written by the Queen? They could hardly write themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Leslie, in his Defence of Queen Mary's honour, hath these words:—"Ye never ceased nor staid until ye had procured and obtained a colourable Parlement, whereby ye gotte your usurped and unnatural Kingdom ratified and confirmed, and not onely all your wicked practises already past, but even quhat mischief soever ye wald, should after passe likewise against her quietnes and safetie. And thus, behold how these humble, obedient, and loving subjects have purchased and procured a commission long beforehand! The like whereof (as I suppose) was never in the world heard of afore, in any, whatsoever rude, savage and barbarous, nation or countrey, to slay, kill and murder their owne Sovereigne Queene, and a most innocent ladie, at their owne willes and pleasure. The which their saied commission they had in this wise executed long ere this, as it is credibly thought, if God had not wonderfully eluded and miraculously frustrated this their mischievous malicious purpose and intent." It would appear by the manner of wording this Act, that if the Regent and that party had no intention of depriving the Queen of her life, they at least wanted to keep her Majesty in the terror and fear of death, and consequently force her to ratify still the former demission, &c.

to the private appetyte of that tyrane, and that baith he and scho had conspyrit togidder sic horribill crueltie, being thairwith all garnissit with ane cumpanie of ungodlie and vitious personis, reddey to accomplishe all thair unlauchfull commandementis, of quhome he had ane sufficient number continuallie awaiting upon him for the samin effect, all nobill and vertuous men abhorring thair tyrannie and cumpanie, bot cheiffie suspecting that thay quha had sa tressonable put downe and distroyit the father, sould mak the innocent Prince, his onlie sone, and the principall and almaist onlie confort send be God to this afflictit Natioun, to taist of the samyn coup (as the mony inventit purposis to pas quhair he was, and alsua quhair the Nobillmen war in), be thair oppin confusioun gaif sufficient warning and declaratioun, quhairthrow the saidis Erlis, Lordis, Barronis, and utheris faithfull and trew subjectis taking armis, or utherwyse quhatsumever, joyning and assisting in the said actioun, and in the saidis Conventiounis displaying baneris, and cuming to the feildis, taking and retenir of the Quenis person, alsweill in tymes bypast as heirefter, and all utheris that hes thairefter, or sall in ony tyme cuming adjoyne to thame, and all thingis done be thame, or ony of thame, tuicheing that cause, and all uther thingis depending thairon, or that ony wayis may appertene thairto : The intronissioun or disponing upon hir propertie, or casualiteis, or quhatsumever uther thingis pertening, or ony wayis mycht appertene to hir, was in default of hir self and the said James, sumtyme Erle of Bothwell, and be the horribill and cruell murthour of our said Soverane Lordis umquhile derrest father, conspyrit, devysit, committit, conseilit and colourit be thame, and not condignelie puneist according to the lawis. And that the saidis Erlis, Lordis, Barronis, and utheris trew and faithfull subjectis, convening at ony Conventioun bygane, and now presentlie, efter the said murthour, for furthering of the tryell thair of, and als thay, and all utheris that war on the feildis, tuik armis, apprehendit, held, keipit or detenit, or presentlie haldis, keipis or detenis hir person, or sall thairefter, or that hes joynit or assistit, or sall in ony tyme heirefter joyne to thame in that querrell, tuicheing the premissis, ar, war, and salbe innocent, fre, and acqyte of the samin, and of all actioun and cause criminall and civill that may be intentit or per-

sewit aganis thame, or ony of thame thairfoir, in ony tyme cuming.<sup>1</sup> And that ane pairt of the thre Estatis forsaidis, Prelatis, Bischopis, greit Barronis, and Burgessis, gaif thair seillis thairupon, to be usit as salbe thocht maist expedient be thame, for the honour of the Realme, and securitie of the Nobillmen and utheris havand enteres in the said cause. And decernis this declaratioun to be na wayis prejudiciall to the issue of our Soverane Lordis mother, lauchfullie cumin of hir body, to succed to the Crowne of this Realme, nor thair airis.

Anent the Supplicatioun given in be Williame Dowglas of Lochlevin, beirand that the Erlis of Mortoun, Atholl, Mar, Glencarne, the Lordis Ruthven, Holme, Lindesay, Sempill, and diveris utheris honorabill Barronis and Gentlemen of this Realme, upon the xvi day of Junij last bypast, be thair letteris subscrivit with thair handis, gaif command to the said Williame Dowglas, upon his dew obedience, and as he tenderis the commounweill of this Realme, his native cuntrie, to ressave our Soverane Lordis mother in keping, within his fortalice and place of Lochlevin, as being ane rowme maist convenient thairto, and keip hir surelie thairintill, ay and quhill farther tryall be taine anent the cruell murthour and tressonabill slauchter of umquhile Henry, King, spous to the Quene, than our Soverane, and the said Williame sufficientlie exonerit and dischargeit of hir said keping, as the letteris and charge direct be the saidis Erlis, Lordis and Nobillmen, schawin in presence of my Lord Regent and Thre Estatis of this Realme beiris: And thairfoir desyring our Soverane Lord, my Lord Regent, and Thre Estatis of this present Parliament, to gif declaratour to the said Williame Dowglas of Lochlevin that he hes done his detfull diligence in ressaving and keping of our said Soverane Lordis derrest mother; and thairthrow that he and his airis may be fre of all actioun and cryme that may be imputit to thame thairthrow, and of ony uther thing done to hir sen hir cuming to the said place and fortalice, in respect of hir awin declaratioun, schawin and producit in presence of my

<sup>1</sup> Had this declaration and exoneration proceeded from a company of persons different from those that were the parties concerned in the actions here recited, the same had been much more satisfactory.

said Lord Regent and haill Estatis of this present Parliament, lykeas the said supplicatioun, wrytingis and chargeis direct thairanent, schawin and producit, as said is, beiris. Our Soverane Lord, with avise of the said Lord Regent, and Thre Estatis and haill body of this present Parliament, declairis the saidis letteris and chargeis, direct to the said Williame Dowglas of Lochlevin in maner abone writtin, to be dewlie and ressonable direct, and procedit upon ane just, trew, and sinceir ground ; and thairfoir be censement of this present Parliament, authorisis and declairis the samin to have bene dewlie, weill, ordourlie and justlie direct, upon gude causis and consideratiounis ; lyke as alsua our Soverane Lord, with avise of my Lord Regent and Thre Estatis of Parliament foirsaid, authorisis and declairis the wrytingis and declaratioun maid be our said Soverane Lordis derrest mother upon the xxviij day of Julij last bypast, declairand that scho on na wyse was tretit nor compellit be the said Williame Dowglas of Lochlevin, nor na utheris of his causing, to do ony thing contrair hir plesour sen hir cuming to the said place of Lochlevin. And thairfoir ordanis the saidis letteris, chargeis, and utheris wrytingis abone writtin, to be insert and registrat in the Buikis of Parliament, to remaine thairintill perpetuallie, for declaratioun of the said Williame Dowglas' trew and just obedience in the said mater : And declairis he hes done his detfull dewtie in obtempering, obeying, and fulfilling of the command and charge abone writtin, and decernis him, his airis, successouris, and posteritie, to be harmles and skaithles thairanent, for now and ever ; and dischargeis all actioun and cause criminall and civile that may be intentit or persewit aganis thame or him for the samin, for now and evir, be this present Act.

*Item.* Forsamekle as thair hes bene of befoir divers large and sumptuous expensis maid be our Soverane Lordis predecessouris and himself, in keiping, fortifying, and reparatioun of the Castell of Dunbar and Forth of Inchekeith, quhilkis ar baith unprofitabill to the Realme, and not abill to defend the enemeis thairof, in cais the samin war assaultit : And now seeing that the said Castell and Forth ar baith becumin sa ruinous that the samin sall allutterlie decay, except thair be sic expensis maid thairupon as is un-

habill to be performit without greit inconveniencis ; and alswa havand consideratioun of ane Act of Parliament maid in umquhile our Soverane Lordis Grandsechiris tyme, King James the Feird, of maist worthie memorie, ordinand the said Castell of Dunbar to be demolischit and cassin downe, as in the Act maid thairupon at mair lenth is contenit, quhilk Act as zit is not abrogat. Thairfoir our Soverane Lord, with avise and consent of my Lord Regent, and the Estatis of this present Parliament, hes ordanit, and ordanis, that the Castell of Dunbar and Forth of Inchekeith, be demolischit and cassin downe utterlie to the ground, and destroyit in sic wyse that na foundment thairof be occasioun to big thairupon in tyme cuming.

XXVI. [ii. 800.]—*Glasgow, 3 Majj, 1568.*

SEDERUNT—*Jacobus Dominus Regens, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Alexander Comes de Glencairn, Joannes Comes de Marr ; Robertus Dominus Sympill, Magister Grahame, Dumfermling, Balmerinock, Thesaurarius.*

PROCLAMATIOUN TO CUM TO GLASGOW.

FORSAMEIKLE as my Lord Regentis Grace and Lordis of Secreit Counsall being adverteist how that the Quene, Moder to our Soverane Lord, being put and keipit in the place of Lochlevin, be the avyis and consent of the hail Estaitis in Parliament, for sic cais as is nottour and manifest in the Act of Parliament maid thairupoun ; is now escapit and cum furth of the said place, and repairit to the place of Hamiltoun, remaineing thair, quhair sindrie his Majesties legeis and subjectis reparis towart hir, for quhat purpois it is uncertaine ; bot as is supponit be the convoy and counsall of wickit personis, inemyis to his Hienes and his autoritie, and all quietnes within this Realme, tending to troubill the commounweill, and tranquillitie and quietnes thairof, and obeysance of his autoritie : Willing thairfoir to prevent all danger that thairthrow may be pretendit to his Majestie and his autoritie royall, neidfull it is that my said Lord Regent be accompanyit and assistit with his Hienes' trew and faythfull subjectis ; my Lord Regentis Grace thairfoir,

with avyis of the Lordis of Secreit Counsall, ordanis letteris to be direct, chargeing all and sindrie Erlis, Lordis, Baronis, Frehalderis, Gentillmen, substantious Zemen, and utheris our Soverane Lordis legeis and subdittis quhatsumevir, alsweill to burgh as to land, regalitie as rialtie, within the boundis of our Sherifffdomes of ——— that thai, with thair kin, freindis, servandis, and hail forceis, weill bodin in feir of weir, addres and prepair thame to cum fordwart to my said Lord Regent at Glasgow, with all dilligence possibill, for preservatioun of our Soverane Lordis persoun, his autoritie, and establissing of justice and quietnes within this Realme, under the pane of tinsall of lyff, landis and gudis.

Here follow some letters, &c. which have lately come to hand, and serve still to illustrate the History; together with the abstracts which were mentioned here and there as we went along. That the readers may have the more easy recourse to them, I have sometimes made references to the pages where they may be useful, and have inserted them according to the order of time.

P. 185. [ii. 278, 9.]—*Letter from the Nobility of Scotland to Queen Elizabeth, Edinburgh, 1st September, 1561.*

MAY it pleis zour Majestie, that havand commoditie be the present depairting of the Secretar, being directit towardis zour Hienes fra the Quenis Majestie our Soverane; we haif alswa thocht gude to commit unto him certane thingis quhilkis he hes of us in charge to declair, tending to the continowatioun of amitie betwixt baith the Realmes, praying zour Majestie to give him as firme credence in that behalf as to ourselffis. Thus we commit zour Majestie to the protectioun of Almiehtie God.

Zour Majesties lawchfullie at Command.

Signed by the Duke and Arran, Huntly, Morton, Athol, Cassils, Sutherland, James Stewart, Areskin, Ruthven, Innermeith, James Lord Ogilby, R. Boyd, Seaton, Ochiltree, St John.

*The Copy of Articles between Lord William Howard, Lord Chamberlain, and Mr William Maitland, the Queen of Scots Secretary, 7th July, 1561.*<sup>1</sup>

*Imprimis.* IT is agreed betwixt the Commissioners foresaid, upon certain knowledge both of their Sovereign's affection to each other, and of their desire of an interview : Therefore, it is agreed that the place shall be the city of York, or in some city betwixt it and the river of Trent in England, betwixt the 10th of August and 20th of September ; and that their meeting may be full of joy, and cause them to continue in mutual love, it is concluded that neither they, or any of their counsellors, servants, or subjects, shall motion any thing that may be prejudicial to either of the Queens, their Realms or liberties ; neither shall Queen Mary be press'd to any thing to which she shall show herself averse, till her return home. Also, neither she nor any of her retinue shall be challenged or disturbed during her abode in England ; provided that the Queen of England may have liberty to require the ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh, made 3d July, 1560.

*Item.* If any persons, with train of the Queen of Scots, shall commit any offence within the Realm of England, contrary to the laws there, that neither the Queen of Scots nor any of her retinue shall be troubled for this, except the offender : And if the offence shall be committed by any of her train upon another of the same, if it be not capital, the offender shall be judged by the Queen's Marshall, or other her officers ; and if it be against any Englishman, the Scotch Marshall shall assist and be present with the ordinary Judge of England, to see that indifferency be used in the trial.

*Item.* The Queen of Scots may come to England with the number of 1000 persons or under, of all estates and degrees, with their horse ——— and to remain as long as it shall please her, and to return when she thinks fit ; and that any may come to her out of Scotland, or other places, with letters or messengers, if they exceed not that number, and

<sup>1</sup> There must be a misdate here. Sir Robert Cotton observes these were the first Articles, and were, by reason of the wars in France (which hindered the interview) continued till the next year 1562.

may return without impediment ; only they are to acquaint the officer on the Border, or his deputy.

*Item.* For the more certain knowledge of the number of her train, there shall be a certificate made in writings, of their names and surnames, and of their qualities. This certificate is to be given ten days before her coming to the Warden of the Marches, who is to deliver it to the principal Noblemen who shall be sent by the Queen of England to receive the Queen of Scots on the frontiers, and to conduct her to the place of interview. It is also granted to the Queen of Scots, if she please, to enter England by Berwick, so that her train exceed not 200 persons at once ; and from her entry till her return, there may pass and repass through that town, to the number of 300 persons ; and the rest to pass by Norham and Wark.

*Item.* The Queen of Scots and her train may use the rites and ceremonies of their religion, as now they do in Scotland.

*Item.* Because the money of Scotland is not current in England, Queen Elizabeth is content that her treasurer of Berwick, receiving of the officer of the Queen of Scots the sum of 10,000 pounds of gold or silver, shall deliver in exchange so much current money of England as the same shall be worth in value.

*Item.* It is accorded that both the said Princes shall ratify these Acts interchangeably, under their hands and great seals, before the 18th day of July next.

#### *A Declaration of Mary Queen of Scots.*

WE having seen the conclusion of the said Accord, declare that our desire and determination was to have seen our said dear sister and cousin, the Queen of England, this present summer, which cannot take place for divers weighty considerations moving our said dear sister of late, imparted to us by her Ambassador ; which lets and impediments we have no less cause to weigh, being such as touch us near, and for the which we are most sorry, and would the same were in our power to remedy : And since it hath not pleased God to grant us both the occasion to meet together this year, we have nevertheless thought good, for manifest declaration and continuance of our great desire to meet with our said

dear sister, to confirm and ratify the tenor of these Articles of Accord, which by these presents we do confirm and ratify ; referring the time of our meeting until next summer, and trust that Almighty God will remove this impediment, and all things tending thereto, and of His goodness further our good meaning, being grounded and intended principally to the perpetual well and repose of both our Realms and subjects : And therefore by these presents, we declare our contentation to meet, by the permission of Almighty God, with our said sister at the city of York, about the 20th of June next to come, trusting, that before that time all impediments will be taken away, according to her offer declared unto us by her Ambassadors, she will by her writings accept and avow the same before the last day of October next, and renew the like letters of safe conduct, to all intents and purposes, as she pleased to do before. In witness whereof we have subscribed this with our own hand, and thereunto set our great seal of Scotland. At our burgh of Perth, the day of August 1562, in the twentieth year of our reign.

*Arguments against the Queen's [Elizabeth] Majesty's meeting with the Queen of Scots at the first Appointment betwixt June and August, 20th June 1562.*

1. THE Resolution in Council in May last, that if things were compounded in France by the last of June, without prejudice to the estate of this Realm, then her Majesty might go.

2. The affairs of France stand and remain not only uncompounded, but by bloodshed upon both parts, likely to increase their troubles and to continue in civil wars ; therefore it is convenient to remain and attend the events, and rather to comfort the Protestants than the Guisians, who shall receive comfort by the estimation that the Queen is, in these troubles, pleased to make a journey to meet the Queen their neice ; and what occasion may happen for her Majesty to take advantage, is uncertain : And if any should happen, the absence of her Majesty and Council would lose the same.

3. The desire of the Queen of Scots to meet the Queen's Majesty is only for her own profit, which by this journey she may make many ways ; for, seeing she hath pretended title to

the Crown, and hath done nothing to renounce it, it is thought by this she may insinuate herself into some sorts of people of this Realm to further her claim, and give occasion to some people of this Realm as love change, especially Papists, to confirm them in their opinion, when they perceive that she retaineth the samen religion, notwithstanding of her conference with the Queen.

4. Though the matters in France were well ended, yet the season of the year is so far gone it seems impossible to provide for the same with honour. 1. Provisions of wine, fowl, and poultry that ought to be fat, cannot be had by the last of August. 2. The houses, such as Grafton, Nottingham, Fotheringay, Colly Weston, being in decay, cannot be conveniently repaired.

5. The preparation of Lords, Ladies, Gentlemen, cannot be got ready in such a short time.

6. The great rains lately fallen makes the roads impassable.

P. 276. [ii. 72, 3.]—*Principal Points to be remembred and considered in the affairs of Scotland, 24th September, apud Westm. Anno septimo Elizabethæ Reginae, [being an Abstract of Letters out of Scotland in Secretary Cecil's hand.]*

18th November 1564.—THE Earl of Murray and Lethington met at Berwick with the Earl of Bedford and Thomas Randolph, to treat of a marriage with the Queen of Scots; where they liked not of the nomination and special words of the Earl of Leicester, but would have the choice given to the Queen of any Nobleman within the Realm of England; and further, to have the Queen of Scots' title examined and stablished to be next heir to the Queen's Majesty. November 23d they departed.

3d December.—Earl of Lennox restored by Parliament to all his former estate in Scotland. The Queen was content that it should be ordered that no Mass should be used within the Realm, but in her own chapel, only for her own household.

11th January 1564-5.—It was sought to have a new conference for the Queen of Scots' marriage; whereunto was answered by the Queen's Majesty's order, by the Secretary's letters to the Earl of Murray, that the nominating any

person by the Queen's Majesty came of the Queen of Scotland, who always profered her Majesty to give her advice, and expressly to nominate some person.

*13th February.*—The Lord Darnly went to the Queen in Fife from Edinburgh. *N. B.*—About the 5th of February a noise of armed men was heard in the High Street of Edinburgh at midnight, and yet no person could be seen.

*4th March.*—Mr Randolph. That the Queen of Scots desires to be made apparent-heir, daughter-adoptive, or sister to the Queen of England. He noteth by his letters exceeding great love in the Queen of Scots towards the Queen's Majesty; and giveth great hope of a full contentation in the said Queen to marry as the Queen of England will, and a desire to live here in England with her Majesty.

*5th March.*—Before the receipt of letters from Randolph, the Queen willeth him to ascertain the Queen of Scots, that if she will be content to follow her advice in the marriage with Leicester, she shall find her ready to advance him to all the honour she can, and to favour her title in all sort that she may, saving for the inquisition and declaration thereof. She would have the Queen understand that therein nothing shall be done until her Majesty shall be married, or shall notify her determination never to marry, the one of which she meaneth shortly to do. Hereupon is the Queen of Scots offended, as she useth evil speech of the Queen's Majesty, alledging she abused her, and made her spend time.

*15th March.*—Randolph writeth that the Earl of Argile told him that he misliked the coming of Darnly into Scotland, for he suspected the Queen's great favour to him. But Randolph affirmeth that he doth not doubt any thing therein, but only that it is of her courteous nature.

*17th March.*—Randolph writeth, that he hath shewed that Queen the message sent from the Queen's Majesty by letters of the 5th of March, wherewith she is much dismayed and wept, and said she would send for a passport for Lethington to pass through England into France; and complained that the Duke and Earl of Argile complained to him of danger like to come to religion and themselves if she marry with a Papist. Message was sent to that Queen

from the two Cardinals, Lorrain and Grandville, that she should not hasten her marriage.

*20th March.*—Randolph writes, that great mislikings are grown betwixt that Queen and her subjects. She hateth the Duke and Argile : These two fear that she will marry with a Papist, either in Spain or elsewhere. The Lord Darnly much favoured by the Queen, yet Mr Randolph doth not think any marriage likely. The Earl, his father, maketh a band with the Earl Athole, Cathness, the Lord Ruthven, and such. The Queen protesteth that she will be at liberty in religion, and that all persons should live as they will.

*27th March, 1565.*—Mr Randolph. How much that Queen is grieved with the news of the Cardinal of Lorrain's evil treatment at Paris by the Mareschal Monmorency. The Earl of Murray saith that the said Cardinal hath motioned marriage to that Queen with the Duke of Orleance; which the Queen misliketh. The Cardinal also desireth that Lethington might be sent into France to confer of his mind as to the marriage. The Earl of Murray still prosecuteth the marriage with England; and without that succeed, doubteth of all things in Scotland. The Queen herself sheweth still a disposition thereunto. The Queen's chaplain at Holyrood-house, when the Queen was in Fife, said openly Mass; whereupon complaint was made to the Queen, who answered, it should be remedied.

*30th March.*—The new Bishop of Dumblane came from Louvaine with a Jesuit. The Queen's physician passeth into France with several Frenchmen.

*7th April.*—The L. of Lethington is in readiness to depart [into England]. The Earl of Murray gone from Court, to avoid superstitious ceremonies of that Queen in religion; but it is reported he is departed in that Queen's displeasure, because he hath been earnest with her to dissuade her from idolatry.

*15th April.*—Randolph writeth, that now he findeth it plain here that the Queen is affected to the Lord Darnly, even to marry him : And he thinketh the L. Lethington at his coming will shew the truth thereof.

*18th April.*—Randolph writeth, that all good men see the ruin of that country by the marriage with the Lord

Darnly, which they desire may be disappointed. A cave found at Musselburgh, like a monument of the Romans, wherein is a stone found graven thus, APOLLINI. GRANNO. Q. L. SABINIANVS. PROC. AVG.<sup>1</sup>

The L. Lethington arrived at Westminster 18th April: His message is, to require the Queen's consent to the marriage with the Lord Darnly.

23d April.—A consultation at Westminster upon Lethington's message of the marriage; misliked of all. The Queen's Majesty sendeth letters to the Earl of Lenox and the Lord Darnly to revoke them.

30th April.—The Lord Darnly sick of the measles, the Queen watcheth with him.

1st May.—A general determination by the whole Council at Westminster, to disallow of the marriage with Darnly.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton appointed to return with the L. of Lethington, to shew the Queen's Majesty's discontentation therewith. His instructions rested upon two points; the one, to procure the Queen to stay her marriage with Darnly; the second, to marry with the Earl of Leicester, or some other in England: And if he shall find it past remedy, then to shew how much it shall grieve the Queen's Majesty.

Sir Nicholas went towards Scotland the 7th May.

3d May.—Randolph writeth, that the Earls of Argile and Murray came to Edinburgh with 5,000 horse, the law-day against the Earl of Bothwell, who was condemned for lack of appearance: And yet the Queen commanded the Justice-Clerk to forbear judgment. Whereupon a misliking of that Queen by her Nobles, and the Earl of Murray openly in displeasure with the Queen.

8th May.—Randolph writeth, that my Lord of Murray was sent for to Stirling, where that Queen made as much of him as ever she did; and being together in the Lord Darnly's chamber, she shewed him a writing, containing a promise to consent to her marriage with the Lord Darnly,

<sup>1</sup> See Sir James Dalrymple's English Edition of Cambden's Description of Scotland, p. 39, where you will find the continuation of the Inscription to be thus, V. S. S. LV. M., *i. e.* according to that learned Antiquary, *Votum suscepit solvit lubens merito*. He likewise delivers his opinion concerning *Appollo Granus*.

and that he should fortify it: And so being required to sign it, he desired time to consider upon it; but that was denied him, and he more pressed to sign it, because others had promised to do the like after him. He refused, and alledged that it might be some dishonour to her so hastily in that sort to seek it, without first making her friends abroad privy thereto; and in special, seeing she had sent Lethington to the Queen's Majesty, who was not yet returned, but was on the way. Besides this, he misliked this match, because he doubted that the Lord Darnly would be an enemy to true religion. Hereupon he departed in some displeasure of the Queen. Other Noblemen are sent for to be at Stirling the 13th of May. The Queen sent Beaton to stay Lethington, for she would neither have him nor any from England, until the matter were accorded by the Nobility.

*11th May.*—Sir Nicholas Throckmorton and Lethington arrive at Berwick. Lethington received letters from that Queen about Newark, by which he was commanded to return to the Queen's Majesty, and to declare, that seeing she had been so long train'd in her marriage, without fruit, by the Queen's Majesty, she was determined, with the advice of her Estates, to use her own choice in her marriage. He was also willed to repair into France, to move the French King to allow of her choice; but Lethington did not follow this commandment, but proceeded northwards.

*12th May.*—Throckmorton writes, that thirteen of the Nobility have consented and signed a writing of accord to the marriage; the Duke is one to whom is promised assurance for his own estate. The Earl of Morton and Justice-Clerk are great doers in it. The Earl of Murray will not consent. The Earl of Argile cometh not to the Court.

*21st May.*—To the Earl of Leicester. Mr Randolph writes, how the Lord Darnly was, on the 15th day of May, 1. Created a Lord and Knight. 2. A Baron, a Bannaret, and named Lord of Armanagh. 3. He was belted Earl of Ross. And after that he made fourteen Knights, whereof four were Stewarts.

He made oath of a Knight, which have sundry articles. He did also homage to the Queen, not reserving any duty to the Queen's Majesty or Crown of England.

There is such misliking of this marriage, that if some there might know whereunto to trust, they want no will to put both father and son from their purpose.

*21st May.*—To Cecil. Randolph writeth, how the Lord Darnly offered to have struck the Lord Ruthven with his dagger, because he brought him word that the creation of him to be a Duke was prorogued to another day.

*21st May.*—Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen's Majesty, writeth that he arrived at Edinburgh 13th, where Lethington was commanded to stop him till all the creations were done at Stirling. Nevertheless he departed to Lithgow 14th, in the morning on the 15th at Stirling, and coming to the Castle, the gates were shut upon him. The Master of Areskin and the Justice-Clerk came to him, and required him to return to his lodging, and afterwards he should know the Queen's pleasure for his audience; so he went to his lodging, and in the afternoon was sent for by the Lords Areskin and Ruthven. And at his coming to the Queen, he did his message, by setting forth her Majesty's misliking of the match, as well for the matter as the manner, and for that the Lord Darnly and his father had failed in their duties to enterprize such a matter without her Majesty's advice. That Queen answered, that she had made the Queen's Majesty privy to her intent as soon as herself was determined; and for the party, she thought that of all other her Majesty would be content therewith, because she was by Mr Randolph advertised, that the Queen's Majesty left to her choice, so she would forbear the Houses of France, Spain, and Austria; and considering the Lord Darnly was an Englishman, and a near kinsman to the Queen's Majesty, she thought him meetest. Throckmorton replied, and shewed the Queen's Majesty's advice to have always consisted in three points: 1. To take one for her own contentation; 2. One allowed by her people; 3. To continue the amity between them and their countries.

He writeth that the matter is irrevokable otherwise than by violence, and yet it is not consummate; but she promises not to finish it these three months, which ought to be about the 15th of August; and designs, in the meantime, to procure the Queen's Majesty's allowance, for which purpose

she will send one, but not Lethington, who is in suspicion with her.<sup>1</sup>

The Lord Darnly received all the honours above mentioned the said 15th day, after the audience of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. The 18th Sir Nicholas dined with the Queen alone, and Mr Randolph with the Duke. At his coming away the 19th, the Queen sent him a chain of fifty ounces of gold.

A Memorial sent by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton for advices of things to be done.

*3d June.*—Randolph writes, that Mons. Malvassor arrived at Edinburgh.<sup>2</sup> A man of the Lord Bothwell's, coming by sea, was taken in Fife with sundry letters of practices against the Earl of Murray.

*4th June.*—Consultation of the Council shewed to her Majesty in writing.

*14th June.*—The Queen of Scots' letters by Mr John Hay; he came hither the 24th. The same day the Lady Lennox was committed to the Tower.

*Ult. June.*—The French King writeth to the Queen's Majesty in favour of the Lord Darnly, and to release his mother.

*4th July.*—Randolph writeth of a false rumour spread, that the Earls of Argile and Murray had assembled a power to take the Queen and the Lord Darnly; when indeed my Lord Murray was sick at Lochleven, and Argile quietly at his house at Campbell. Hereupon the Queen came in haste to Edinburgh, and declareth her indignation against the Lords; and they make all means they may to pacify her ire, but nothing availeth.

*4th July.*—A command from the Queen of Scots to apprehend four burgesses of Edinburgh, being known Protestants: Hereupon riseth alarm, and the Nobility begin to look to themselves.

*6th July.*—Mr John Hay arrived at Edinburgh.

*7th July.*—The Earl of Argile and Athol gather forces, one to offend the other. The Lords of Ruthven and Lething-

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps because he did not obey the order he received at Newark to go into France, but continued his journey homeward notwithstanding.

<sup>2</sup> This seems not to quadrate so well with Mauvissiere's journies, as related by himself.

ton are sent to Athol, the Justice-Clerk and St Colme to Argile, to perswade them to peace.

*11th July.*—The Queen's Majesty sent by letters to Randolph, to give good advice both to the Queen and Lords.

*16th July.*—To Queen Elizabeth. The Queen of Scots was married to the Lord Darnly at Holyrood-house privately<sup>1</sup> the 9th of this month, and from thence went to the Lord Seaton's house to bed.

*16th July.*—To Cecil. Mr Randolph writes, that the Queen and Lord Darnly walked disguised in Edinburgh in the streets. The Queen chargeth Mr Randolph with three things: 1. That the Queen's Majesty should send a herauld to Edinburgh to proclaim Lennox and Darnly traitors to England; 2. That he perswaded the Earl of Lennox and Darnly's men to forsake their masters; 3. That he had spoken evil of their servants. She also said, that King Henry VIII thought the Lord Darnly, by his testament, worthy of more favour than is showed him. The Lord Gray, Sir Andrew Ker, and young Coldingknows, being prisoners to England, should be sent for, to repair into England, for they are not friends.

*18th July.*—Letters sent by Livingston from the Lords to Richmond.

*19th July.*—Mr Randolph answers her Majesty's letters of the 11th. The Queen hath assembled all her force to be at Edinburgh the 20th, either to attack the Duke, Argile, and Murray, who are assembled at Stirling to consider for their own surety, or else to assist at the solemnization of the marriage, which shall be the 29th of July.

*N.B.*—In the letter sent by her for assembling her force, she makes mention of her old enemies.

*21st July.*—Randolph answers the Queen's Majesty's letters of the 10th, for giving advice to the Queen and Lords.

The Queen thanketh the Queen's Majesty for her good will; but they that are called her best subjects are not so to be called, and therefore she hath remedy enough to ruin them, &c. At that answer were the Earl of Morton, Lord Areskine, Lethington, Justice-Clerk, and Master of Max-

<sup>1</sup> Of this private marriage we never heard in any other author.

well. He also writeth, that the same night after he had spoken with the Queen, he spake with the Earl of Lenox, putting him in mind of the former charge given him to return, upon pain of his allegiance; for that he before suspended his answer until the return of Mr John Hay. The Earl answered, that considering the imprisonment of his wife, he meant not to come into England, except he was more sure of the Queen's Majesty's favour. The Lord Darnly answered, that he did acknowledge no other duty or obedience but to the Queen there, whom he serveth and honoureth; and seeing (saith he) that the Queen your mistress is so envious of my good fortune, I doubt not but she may also have need of me, as you shall know within a few days. Wherefore to return I intend not; I find myself very well where I am, and so purpose to keep me.

*23d July.*—Livingston from the Lords. The Earl of Murray is commanded, upon pain of treason, to shew who were the authors of the report that he should have been killed at St Johnstoun.

*24th July.*—Beaton sent to the Queen's Majesty, who came to Richmond 28th July.

*24th.*—Randolph writes, that the 22d, being Sunday, the banns of matrimony were asked betwixt the Queen and Lord Darnly.

*25th July.*—The Earl of Bedford arrived at Berwick the 20th. He moveth to have licence to succour the Earl of Murray, and himself to bear the blame.

*29th July.*—The Queen of Scotland's answer to the Lords of Scotland's request.

*28th July.*—The Queen's Majesty's letter to the Lords by Livingston.

*30th July.*—Randolph writes, that on Sunday the 29th, the marriage was early, betwixt five and six. The Lord Darnly was not present at Mass. The Queen was thus served: Earl Athol, sewar, Morton, carver, Crawford, cup-bearer. He was served by Eglinton, Cassils, and Glencairn.

*31st July.*—Mr Tamworth is sent by the Queen's Majesty with instructions, to shew the Queen of Scots the causes of her Majesty's mislike of the marriage, whose negotiations with the answers, are in writing. Also with a commission of Lieutenendry for the Earls of Salop and Bedford.

*Nota.*—That he was staid at Dunbar in his return. 19th August Mr Tamworth returned from Edinburgh. 21st August, Mr Tamworth at Hume Castle. 25th August, Captain Brickwell sent from Berwick. 27th August, Master of Maxwell's letter to the Lord Seroop, with a copy of the Queen's letter of the 23d July to repair to Stirling.

*27th August.*—Randolph writeth, that the Queen would have had him guarded, or promise not to deal with her rebels, or to resort to Berwick; but with good answer made, he enjoyed his liberty. The Queen hath levied a power, and hath in pay 600 harquebusiers.

The Lord Gordon restored to honour by Proclamation. The Provost of Edinburgh put out, and Craigmillar put in. Pitarrow the Comptroller removed, and the Laird of Tullibardin in his place. Yaxly arrived the 26th of August. The Queen hath gone with her power against the Lords, who are in Air.

*28th August.*—Captain Brickwell dispatched with power for 600 new men to be levied in Yorkshire.

*Ult August, Randolph.*—The Duke and his company came that day to Edinburgh, being about 1500 horse; the Queen is 5000.

*1st September.*—The French Ambassador with Malvassor, with the Court at Windsor.

Stefton sent with the letters of the French Ambassador and Malvassor into Scotland.

*1st September.*—Earl of Bedford writeth of the taking of the Earl of Sutherland by Wilson.

*2d September.*—Randolph writeth that the Lords departed from Edinburgh for the battery of the castle.

*3d September.*—Randolph writes that the Lords are at Dumfries, conducted by the Master of Maxwell.

*5th September.*—The Master of Maxwell signifieth to the Lord Seroop the coming of the Lords to Dumfries, and requireth aid.

*10th September.*—Beaton came from Berwick, and so passed through into France.

*11th September.*—Mr Melvil with letters from the Lords at Dumfries. [This was Robert Melvil.]

*12th September.*—The Queen's Majesty sent to the Earl

of Bedford to send 300 soldiers to Carlisle to be near to aid the Lords at Dumfries.

*19th September.*—Mr Randolph writes of justice denied to sundry Englishmen.

*Other Abstracts of Letters from the Cotton Library.*

*1st July 1565, Lochleven.*—Letter from Murray and Argile to Randolph. That they and my Lord Boyd had met about some affairs which they designed to communicate to him, and for that end had sent to him that bearer, whom he would credit.

*3d July.*—Letter from Randolph to Leicester. That the subjects of Scotland are displeased with the marriage with Darnly, because they fear the loss of their religion, and friendship of England. Many Noblemen are fear'd for their lives, their only expectation is from England, and care must be taken to prevent their ruin; they desire expedition and small sums of money, and a few men may be sufficient to keep life in their party. That Darnly said that he cared more for the Papists in England than for the Protestants in Scotland, which shews his small love to the Queen of England in loving her enemies. He trims betwixt Popery and the Protestant religion, sometimes he comes to Church. He is of an insolent imperious temper, and thinks that he is never sufficiently honoured. The Queen does every thing to oblige him, though he cannot be prevailed upon to yeild the smallest thing to please her. He claims the Crown-Matrimonial, and will have it immediately. The Queen tells him that that must be delayed till he be of age, and done by consent of Parliament, which does not satisfy him.

*10th August.*—Randolph to the Earl of Bedford. That if the Noblemen have no support from the Queen of England they shall not be able to make head against their Queen.

*18th August, Berwick.*—Original Letter Earl of Bedford to Queen Elizabeth. He informeth that he had received her letters for the taking and fortifying of Aymouth to the utmost of his power, but lays before her the many difficulties in taking and sure keeping thereof, and so he will wait further orders. —

*20th August.*—To Sir William Cecil. Randolph is urged to promise, upon his honour, not to meddle with the rebels,

or else he should have a guard upon his gate. Lethington advised him to go to Berwick, which he refused. Randolph is to send Darnly's refusal to return to England to be an evidence to the jury.

*27th August.*—To Sir William Cecil. Randolph complains to the Queen of Scotland that Tamworth, the English Ambassador, was stopt by the Lord Hume. She said it was his own fault, who refused a safe-conduct. He answered, that it was signed by Darnly, his Mistress's subject, and could not acknowledge him King, whose duty it was to come and wait upon his Sovereign's Ambassador. The Queen told him that the French King would assist her. Randolph replied, that it was owing to her Majesty that the Queen of England was not her friend. She answered, she demanded nothing before her marrying Leicester but what was just, which was refused her: he whom she had now married had a right, which Leicester had not. She blamed Randolph for entertaining intelligence with her rebels, especially Murray, on whom she designed to be avenged, though it should cost her Crown; she is gone to pursue them, and proclaims that whosoever shall desert them shall be pardoned.

*1st September.*—To Sir William Cecil. The Duke, Murray, Glencairn, Rothes, Boyd, and Ochiltree, with 1200 horse, came to Edinburgh, Argile is to join them. They design rather to meet the Queen without the town than stay in it. Murray will accept of nothing but the advice of the Queen of England.

*4th September.*—Letter to Sir William Cecil. The Lords were forced to leave Edinburgh; they are gone from Hamilton to Drumlanrig, whose Lord and Maxwell has joined them; from thence they march to Dumfries or Carlile. She wears a pistol charg'd when in the field. None but her husband have gilded armour. Several of the Lords are appointed to assassinate Darnly. He desires that Cecil would order them to be relieved with more money from England. The Lords doubt not but if Queen Elizabeth would assist them with men and money but one country will receive both the Queens.<sup>1</sup> Queen Mary hates Queen

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* They would be able to carry their Sovereign prisoner into England.

Elizabeth ; she mustered the citizens of Edinburgh, and could not make above 150 harquebusiers, and not in all above 800. He hears from Maxwell that the Lords are at Dumfries, and require assistance of the Lord Scroop.

*7th September.*—To Sir William Cecil. Queen Mary is willing that some may be sent from the Queen of England with Malvessor,<sup>1</sup> to treat of the differences that are betwixt them, but not to intermeddle with her rebellious subjects.

*8th September.*—The declaration of the confederate Lords, that they took up arms for defence of the established religion, and that Popery may be abolished, and that the Kingdom may be governed by advice of the Nobility, according to the ancient laws and customs, and not by strangers.

*8th September.*—Letter from Murray, then at Dumfries, to Randolph. He desired that the men from my Lord of Bedford be ready at Carlisle according to appointment, and that the money be also ready. He desires Randolph's advice about his going to England.

*9th September.*—Randolph to Sir William Cecil. Morton has now left the Queen.<sup>2</sup> Argile has plundered the countries of Lenox and Athole. The Queen is offended with Dundee and Perth, because they have assisted the Lords. The Queen has put provisions into the Castle of Edinburgh, and allows none to carry their goods out of the town, that the citizens may be kept more in awe.

*19th September.*—Letter to Sir William Cecil. There is now no hopes of agreement ; the Lords are able to withstand the Queen's forces : Proclamation that all the subjects may attend the Queen at Stirling, with twenty days' provisions. Several towns have given her a benevolence to maintain the war. She has imprisoned several gentlemen in Fife. She could not find Murray's lady. Francis Yaxely has sworn himself Scottish, and servant to the King and Queen, and is sent Ambassador to Spain. David Chalmers

<sup>1</sup> Mauvissere says—He found the Queen married to Darnly when he came into Scotland, p. 333, and that he was sent back into France by our Queen, and from France again into Scotland, in a very short space.

<sup>2</sup> He might indeed have left her in his affections ; but the Records of Privy Council do testify that he sat there long after this, and still enjoyed the office of Chancellor.

is this day dispatched to England.<sup>1</sup> Justice is denied to several English merchants against Scotch pirates.<sup>2</sup>

*8th October.*—Randolph to Leicester. Yaxely's employment in Spain is to put the Queen and her husband into the protection of that Kingdom. Makes this a fit time to make Queen Mary sensible whom she has injured. The only way to compass this is to assist the Lords. She is advised now by very weak men. Her Chancellor has forsaken her, and turned over to the Lords' party.

*8th October.*—To Sir William Cecil. This day the Queen marched to Dumfries. Gordon is restored to the Earldom of Huntly, and brings to her aid the strength of the north. The Queen gives out that England will not assist the Lords, which discourages many. All are obliged to swear against the rebels, and the English, the old enemies, and take the oath of allegiance to Darnly. Huntly and Bothwell are the new Counsellors.

*13th October.*—Letter, Sir John Foster to Sir William Cecil. That the men of Liddisdale were firm in their love to England, and could not, by all Bothwell's promises, be gained to engage to be for their Queen's service: He thinks that means must be used to keep them still in that good disposition, for they can do notable service to England upon many occasions.

*12th November.*—To Sir William Cecil. Murray is now at Newcastle. The Duke of Chastelherault sent his submission by James Ormeston, which probably will be accepted. Murray and Grange cannot be admitted into favour, though Argile may. It is reported that the Queen is with child.

*1st December.*—To Sir William Cecil. Complaints against Lenox for oppression in the bounds of his Lieutenancy. Lethington is in favour with the Queen, but not with Darnly.

*7th December.*—A pamphlet against the surmised title of the Queen of Scots, and the favourers of the same: This probably is done by Hales. The author thinks it dangerous to the liberties of England to admit one of a strange Nation,

<sup>1</sup> Mr Holinshed says, this gentleman was likewise sent into France. He is the same that writes a short history of our Kings, in the French language. See his life by Dr. Mackenzie.

<sup>2</sup> This is expressly denied by our Queen. See her instructions to Sir Andrew Ker, in this Appendix.

and their ancient enemy, to their throne; that foreigners would be possessed of all places of trust. His chief argument against Mary, Queen of Scotland's right, is from that maxim of the law of England, that whoever is not born in England, or at least of father and mother that at the time of the birth were at the obedience of the King of England, cannot have or enjoy any inheritance in England. It is plain, says he, that the Queen of Scotland is not born under the subjection of England. He owns that the title of England to the superiority of Scotland was never founded in justice, &c.

25th December.—To Sir William Cecil. Lord Darnly goes to Mass. Robert Melvil sent to procure Murray's pardon; cannot obtain it, which is more owing to Darnly than to the Queen. There was lately nothing but King and Queen, and now it is come to the Queen's husband only. The money that had *Henricus & Maria* upon it is recalled, and other money stamped. He thinks these private jars will soon be over, and that *amantium iræ amoris sunt redintegratio*.

*Original Letter, the Earl of Murray to Cecil,  
Newcastle, 15th January, 1565-6.*

SIR,—After my most hearty recommendations: My Lord Bedford being here in this town, has declared to me that he understood by you the Queen's Majesty's good mind to the furtherance of my cause, and that her Highness is resolved to travel with the Queen my Sovereign, earnestly for my weal; and I heartily desire you to render to her Majesty my most humble thanks in my name. I do also most heartily thank you for your pains and travel, of which I am able to reap the benefit, as I have often done before, and am assured you will continue, according to my assured hope and expectation of your friendship, that will not refuse pains in the last and greatest extremity. I have also understood by my Lord Bedford, it should be meant by the Queen's Majesty to direct commission to his Lordship and Sir John Forrester for this conference. Sir, Albeit I perswade my self assuredly of these Noblemen's favours and great goodwill, yet somewhat doubted I of my Sovereign's opinion of them, which may make the matters themselves that they

treat of to be the less pleasing unto her Highness. Others, I trust, there be with you, who have not the like impediments, and could with no less dexterity handle these matters, which I refer unto your wisdom. One thing, Sir, I must put you in remembrance of: This Parliament of Scotland draweth nigh, and is affixed to the 12th of March; it is chiefly set, and purposely to be holden for leading the process of forfeiture upon me, and the Noblemen here with me: Wherefore, unless this conference shall, with due time, prevent the same, it will be found very difficult to revoke such matters, having once taken effect; and therefore, Sir, will recommend the expedition and haste thereof to your accustomed care of my weal at all times. What Robert Melvil hath done in my action I cannot tell, further than this, that so far as ever I have understood, it standeth worse and worse. So soon as he arrives (which I look for shortly), ye shall know my judgment what is the best way that my affairs may be brought to some good point. And in the mean time, if it may be your pleasure, by the ordinary posts passing by, to let me know further of the Queen's Majesty's good mind towards me, it should be to me no small comfort, whereof we are here very indigent. I incline not to trouble the Queen's Majesty with my continual writings, assuring myself of your good remembrance, whom I commit to the protection of God.—Your honour's most assuredly,

JA. STEWART.

*P. S.*—Even now have I received word from Mr Melvil that his suit for my poor servants, that they might resort in that country for their feeble affairs, has received a plain refusal, whereof your honour may conjecture what I myself may look for.

*24th January 1565-6.*—Letter, Randolph to Sir William Cecil. That the Queen of Scotland had appointed the Earl of Bothwell and the Laird of Cessford to meet the Earl of Bedford and Sir John Foster, to settle matters that are in debate betwixt the two Realms. Randolph told the Queen that Bothwell was a person hated by the Queen of England, and known not to incline to peace; so if bad consequence followed upon her choice, she had herself to blame. She

told she could also make exceptions against Bedford,<sup>1</sup> and so would not name another in the place of Bothwell. She is not so much an enemy to Murray as formerly. Darnly demands the Crown-Matrimonial with such impatience that the Queen repents that she has done so much for him.

*6th February.*—Randolph to Cecil.—And that Robert Melvil should return to the Lords with some good comfort. Since that time there came from France, Clernau, by land, from the Cardinal Lorrain, and Thornton by sea, from the Archbishop of Glasgow; since whose arrival no good to the Lords. Band to introduce Popery in all Christendom signed by Queen Mary, and the original to be sent back by Mr Stephen Wilson. Rambouillet came here, Sunday; he is willing to do service to the Lords. Queen Mary intends to send Robert Melvil again into England, and negotiate there with her friends; but Queen Elizabeth will take precaution.

*8th February.*—Letter, my Lord Bedford to Sir William Cecil. He writes that the Scotch Parliament met at the prefixed time; that it is their custom to conclude first upon such Articles as shall be matter of debate in that Parliament. It is agreed that the banish'd Lords shall forfeit their estates. Murray's lands are given away. He despairs of justice on the Borders while Bothwell is Warden, who neither fears God nor loves justice. Darnly is a zealous Papist. On Candlemas-Day the King and Queen carried their candles. Mass is said in many places of Scotland.

*1st March.*—Proclamation by Henry King of Scotland. That with the advice of some Noblemen and others who had associated together, it was found necessary, for the good government of the Kingdom, to remove some dangerous persons and bad counsellors from the Queen, particularly Rizio the Italian, and to punish them according to their deserving where they shall be found, though it were in the very Palace, and in the presence of the Queen. He takes the blame of this upon himself, and promises that

<sup>1</sup> See our Queen's complaints against this Nobleman in her Letters to the Queen of England, 31st December 1565, &c. in the shattered M.S., together with some others, which shall be inserted here, after these Abstracts are finished.

none shall suffer for any thing that may happen upon this engagement.

*20th March.*—Proclamation by King Henry. Whereby he declares himself innocent of the murther of Rizio, and detaining the Queen's person in captivity ; that he never counselled, advised, or encouraged any of the murtherers of Rizio to that murther. He owns that in this he was to be blamed, that at the persuasion of the conspirators, without the Queen's knowledge, he consented to the bringing home the banished Lords, as Murray, Morton, Glencairn, Rothes, and others.

*27th March 1566.*<sup>1</sup>—Letter from Earl of Bedford and Randolph to the Earl of Leicester and Sir William Cecil. To prevent the condemnation of Murray and of his accomplices, designed in present Parliament, Morton, Lindsay, Ruthven, and others, address themselves to the King, entreating him for Murray, and promising him the Crown-Matrimonial if he will follow their advice in restoring these whom the Queen disliked, who would be his true friends ; and to give way to them to remove David Rizio from the Queen, who by his counsel and practices hindred him from the sole rule.

*2d April.*—Queen of England to the Earl of Bedford. Her Majesty is willing that Morton may stay in England till she give further orders.

*3d April.*—Letter from Alnwick. One of Bothwell's servants confessed that himself and four more of his fellow-servants had conspired to murther or poison the said Bothwell, and that Lethington had engaged them in that design. The other servants that were concerned in that design, upon examination confessed the same.

*4th April* — Randolph to Sir William Cecil. Queen Mary desires the Castle of Stirling from the Lord Areskine, which he refuses, because that trust was committed to him by the three Estates. Diverse arraignments at Edinburgh, but pardoned at the place of execution. Ruthven's Under-Sheriff is executed for the murther of Rizio. The King is

<sup>1</sup> This letter is certainly wrong dated ; for it is scarce possible the writers of it could be ignorant that David Rizio was murthered more than two weeks before this. It is therefore probable that it was dated 27th February.

not loved by the Queen upon the account of the said murder. The people hate him, because he has broken his oath to the conspirators.

*4th April.*—Earl of Bedford to Sir William Cecil. Lethington despairs of pardon, and must fly into England —

*25th April.*—Argile and Athol are almost agreed. Queen Mary desires Murray and Bothwell may also be at peace. Lethington has liberty to live in Flanders.

*26th April.*—Lethington to Mr Randolph. The Queen of Scotland ordered Mackalling to entertain friendship with O'Neal; and told him that he should know the reason afterwards.

*1st May.*—Lethington to Mr Randolph. Argile doubts of Queen Elizabeth's affection to their party, because she did not countenance them in their late action; he assures him of as many friends in Scotland as ever, if she do not change to them. Murray and Bothwell are great friends.

*2d May.*—To Sir William Cecil. Arran has got his liberty upon his bond of L.12,000, Scots money, to answer when he is called. Lethington's friends intercede for him that he may not be banished. The Queen is more his friend than Darnly.

*13th May.*—To Sir William Cecil. O'Neal's messenger had his audience of leave, and was sent away with good words. A servant of Argile's was sent with him to see if he could hold against the Queen of England with some assistance. But if Queen Elizabeth will but concern herself in making the peace of the banished Lords, Argile promises to assist her against O'Neal.

*23d May.*—The Queen of England to Randolph. He is to deal with Argile to be a friend to the Queen of England, and not to assist O'Neal; and desires that Murray be employed to take off Argile from his corresponding with O'Neal, who is not only a rebel to herself, but also an enemy to the true religion.

*26th May.*—Randolph to Sir William Cecil. Queen Mary accuses Randolph for having given 3,000 crowns to Murray, which was discovered by a servant of Murray's; he denied it. She also blames him for being the author of a scandalous book, reflecting on that Queen's birth, dignity, and government. She sent Robert Melvil to the English

Court to have him recalled. Argile is ordered to support O'Neal the Irish rebel; which he designs to do, if Queen Elizabeth would not befriend the Scotch Protestants, and relieve with necessities the banished Lords.

*31st May.*—Earl of Morton to Randolph. That the Queen of England will not allow Morton and his associates to stay in England: They desire a safe conduct that she would intercede with Queen Mary for their return home, seeing they had done so much formerly for the Queen of England's service.<sup>1</sup>

*7th June.*—Randolph to Sir William Cecil from Berwick. Lethington's licence to travel to Flanders is recalled, and he is confined to Cathness. The Register is ordered to remain on the other side of Tay. The Queen is reconciled to Darnly.

*14th June.*—Randolph to Sir William Cecil. Charleboys is now at liberty, and serveth O'Neal with all his friends. As to the secret management of Morton's conveyance, it is now well enough; he hopes to hear always the same account of it, seeing Morton had sufficient warning.

*14th June.*—Randolph to Sir William Cecil. The Scotch Queen has given Argile liberty to suffer as many of his tenants and vassals as please, to go over to O'Neal. Murray and Grange have dealt with Argile to bring him from O'Neal's party, and that he should not forget the assistance Queen Elizabeth gave to drive the French out of Scotland: That it is not safe to disoblige her, when they are so uncertain of their own Sovereign's favour. Argile is persuaded to leave O'Neal, and to promise his service to Queen Elizabeth, provided she be a friend to their religion and the professors of it, and procure the return of the banished Lords, and stop the practices now in hand betwixt his Sovereign and O'Neal, and the Papists in England. Rokesby's practices are so managed by Andrew Carr and the Bishop of Rosse, that they cannot be discovered.

*17th June.*—Randolph to Sir William Cecil. He is glad that he has liberty to return from their borders to Court. He acquainted the Scotch Protestant Lords that he is to be succeeded by Mr Killigrew, with whom they are to communicate their affairs.

<sup>1</sup> The argument was both true and strong, as truth never fails to be.

*20th June.*—Randolph to Sir William Cecil. Lethington desires to leave Scotland. Argile seeks leave to travel: And tho' Murray and he are in trust with Queen Mary, notwithstanding this they desire to be from the Court.

*26th June.*—Sir William Drury to the Earl of Bedford. Proclamation at Kelso, a place near the English borders, that no Scotchman must have any commerce with an Englishman, upon pain of death.

*17th July.*—Earl of Bedford to Sir William Cecil. Randolph is recalled, and Killigrew comes in his place. This change is a great loss to the intelligence from Scotland, and which can only be supplied by the Laird of Grange.

*2d August, Berwick.*—Earl of Bedford to Cecil. Lethington's peace is to be made with his Sovereign. Murray has procured the return of Ormeston and Elphinston, who were with Morton at the murder of Rizio. Queen Mary suspects that Morton is in Scotland, and that he is with his old mistress. Cessford's party, Buckleugh, and all the sir-name of Scot, are his friends. The Eliots design to assist him, and for that purpose have procured liberty from the Wardens of the English Marches to be concealed there four or five days, if need be.<sup>1</sup> The Lord Maxwell and Bothwell are now enemies; the former refused to come to Court to have those differences composed. Bothwell is generally hated, and is more insolent than ever David Rizio was. Grange dare not write more letters to Bedford, because he is suspected.

*3d August.*—Earl of Bedford to Cecil. ——— Lethington should speak with his Queen as yesterday at Alloway, and it is thought this meeting will bring reconciliation. ——— Queen Mary meaneth shortly to go against Cessford, &c. and keep Justice-Court at Jedburgh. Bothwell shall come in with forces. The Queen and her husband agree worse. Malvasor worketh for calling home the Lords.

*9th August.*—Earl of Bedford to Sir William Cecil. Malvasor returns towards England, and reports that the Queen and her husband have been together these two nights;

<sup>1</sup> It might perhaps be the consequences of this combination the Earl of Bothwell was sent to look after, at the time he received his wounds, and was carried to his Castle of Hermitage to be cured. However, these Borders were always very disorderly.

that he has used his endeavours for their reconciliation. Bothwell is still in favour, and has a great hand in the management of affairs.

*13th November.*—Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Bedford. She complains that in some late book upon the birth of the Prince of Scotland, he is called Prince of Scotland, England, and Ireland: She orders him to have the author to be punished, and the book suppressed; and that this would be a certain sign of the true amity betwixt her sister of Scotland and herself.

*17th November.*—Queen of Scotland to the Queen of England. Queen Mary in her sickness commits the protection of her son to Queen Elizabeth. And tho' she knew herself to be next heir to the Crown of England, and was apprised of the practices of her enemies to call her title in question, nevertheless she will not seek any declaration from Queen Elizabeth. In the mean time she promises to be an enemy to her sister's enemies.

[*Letter from the Queen of Scotland to the Earl of Bedford.*]

RYCHT trustie and weilbelovit cousing, we greit zou weill: We haif ressavit zour lettre complenyng of mony disorderis committit be our subjectis upoun divers personis within the boundis of zour charge; quhairupoun we did examinat the Lard of Cesfurd our Wardane of our Middill Marches, and be his report hes understude that the occasioun of the delay of justice, gif ony hes occurrit this tyme bypast, stude nocht in his default, being alwayis reddie to haif observit dayis of trew, and to haif maid and ressavit redres of all attemptattis, according to the law of Marchis; and zit were the dayis of trew schot on zour partie, nochtwithstanding, for ony thing heirtofoir attemptit, or that of ressoun can be requirit of our Wardanis, thai will willinglie do it, ressevand the semblabill, and to that effect appoint dayis of trewis als oft as ze will think convenient. Mairover, we haif ressavit certane advertisement of the Lord Hume, and utherwayis, that Colwicke zour Deputie, at ane appointit tryst with Sanderis Hume of Hutounhall, Deputie-Wardane to the said Lord Hume, spak in plane termis upoun zour behalffis, that gif the said Lord Hume, or ony nowmer of men within his chargeis, suld come and serve us aganis our rebellis, that

than ze, with zour haill forceis, wald invaid the Mers with fyre and swerd: This we traist be not the meaning and commandment of our guid sister the Quene, zour Soverane, in consideratioun of the guid amitie standing amang us; nather think we that he hes sa spokin be ony commandment procedit of zou, and thairfoir haif we purpoislie direct unto zou the berare heirof, our servand, to know the verie trewth and certaintie towart the saidis wordis, desyring zou to certifie us by zour ——— this berare, quhither we gaif the said Colwiche ——— purpois or not; and in cais he hes spokin of his awin ——— as we trust he hes, that than ze will mak plane ——— zour mislyking of his misbehaviour in that behalf, in sic forme ——— the mater being in the self verie prejudiciall to the amitie and peace standing betwix the Realmes. And thus we ——— at Edinburgh the ——— day of ———

[*Letter, Queen of Scotland to the Queen of England.*]

RYCHT excellent, rycht heich and mychtie Princesse, our derrest sister and cousing: As the Erle of Sutherland, a borne subject of this our Realme, cuming from bezond sey and reparing towart his native cuntreis latelie takin, stayit, and detenit as presonar at Berwik;<sup>1</sup> we haif thocht guid to signifie the same unto zou, and in respect of the amytie and guid peace standing betwix us and our Realmis, hartlie to desyre zou that it may pleis zou to gif strict commandment to zour Lieutennent, officiaris on the border, or utheris zour subjectis, in quhais handis he is, that immediatlie thai put him to libertie, and suffir him frelie to depart towart this Realme; praying zou to caus spedie ordour to be taken heirin, and that a thing tending sa manifestlie to the brek of the guid intelligence betwix us, as taking of personis in tyme of peace be not permittit, as we sall be willing nocht onelie to do the lyke, bot alswa to omit na guid offices quhairby it may appeir quhat offices we beir to manteine amytie and guid nychbourheid, and all trewis, as the effectis sall declair. And thus rycht heich, &c.

<sup>1</sup> By an Abstract here of the 1st September 1565, we perceive this Nobleman was stopt by one Wilson about Berwick; and by Sir William Drury's letter, February 1565-6, we find his Lordship was then just going into Scotland.

*Instructionis to our trustie and weilbelovit Sr Andro Ker of Hirsell, Knycht, to be declairit in our behalf to the Erle of Bedford, Lord Governour of Berwik, and Lieutenant of the North Partis of England.*

IN the first, ze sall declair that laitlie we ressavit his lettre complenyng of mony disorderis committit be our subjectis upoun diveris personis within the boundis of his charge; quhairupoun we did examinat the Lard of Cesfurde, our Wardane of our Middill Merchis, and be his report undirstude the occasioun of the delay of justice, gif ony hes occurrit this tyme bypast, stude not in his defalt, being alwayis reddie to haif observit dayis of trew, and to haif maid and ressavit redres of all attemptattis, according to the law of Merchis, and zit wer the dayis of trew schot on the partie of England, notwithstanding, for ony thing heirtofor attemptit, or that of ressoun can be requirit of our Wardanis, thai will willinglie do it, ressavand the semblabill, and to that effect appoint dayis of trewis als oft as the Wardanis of England will think convenient.

*Secundlie.* Ze sall declair unto the said Erle, Lieutenent above mentionat, that we haif ressavit certane advertisement of the Lord Hume, and utherwayis, that Maister Colwiche, his Deputie, at ane appointit tryst with Sanderis Hume of Hutounhall, Deputie-Wardane to the said Lord Hume, spak in plane termis upoun the behalf of the said Lieutenent, That if the said Lord Hume, or ony nowmer of men within his charge, sould cum and serve us aganis our rebellis, that than the said Lieutenent, with his haill forceis, wald invaid the Mers with fyre and swerd, quhilk, we traist, be not the meaning nor commandment of our said guid sister the Queen of England, in consideratioun of the guid amytie standing amangis us; neythir think we that Colwiche hes spokin be ony commandment procedit of the said Lieutenent, and that thairfor we haif purpoislie direct zou to knaw the verie trewth and certaintie towart the saidis wordis, and that ze, in our name, desyr him to certifie us, be his writting with zou, quhyther he gaif the said Colwiche commissioun to hald sic purposis or not; and in cais he hes spokin thame of his awin heid, without commandment, as we trust he hes, that than the said Lieutenent will mak plane demonstratioun of

his mislyking of Colwichis misbehaviour in that behalf, in sic forme as is convenient, the mater being in the self verie prejudiciall to the guid nyctbourheid and peace standing betwix the Realmis. And fordir, ze sall declair, that albeit in the lait lettre sent us from the said Lieutennent be the said Colwiche, mentioun is maid that he is weill instructit towart the purposis mentionat in the same, and to attend her plessour and resolutioun for that purpois ; zit nochtwithstanding he departit without ony declaratioun to us of his credeit, and unressavit answer of the said Lieutennentis lettre brocht be him, quhairin, as we think, the doing strange, sa we doubt not bot the said Lieutennent will nawayis allow Colwichis misbehaviour in that part, and gif demonstratioun that sic proceedingis wes not of his commandment. Attour, the said Colwiche being inquirit be ourself in our Counsall, quhyther he spak sic wordis to Sanderis Hume of Hutounhall, wald nowther answer affirmativelie nor negativelie, bot said he came nocht to answer ony questionis ; quhilk answer, as we haif guid occasioun to find strange, sa we doubt not bot the said Erle will nawayis allow.

And *last*, quhair the said Lieutennent dois wryte in his lettre that he did stay the Erle of Sutherland, our borne subject, upoun the consideratioun of the deniall of deliverie of certane pyrattis to Maister Randolphe, ze sall declair that as nane knawin pyrattis wer stayit and deteinit be us or ony our Ministeris, sa wald we wysche that — sould nocht, upoun that pretence, detene the said Erle unput to libertie — rather in respect of the guid amytie standing betwix the Realmis — may be deliverit without forder delay ; and in cais he will — upoun the deliverie of the pyrattis, ze sall offir the said Erle of Sutherland being deliverit, that all knawin and notorious — men heir salbe likwayis deliverit.

[*Letter, Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth.*]

RYCHT excellent, rycht heich, and mychtie Princesse, our derrest sister and cousing, we commend us unto zou in our maist hartlie maner : Quhairas laitlie, as we ar suirlye informit, certane zour subjectis, to the nowmer of aucht hundrith personis, enterit within our Realme of Scotland, at the townis of Edingtoun and Chirnsyde, four mylis from

Berwik or thairabout, and thair nocht onlie maid slauchter, tuke presonaris, spulzeit and reft a greit quantitie of gudis, bot alsua usit thame in sic sort as it had bene oppin weir and hostilitie betwix the twa Realmis, and zit detenis and kepis sum of the presonaris at Berwik, as gif it wer instant weir, a thing quhilk we undirstand to be expres aganis zour mynd and plessour, in respect of zour declaratioun diveris wayis notifyt unto us, that zour meaning hes bene, and is alwayis, to interteny peace and quietnes amangis the subjectis of bayth the cuntreis. And albeit our Counsall, in our absence, twa sindrie tymes wrait to the Erle of Bedford, zour Lieutennent, for redresse of the said attemptate, he nocht onlie refusit to mak the samen, bot alsua, be his servand Colwiche, sent with his answer, said That he wald planelie tak the deid upoun himself, avowing the same to be done att his command, as zour agent, Mr Randolphe, being present at the declaratioun thairof, can testifie. Quhair-upoun, and being movit with the lamentabill complaint of our subjectis, we haif takin occasioun to wrait presentlie unto zou, derrest sister, that ze will ponder the mater according to the wecht thairof, and consequence that thairon may follow ; and nocht onlie tak haistie ordour that the said attemptate may be spedelie redressit, bot alsua to mak plane demonstratioun that ze mislyke this and mony uther strange procedingis in him, quha being zour Minister, aucht to be maist cairfull to nureis quietnes, and interteny the gude nychtbourheid that heirtofoir hes continewit betwix us, and zit be his behaviour of lait, diveris wayis, sa far as in him lay, endangerit the peace. And this, not dowting be zour answer with this berare to be certifyt of zour guid mynd in this behalf, tending to the dew reformatioun of this sa notorious an offence, rycht excellent, rycht heich and mychtie Princesse, our derrest sister and cousing, we commit zou to the protectioun of Almyehtie God. Gevin under our signet, at our Palace of Halieruidhous, the last day of December, and of our reginie the xxiv zeir.

[*Letter, Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary.*]

RYCHT excellent, rycht heich, and mychtie Princesse, our derrest sister and cousing, we commend us hartlie unto zou : Be zour lettre daitit the last of December, and brocht to us

be ane of your Herauldīs-of-Arms, we persave that ze haif bene informit of ane entre maid into the Realme of Scotland at the townis of Edington and Chirnsyde, be certane of our subjectis, to the nowmer of aucht hundrith personis, making slauchter, taking of presonaris, and spulzeing of thame, as it had bene oppin weiris, and that sum of the same presonaris ar detenit at Berwik, a thing quhilk ze ar content to understand to be expres aganis our mynd and plessour, as indeid reason is ; and quhair forder ze wryte, that althoch your Counsall had sent twa sindrie tymes to our cousing the Erle of Bedforde, our Lieutennent, for redresse thair of, that he did not onlie be his answer refuse the same, bot did avow it to be done be his commandment : quhairupoun ze requair us to ponder the mater and consequence thair of, and to tak ordour for spedie redresse, with forder demonstratioun of our myslyking baith of this and uther procedingis in our said Lieutennent. Upoun the consideratioun of this your lettre, finding the materis thairin, for the maner of the same, as thai be expressit with thair circumstances, verie strange and unlyklye, and understanding that your servand had na instructioun to explane the mater forder than wes contenit in the lettre, bot onlie to requair spedie answer, we find it meit to mak answer presentlie be this our wryting, according to our knowlege, That we know of na maner of such entre into Scotland with sic nowmers, nowther of ony slauchter, spulzeing, or ony uther thing belanging to hostilitie, and thairfor ze haif verie weill consavit that na sic thing could be bot aganis our mynd and plessour. And forasmekill as our Lieutennent thair hes maid answer that he wald avow his doingis, we, presuming surlie of his guid dispositioun to keip amytye, and knowing the feir he hes to offend us in doing ony thing to the contrarie, ar thairby movit to think that the informatioun quhilk is maid unto you of this mater is scharpened and set furth by sum sic as haif moir dispositioun to pick querrellis than to compound thame : and we be the rather inducit heirunto, becaus we tak this mater to be the same quhair of we hard in the begynning of December last, quhilkis wes, as we were informit credibly, sa far different from this as ze complane, aucht rather to have bene maid be our subjectis, being first spoyled, robbed,

takin, hurt, and careit away be zouris ; for recovery quhair-  
of, some of ouris seking to apprehend the thevis, quho had  
not only robbed our subjectis, and spoyled of their victuales  
quhilk thai had lauchfullie bocht, bot alswa robbed some  
of zouris, wer by ambusches of men of weir assailed and per-  
sewit in suche maner of hostilitie, as fyve or six of our sub-  
jectis wer takin lyke presonaris, with their horss and gudis ;  
and sum utheris wer woundit and hurt to the perrell of  
deith : Quhairupoun as followed, as we think, that quhair-  
of the complaint is now maid so grevous, that a couple of the  
capitanis of Berwik, with a small ordinarie nowmer, less be  
ane half than is contenit in zour letteris, resorted quietlie to  
the place quhair our subjectis wer kepit as presonaris, to de-  
mand thame, and to bring thame home with their horss  
and gudis, quhilk thai could not fullie nor quietlie obtene,  
bayth becaus thai wer refusit ; and for that thre of our sub-  
jectis wer careit as presonaris further in the land, and zit  
do remane, contraire to the ordour of peace : And of ony  
wyer or hostilitie usit, we nevir hard, bot rather by this  
had caus to complene for our subjectis, quha receaved  
the first harmes by spoyling, robbing, taking, and detening  
thame as presonaris. Nevirtheless, considering be zour  
lettres, that quhilk ze wryte is bot upoun informatioun, and  
we also can presentlie answer bot as we have bene inform-  
it, and that we tak it zour meaning is, as ouris also is, to  
have peace and quietness kept upoun the frontieris, and  
the contrary attemptis redressit : We have thoct it meit  
furthwith straitlie to command and charge our said Lieu-  
tenant to have guid and earnest regaird to these complaintis,  
and as he will answer to us at his perrell, bayth to adverteis  
us the verie trewth, with all the circumstances of all this  
mater passed, and not spair to mak dew report of ony mis-  
demeanour in ony of ouris, gif ony sic wer. And fordir  
also, in the menetyne, to mak satisfioun and redresse of  
ony thing that sall lye in his power ; for so is our plessour  
and plane intentioun, trusting that the lyke will be ordourit  
and commandit be zou to zour officiaris, in sic caises as  
ouris sall haif neid. And eftir that we sall haif answer from  
our cousing of Bedford, quhairin we will command him to  
use speid, we sall caus zou to undirstand planelie, that as  
we haif signifeit heirtofore our meaning towartis the keeping

of peace betwix our Realmes, so it sall manifestlie appeir by our ordouris that sall insue in this mater, that we do not change in our determinationis. And thus, rycht excellent, rycht heich, and mychtie Princesse, our derrest sister and cousing, we commit zou to the tuitioun of Almychty God. Gevin under our signet, at the Palace of Westminster, the nynt day of Januarie, the aucht zeir of our regime, 1565.

Zour gude Sister and Cousing,

ELIZABETH.

Besides the Act of Privy-Council, 11th February 1562, prohibiting the eating of flesh, as it is set down in the Appendix here, p. 96 ; [iii. 219.] there is just such another in the preceeding year, viz. 12th February 1561 ; And the continuation of the prohibition is therein inserted to be from the publication of the Act till the 29th March next to come. And to this Act is subjoined another of the same date, as followeth :—

THE samyn day, forsamekle as be tempest and stormis of weddir fallin this last wynter, the maist part of the scheip of Scotland ar perischt and deid, quhilk causis the derth thair of sa to inress, that the poor cannocht gudlie abyde the samyn ; and giff the lammis be likewayis waistit and consummit, the derth sall nocht onlie inress, bot als the scheip of the cuntre sall sa decay that few or nane salbe left thairin for sustenyng of the lieges of this Realme : For remeid quhairof, it is statute and ordanit be the Quenis Majestie, with avyss of the Lordis of hir Secreit Counsale, That na maner of lamis be slaine or ettin be ony of the lieges of this Realme for the space of thre zeris nixttocum, under the pane of escheting of all the movable gudis of the personis controvienaris of this present ordinance, statute, and act, to our Soverane Ladeis uss : and ordanis letteris to be direct to officiaris of the Quenis Shireffis in that part, chargeing thame to pass to the mercat-croces of Edinburgh, Linlythgow, Striviling, and utheris places neidfull, and thair, be oppin Proclamation in our Soverane Ladeis name and autoritie, command and charge all and sindrie fleschouris and manglaris of flesche, and utheris our Soverane Ladeis lieges, that nane of thame tak upoun hand to sla or eit ony maner of lammis,

fra this tyme furth, for the space of thre zeris nixttocum, under the paine fairsaid: And to charge all and sindrie our Soverane Ladeis Shireffis, Stewartis, Crownaris, and thair Deputis, Provestis, Aldermen, and Baillies of Burrois, diligentlie to serehe quhair ony personis beis fundin brekand this present ordinance, and to report the samyn to our Soverane Ladeis Thesaurar, that the panis above-writtin may be execute upoun the saids brekaris, under the pane of tinsall of thair offices, &c.

By one single Act in the body of the original Register of Privy-Council, dated at St Andrew's the 20th April 1563, we learn that the Queen has been in those parts at this time; an occurrence I had not formerly observed, by reason that the Act respects only a very private person, upon which account I had easily overlookt the place and date. See more of the Queen's being at St Andrew's at this time, in the additions to the Appendix, Book III. And by the following original paper delivered just now into my hands by a descendent of the gentleman mentioned therein, we come likewise to know of another progress the Queen had made in the Spring of the year 1564, concerning which we have not the least hint anywhere else.

REGINA—Thesaurair, forsamekle as we, at the nominatioun of our traist Counsallour, Williame Maitland of Lethingtoun, zoungar, our Secretair, have admittit our lovit, Alexander Hay,<sup>1</sup> as substitute and depute under him in the office of clerkschip of our Secrete Counsell, during the tyme that our said traist Counsallour sall brouk the samyn: Thairfore it is our will, and we charge zou, that ze thankfullie answer and mak payment to the said Alexander, of the sowme of ane hundreth and fiftie pundis money of our Realme zeirlic, for his service in awaiting upoun the said office, payand the samyn monethlic to him, sicklike as ze had wont to pay to Johne Johnestoun, begynand upoun the

<sup>1</sup> He was a son of Park's, one of the eldest branches of the noble family of Errol. He came afterwards to be Lord Register, and purchased the estate of Easter-Kennet. From him descended Hay of Woodcockdale, and Hay of Carriber; and his lineal representative presently is David Bruce of Kinnaird, by being the son of the heiress of this family.

first day of Marche last bipast, at the quhilk day the said Alexander enterit in service ; and the samyn salbe thankfullie allowit to zou in zour compts be the auditors of our chekker, quhom we command to allow the samyn to zou, thir presents being anys [once] schewn upoun compt, and registrat in the Rollis as use is. Subscrivit with our hand at Falkland, the first day of Aprile, the zeir of God 1564 zeiris.

MARIE R.

# APPENDIX

## TO BOOK III.

I. [iii. 46.]—*Apud Edinburgh, 22 Decembris, 1561.*

**SEDERUNT**—*Jacobus Dux de Chattellarault, Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Archibaldus Ergadie Comes, Willelmus Marescalle Comes, Joannes Atholie Comes, Willelmus Comes de Montross, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Alexander Comes de Glencarne; Jacobus Commendatarius Sancti Andree et Pittenreime, Joannes Dominus Erskin; Magister Robertus Richardsoun, Thesaurarius, Magister Jacobus Mackgill de Nether-Rankeilour, Clericus Registri, Joannes Ballenden de Auchnoule, Miles, Clericus Justiciarie, Willelmus Maitland de Lethingtoun, Junior, Secretarius. Præsentibus etiam Dominis subscriptis ratione Conceptionis, viz. Joanne Comite de Sutherland, Georgio Comite de Cathnis, Andrea Comite de Rothes, Joanne Domino de Menteith, Joanne Domino Glammis, Hugone Domino Somercell, Roberto Domino Boyd, Joanne Domino Flemynq, Georgio Domino Seytoun, Joanne Domino Innermeth, Alexandro Domino Hume, Davide Domino Drummond, Andrea Domino Stewart de Uchiltrie, Jacobo Domino Sancti Joannis, Joanne Magistro de Maxwell, et Jacobo Dowglas de Drumlanrig, Milite.*



**T**is statute and ordanit be the Quenis Majestie, with advyis of the Lordis of hir Secreit Counsale and Nobilitie assemblit at this present Conventioun, that na maner of persone nor personis be removit fra thair rowmes or steddingis, of quhatsumevir kirk-landis sett in feu sen the vi day of Marche, the zeir of God 1558 zeris, bot bruke and joiss the samyn without danger of violence, quhill the Feist of Witsounday in the zeir of God 1563 zeris; that in the mean tyme

ordoure may be takin thairin be the Estaitis in Parliament for the weall of the cuntre; and ordains the Lordis of Session, and utheris Jugis of this Realme, to desist and ceis fra all proceeding aganis ony of the saids personis callit for violent occupatioun of the saids landis sett in feu sen the said vi day of Marche, as said is, quhill the said Feist of Witsounday, the zeir of God foirsaid, dischargeing thame thair of, and of thair offices in that part, in the mean tyme; and ordanis letteris to be direct heirupoun, gif neid beis.

THE samyn day, forsamekle as the Quenis Majestie, be the advyis of the Lordis of hir Secreit Counsale, forseand the eminent truble quhilk appearandlie wes to ryis amangis the liegis of hir Realme, for materis of religioun: To evaid the samyn, and to stay all inconvenientis that may follow thairupoun, intercommonit with ane pairt of the Clergie and Stait Ecclesiasticall; with quhome than ressonyng being had, it wes thocht gude and expedient be hir Hienes, that ane generall Conventioun suld be appointit the xv day of December instant, quhairto the rest of that Estait mycht have reparit; and be the advyis of the hale, ane ressonable overture maid, and ordoure takin for staying of the apperand truble, and quieting of the hale cuntre. Quhilk Conventioun being be hir Majestie appointit, and sindrie dayis of Counsale kepit, and the said Ecclesiasticall Estait oftymes requirit that the said ordoure mycht be takin, and overture maid, for staying of truble, and quieting of the cuntre. Last of all, in presence of the Quenis Majestie and Lordis of Counsale foirsaid, and utheris of the Nobilitie of this Realme, comperit Johne Archibischop of Sanctandros, Robert Bischop of Dunkeld, Patrik Bischop of Murray, and Henrie Bischop of Ross, and for thameselffis respectivé, offerit to the Quenis Grace to be content with thre partis of the rentis of thair benefices, and the ferd part thair of to be employit as hir Grace thocht expedient: And becaus the certaintie thair of wes not knawin, nor zit quhat sowmes of money wald sufficientlie sustene the Ministrie and Ministeris of Goddis Word within this Realme, nor zit how mekle wes necessare to support the Quenis Majestie above hir awin rent, for the commone effaris of the cuntre; thairfoir it is concludit, decernit, and determinit be the Quenis Grace and

Lordis of Counsale foirsaid, and utheris of the Nobilitie present, that gif the ferd pairt of the frutis of the hale benefices ecclesiasticall within this Realme may be sufficient to susteine the Ministeris throw the hale Realme, and support the Quenis Majestie to interteny and sett fordwart the commone effaris of the cuntre; failzieing thair of, the thrid pairt of the saids frutis, or mair, quhill it be fund sufficient to the effect foirsaid, to be takin up zeirlie in tyme cuming, quhill ane general ordoure be takin thairin; samekle thair of to be employit to the Quenis Majestie, for intertenyng and setting fordwart of the commone effaris of the cuntre, and samekle thair of to the Ministeris and sustentatioun of the Ministerie, as may ressonable sustene the samyn, at the sycht and discretioun of the Quenis Majestie and Counsale foirsaid, and the exerescence and superplus to be assignit to the auld possessouris: And to that effect, that the rentis and zeirlie avale of the hale benefices within this Realme may be clearlie knawin to the Quenis Majestie and Counsale foirsaid, it is statute and ordanit, that the hale rentalis of all benefices within this Realme be producit befor hir Grace and Lordis foirsaid, at the tymes undirwritten; that is to say, of the benefices on this syde of the month,<sup>1</sup> the xxiv day of Januar nixttocum, and bezond the month, the x day of Februar nixt thaireftir: And ordanis letteris to be direct to officiaris of the Quenis Shireffis in that part, to pass, charge, and require all and sindrie Archibischoppis, Bischoppis, Abbottis, Commendataris and Prioris of this Realme, on this syde of the month, personalie, gif thai can be apprehendit; and failzieing thair of, at the saids Archibischoppis, Bischoppis, Abbottis, Commendataris and Prioris dwelling-places, Cathedrale-Kirkis or Abbayis; and all Denis, Arch-denis, Sub-denis, Chantoris, Sub-chantoris, Provestis, Parsonis, Vicaris, and utheris beneficit men, thair Chalmerlanis and Factoris, personalie, or at thair dwelling-places, or at thair Paroche-Kirkis, quhair thai suld remane: To exhibit and produce befor the Quenis Majestie and Lordis foirsaid, the said xxiv day of Januar nixttocum, the just and trew rentale of

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* Mount, or mountains, meaning the Grampian Mountains. Month was an ordinary expression in this Kingdom to signify desert mountains. The Grampian Mountains run from about Dumbarton in a continued chain towards Aberdeen.

the avale and rentis of thair benefieis, to the effect foirsaid ; and to charge the Prelattis, and utheris benefieit men on the zond syde of the month, in maner respective foirsaid, to produce the just and trew rentale of thair benefieis befor the Quenis Grace and Lordis foirsaidis, the said x day of Februar nixttocum, to the effect above rehersit ; with certificatioun to thame that failzeis, the Quenis Majestie and Counsale will proceid heirin as accordis. And siclyke, to charge the hale Superintendentis, Ministeris, Eldaris, and Deaconis of the principale townis and schiris of this Realme, to gif in befor the Quenis Grace and Lordis of Counsale foirsaidis, the said xxiv day of Januar nixttocum, ane formale and sufficient roll and memoriall, quhilk may be sufficient and ressonable to sustene the Ministerie and hale Ministeris of the Realme, that hir Majestie and Lordis of Counsale foirsaidis may tak ordour thairintill as accordis. And forder, that the Quenis Majestie and Lordis of Counsale foirsaidis, ryplie and digestlie wey and consider quhat necessar support is requirit to be takin zeirlye of the frutis of the saidis benefieis, by hir Grace's awin zeirlye rent, to interteny and sett fordwart the commone effaris of the cuntre, agane the said xxiv day of Januar nixttocum, that than it may be procedit in the said mater, all parteis be satisfieit, and the hale cuntre and liegis thairof sett in quietnes.

THE samyn day, forsamekle as the weichtie and debatable causis standand amangis the liegis of this Realme, quhilk mycht gif occasioun of breking and inquieting of the hale Estait of the samyn ; for eschewing thair of, the Quenis Majestie appointit ane Conventioun of the Nobilitie and Clergye of hir Grace's Realme foirsaid, to compeir the xv day of December instant ; quhilk being haldin, and divers tymes continewit, comperit Johne Archibishop of Sanct-androis, Robert Bishop of Dunkeld, Patrik Bishop of Murray, and Henrie Bishop of Ross, and offerit as eftir followis ; that is to say, that thai being restorit to thair benefieis and privilegis, and answerit thair of, offerris to the Quenis Majestie for the space of ane zeir, the ferd part of the rentis of thair benefieis, to be employit as hir Grace thinkis expedient ; and this thai offerit, and na forder.

*Apud Edinburgh, 12 Februarij, 1561.*

SEDERUNT—*Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Archibaldus Comes Ergadie, Jacobus Comes de Mar, Willelmus Marescalli Comes, Joannes Atholie Comes, Alexander Comes de Glencarne, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Joannes Dominus Erskin, Joannes Ballenden de Auchnowle, Miles, Clericus Justiciarie.*

THE quhilk day, forsamekle as be statute and ordinance maid be the Quenis Majestie and Lordis of Secreit Counsale, and hir Hienesses letteris direct thairupoun, all and sindrie Archibischoppis, Bischoppis, Abbottis, Commendataris, Prioris, Archidenis, Denis, Sub-denis, Chantoris, Sub-chantoris, Provestis, Parsonis, Vicaris, and utheris beneficit men of this Realme, wer chargit to exhibit and produce the rentalis of thair beneficis befor hir Majestie and Lordis foirsaid, in maner following; that is to say, the saids beneficit men on this syde of the month, the xxiv day of Januar last bipast; and on the uther syde of the month, the x day of Februar instant, to that effect, that ordour mycht be takin thairin, conforme to the said ordinance: With certificatioun to thame and [if] thai failzeit, the Quenis Majestie and Counsale wald tak ordour thairin, as the samyn ordinance beris: Notwithstanding the quhilk, and that the Quenis Majestie and Counsale, and utheris appointit be hir for ressaving of the said rentalis, hes continualie, sen the said xxiv day of Januar, awaititt upoun the ressaving thair-of; zit ane varray small nowmer of thame hes producit the saidis rentalis, comtempnand thairthrow nocht onlie hir Grace's ordinance and proclamatioun foirsaid, bot als himself and hir autoritie, lyke as thai wer princeis and nocht subjectis, expres aganis ressone, equitie, and justice. For remeid quhairof, the Quenis Majestie ordanis, be advyis of the Lordis of hir Secreit Counsale, that factouris and chalmerlanis be appointit to intromett, gadder, uplift, and ressave, to oure Soverane Ladeis uss, all and sindrie malis, fermis, teindis, rentis, proventus, emolumentis, canis, profitis, and dewteis of quhatsumevir beneficis, quhairof the rentalis ar nocht producit, conforme to the said ordinance: And gif ony rentale ellis producit beris nocht the just avale, bot is fraudefullie maid, to intromett and uptak sameikle

of the frutis and profitis of the saids beneficis as ar omittit furth of the said rentale : And the ingevaris of the rentalis, and possessouris of the beneficis thair of, sall nevir haiff actioun to craif, claime, or ressaif from the tennentis and possessouris forther nor [than] is contenit in the saids rentalis ellis producit be thame : And the saids tennentis and possessouris sall nawayis be haldin to pay ony moir for thair rowmes to the possessouris of the saids beneficis and ingevaris of the said rentalis nor is contenit in the samyn rentalis ellis producit, as said is : And that the saids factouris and chalmerlanis to be appointit be the Quenis Majestie salhave sufficient power to intromett and uptak the frutis and profitis foirsaid, siclyk as gif speciale letteris of factourie and chalmerlanrie wer grantit to thame thairupoun ; and ordanis the Lordis of Sessioun to direct furth letteris at the saids factouris and chalmerlanis instance, owther horning or poiding, as salbe thocht expedient, for causing of thame to be answerit of the frutis of the saids beneficis, to be forthcomand to the Quenis Majesties behuif, quhill forther ordour be takin thairin.

*Apud Edinburgh, 15 Februarij, 1561-2.*

SEDERUNT—*Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Archibaldus Ergadie Comes, Jacobus Comes de Mar, Joannes Atholie Comes, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Willelmus Marescalli Comes.*

THE quhillk day, forsamekle as the Quenis Majestie, be the advyis of the Lordis of hir Secreit Counsale, and utheris divers of the Nobilitie, had of befoir, upoun the xxii day of December last bipast, ordanit that gif the fourt part of the frutis and rentis of all the beneficis within this Realme wer nocht sufficient for the support of hir Majestie, and uther particular chargis under-writtin, necessar to be borne for the tranquillitie of the cuntre, then the thrid part of the saids frutis, mair or less, suld be takin up, to the effectis foirsaid : And attoure, ordanit letteris to be direct, chargeing all and sindrie benefeit men on this syde of the month, to produce thair rentalis upoun the xxiv day of Januar last bipast ; and the x day of Februar instant wes prefixt be the saids letteris, for inbringing of all rentalis of the beneficis bezond the month : With certificatioun, that quha producit nocht

the saids rentalis at the dayis foirsaid respective, the Quenis Majestie and hir Counsale wald provide remeid. According to the quhilk certificatioun, hir Hienes, with advyis of hir Counsale foirsaid, hes ordanit, that thai quha hes nocht producit thair rentalis, hale and full intromissioun salbe had of thair frutis, be thame quhome hir Majestie sall direct thairto; and quha hes nocht gevin in thair just rentalis, quhatsumevir part omittit in thair saids rentalis salbe intromettit with in lyke maner. And forthir, having consultit ryplie, and diligentlie advysit upoun the commone effaris and necessiteis concerning the Quenis Majestie, and chargis to be borne for the commone weill of the Realme, and sustentatioun of the precheouris and readaris, conforme to the said ordinance maid thairupoun of befor, hes funden and declarit the hale thrid partis of all beneficeis within this Realme, of the quhilks the rentalis ar producit, to be takin up be the persone or personis to be nominate be hir Majestie, and to begin upoun this last crope of the zeir of God 1561 zeris, the samyn to be employit to the effect foirsaid; togidder with the hale frutis of the beneficeis, quhair of the rentalis ar nocht producit, and alsua of samekle as is omittit in the rentalis producit: And that ordoure be directit be the Quenis Majestie to the Lordis of Sessioun, that the auld possessouris may be answerit of the remanent frutis of the saids beneficeis, providing that the thrid part foirsaid be full and hale takin up be the personis to be depute to the uptaking thair of; and this ordoure to continew and stand, ay and quhill farther ordoure be takin be the Quenis Majestie, with advyis of hir Estaitis. Mairovir hir Hienes, be the advyis of hir Counsale foirsaid, hes statute and ordanit, that all annuellis, malis, and dewiteis within fre burrowis, or utheris townis of this Realme, alsweill pertenyng to chapellanreis, prebendareis, as to freris; togidder with the rentis of the freris landis quhairevir thai be setting and disponing thairupoun, be intromettit with and takin up be sik as hir Grace sall depute thairto, for employing of the same be hir Hienes to hospitaliteis, scolis, aud utheris godlie usis as sall seme best be hir Hienes, be the advyis of hir Counsale: And knowing that nathing is mair commodious for the said hospitalitie nor the places of freris as zit standand undemolissit, as als to the intertenyng of scolis,

collegis, and utheris usis foirsaidis ; ordanis the Provost and Baillies of Aberdene, Elgin in Murray, Innernes, Glasgow, and utheris burrowis of this Realme quhair the samyn ar nocht demolissit, to interteny and uphald the saids freris places standand in the saids townis, upon the commone gude thairof, and to uss the samyn to the commone weill and service of the saids townis, ay and quhill the Quenis Majestie be forther advysit, and tak finale ordoure in sik thingis ; nochtwithstanding ony uther gift, title, or interes gevin to quhatsumevir personis of the saids places, with thair zardis, orcherdis, and pertinentis, be oure Soverane Lady of befoir.

*Apud Edinburgh, ultimo Februarij, 1561-2.*

SEDERUNT—*Georgius Comes de Huntlie, Archibaldus Comes Ergadie, Jacobus Comes de Mar, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Willelmus Marescalli Comes.*

The first part of this Act recapitulates the Acts, December 22d and February 12th, preceeding : After which it proceeds thus :—

— AND becaus the Quenis Majestie and Counsale foirsaid understanding and perfytlie knawing that the auld possessoris, be vertew of letteris purchest and rasit be thame of auld on that ane part, and certane utheris personis pretend thame to be constitute collectouris and factouris in the Quenis Majesteis absence, to the frutis of the beneficis, be virtew of letteris purchest be thame conforme thairto, on the uther part, tendis to intronett with the hale frutis of the saids beneficis, alsweill of zeris and termis bigane as to cum, expres aganis the tennor of the said ordinance, to the greit hurt and hinder of the commone effaris and weill of this Realme, tranquillitie and quietnes thairof, and aganis justice : For remeid quhairto, the Quenis Majestie, with advyis of hir Secreit Counsale, ordanis letteris to be direct to hir Hienesses officiaris, Shireffis in that part, chargeing thame to pass to all parochie-kirkis and mercat-croces of the burrowis of this Realme, and utheris places neidfull, and thair, be oppin Proclamatioun, in hir Hienesses' name and autoritie, command and charge all and sindrie parochinaris, takkismen, telismen, fewaris, rentalaris, possessouris, and utheris intronettouris with quhatsumevir teind-schavis, and utheris

teindis, frutis, rentis, proventis, emolumentis, males, fermes, fischengis, cayne-fowlis, areages, careages, gressumes, and utheris dewiteis of quhatsumevir kirkis, alsweill parsonages as vicarages, chapellanreis, landis, rowmes, and possessionis pertenyng to ony benefeit men within this Realme, alsweill freris landis, annuellis, or utheris ; that nane of thame tak upoun hand to answer, intend, or obey to ony benefeit men, thair chalmerlanis or factouris, or to ony of the collectouris or factouris constitute in the Quenis Majesteis absence, to the uplifting of the saids frutis, thair servandis or chalmerlanis in thair names, of the saids teind-schavis, and utheris teindis, frutis, rentis, proventis, emolumentis, males, fermes, cayne-fowlis, areages, careages, gressumes, or uther dewiteis of quhatsumevir kirkis, alsweill parsonages as vicarages, chapellanreis, landis, rowmes, fischeingis, coal-heuchis, and possessionis, pertenyng to ony benefeit men within this Realme, be quhatsumevir letteris past, owther under the Quenis Majesteis signet or subscriptioun-manuale, be deliverance of the Lordis of Sessioun, Lordis of Previe or Secreit Counsale, or ony uther maner of way, precedand the first day of Marche nixttocum ; bot that thai retene, keep, and hald the saids males, fermes, and dewiteis foirsaid, in thair handis, undeliverit to the saids benefeit men, thair chalmerlanis or factouris, or to ony of the saids collectouris or factouris constitute in the Quenis Majesties absence, unto the tyme thai be chargit of new be letteris, past be deliverance of the Lordis of Sessioun, daitit eftir the said first day of March nixttocum : With certificatioun to thame that failzeis heirin, thai salbe compellit to refund and pay againe to the Quenis Majestie, and utheris as salbe appointit be hir thairto, the dowble of thair saids males, fermes, teindis, and dewiteis. And als, to charge all and sindrie shireffis, stewartis, baillies, heraldis, pursevandis, messingeris, and utheris our Soverane Ladeis officiaris, that nane of thame tak upoun hand to execute ony letteris purchest at the instance of ony uther benefeit men, thair chalmerlanis or factouris, or at the instance of ony uther collectoure or factoure constitute for uplifting of the saids frutis, daitit befor the said first day of March nixttocum, under the paine of tinsale of thair offices, and deprivationoun of thame fra all forther using of the said office in tyme cuming.

In consequence of these several preceeding Acts, rentals were given up of all the Ecclesiastical benefices within the Kingdom. Two parts whereof were to remain with the beneficed persons, and the other third was appointed to be uplifted by collectors nominated by the Queen; out of which third part her Majesty was to support the new Ministers, and the superplus to be employed by her in the administration of the State. I have been at pains to draw out an account of the revenues of the Bishopricks and principal Religious Houses, which I thought would be an agreeable piece of instruction to my readers; and the books from which I have made up the same are these, viz. *Primo*, The Collector's books of the Thirds of Benefices, by way of charge and discharge, to be seen among the other Records in the Laigh Parliament-house, Edinburgh. The first of these books is for the years 1562 and 1563, and for brevity's sake I have marked them *C*: *Secundo*, The Books of Assumption, the only copy whereof that I have chanced to see or hear of, is in the possession of the Family of Panmure. This contains the particular payments which make up the full rental of the several benefices, and is so much the more valuable, that the rentals are signed either by the Bishops, Abbots, &c. themselves, or by their chamberlains and factors; and that by it are to be seen what lands, up and down the Nation, pertained to the Church. However there is this misfortune, that it contains only the north and south parts of the Kingdom, that part of the book containing the western rentals, being either altogether lost, or lying in some corner where we have not heard of it as yet; this book I have marked *A*. *Tertio*, The original Books of Assignation, and superplus of the Thirds of Benefices, in which are contained sometimes the whole of the greater benefices (for these books never descend below Bishopricks, Abbays, Nunries, and principal Pories,) and sometimes only the Thirds; the particular assignments also paid to the Ministers, and the superplus redounding to the Crown; these I have marked by the letter *S*. The eldest of the Books of Assignation and superplus together, is only for the year 1594; but the Books of Assignation to the Ministers and Readers are full twenty years before that.

There is now and then some variation of the rents among these several books ; but except where the same is pretty remarkable, I have taken no notice thereof. A pound or two of money, or as many bolls of victual, was not worth the regarding.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE BISHOPRICKS WITHIN THE KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE REVENUES THEREOF.

*Bishoprick of Aberdeen.*

MONEY, L.1,653, 16s. 9d. Wheat, 3 chalders, 8 bolls, 0 firlots, 0 pecks. Bear, 35 c. 8 b. 3 f. 3½ p. Meal, 24 c. 4 b. 2 f. Oats, 8 c. 2 b. 3 f. 2 p. Mairts, number 46. Mutton,<sup>1</sup> n. 141. A. Wedders, n. 121. Capons, 65½ dozen. Poultry, 119 d. Geese, n. 55. Muirfowls, 19 d. A. Swine, n. 17. Salmon, 12 lasts, 10 barrels. But all the books do agree, that in the money-rent, as above set down, is contained the price of the salmon at L.4 per barrel.

*Archbishoprick of St Andrews.*

Money, L.2,904, 17s. 2d. Wheat, 30 c. 8 b. 3 f. 1 p. Bear, 41 c. 10 b. 2 f. 1 p. Meal, 12 b. Oats, 67 c. 13 b. 3 f. Pease, 4 b.

By the Book of Assumptions there is deduction allowed to the Archbishop for necessary payments, so that the money is brought down to L.2,460, 17s. Wheat to 21 c. 8 b. 1 f. 3½ p. Bear to 29 c. 10 b. 2 p. Oats to 51 c. 5 b. 1 f. 3½ p.

*Bishoprick of Brechin.*

In this Bishoprick there is great confusion and uncertainty. C. takes no notice of money-rent at all. Other payments by C. stand thus: Wheat, 11 b. Bear, 61 c. 5 b. Meal, 123 c. 3 b. Salmon, 9 bar.

The rental of the spirituality contained in A. is this:—Wheat, 11 b. Bear, 23 c. 12 b. Meal, 38 c. 2 b. Horse-corn, 15 b. Salmon, 3 bar., and let for L.1 per bar.

<sup>1</sup> The word mutton is made use of for the most part in all our ancient books to denote the article of sheep ; and the word wedders being used here, and some other places of the Book of Assumptions, &c. it may be presumed that by muttons may be always understood wedders.

By another rental in *A.*, said to pertain to Alexander Campbell, Bishop of this Diocese, the temporality stands thus, viz: Money, L.410, 5s. Capons, 11½ d. Poultry, 16 d. and 10. Geese, n. 18. Horse-corn, 1 c. 2 b. Salmon, 3 bar. *Item*, money of teinds, L.241, 6s. 8d. Teind-wheat, 11 b. Bear, 14 c. 6 b. Meal, 25 c. 5 b.

Another rental in *A.*, given up the 28th January 1573, by James Campbell of Ardkinglen, brother to Alexander the Bishop, who is said to be in Geneva at the scuillis [schools], is, Bear, 21 c. 5 b. 2 f. Meal, 38 c. 2 b. Wheat, 3 b. Horse-corn, 12 b. Money of temporal lands, L.357, 10s. 8d. Silver-teinds, L.56. And the Earl of Argile has several feus. Compare this last low rental, &c. with what is said p. 508. [iii. 45.]

*Bishoprick of Cathnes.*

Money, L.1,283, 19s. *N.B.*—Though in none of all the books there be any other payment recorded as pertaining to this Bishoprick, yet I have been informed by gentlemen of that bounds, that their own charters do mention other payments.

*Bishoprick of Dumblain.*

Money, L.313. Wheat, 1 c. Bear, 11 c. 11 b. 3 f. ½ p. Meal, 50 c. 1 b. 1 f. 3½ p. Oats, 9 c. 12 b.

*Bishoprick of Dunkeld.*

Money, L.1,505, 10s. 4d. Wheat, 4 c. Bear, 37 c. 6 b. 3 f. 3½ p. Meal, 64 c. 12 b. 2 f. 3 p. Oats, 28 c. 2 b. This rental is signed by the Bishop himself, at Cluny, the 4th of January 1561; and in the front is the following remarkable preamble, viz.—“ Heireftir followis the rentale of the Bischoprick of Dunkeld, to be presentit befor the Quenis Majestie and Counsale, conforme to the offer maid to hir Grace be the Prelatis for that tyme present at the last Conventioun in December, anno 1561: Quhilk was in this effect—‘ The Kirkmen and Prelatis of Scotland being restorit to thair levingis, rentis, possessionis, and jurisdictionis,<sup>1</sup> they grantit to give her Grace, for the outsetting

<sup>1</sup> The restitution here mentioned by this Bishop is very plainly affirmed in the Act, p. 177; [iii. 363.] but the grant by the Clergy for one year

of her Majesties honest effairis, the fourt pairt of thair levingis for ane zeir allanerlie: Protestand,<sup>1</sup> &c., and adherand to the Protestatioun maid in name of the hail Clerkie and Kirkmen of Scotland, be ane Maist Reverent Fadir in God, Jhone Archbischepe of Sanctandrois.' "

*Bishoprick of Galloway.*

Money, L.1,137, 0s. 8d. Bear, 6 c. 15 b. 3 f. Meal, 7 c. 9 b. Salmon, n. 268. S. n. 228.

The Abbay of Tungland (situated in Galloway) is by *C.* always annexed to this Bishoprick, though neither *A.* nor *S.* take any notice of such annexation; and yet the rent of the Bishoprick is still the same. But then they always omit to mention the Abbay of Tungland.

*Archbishoprick of Glasgow.*

Money, L.987, 8s. 7½d. Bear, 7 b. 3 f. 3 p. Meal, 32 c. 2 b. Malt, 28 c. 5 b. 1 f. Horse-corn, 12 c. 13 b. 3 f. Salmon, n. 168.

*Bishoprick of Murray.*

Money, L.1,649, 7s. 7d. Wheat, 10 b. Bear, 77 c. 6 b. 3 f. 2 p. Oats, 2 c. 8 b. Salmon, 8 last. *C.* Poultry, n. 223.

*Bishoprick of Orkney.*

Money, L.251, 2s. 6d. Cost, *i. e.* malt, 78 last, 21 meil, 3 setting, 21 mark.<sup>2</sup> Flesh, 12 last, 12 meil, 14 setting, 20 mark. Mairts, n. 4. Swine, n. 2. Poultry, n. 217.

only, is not so clearly affirmed, except in this sense, viz. that if the fourth-part of the benefices was not sufficient for the Queen's affairs, the third-part should be afterwards given to her Majesty.

<sup>1</sup> It is a pity this Bishop had not inserted here his own and the Archbishop of St Andrews' Protestation; for this is the only time and place I have heard of any such Protestation.—[This, however, is a remarkable allusion; for it exempts the Roman-Catholic Prelates from the charge commonly brought against them, of having tamely submitted to the new order of things, without even offering a protest against it.—E.] He signs the rental 'R. Dunkeld.' His name was Robert Creighton; and seems to have been a man of parts.

<sup>2</sup> 24 marks make one setting, 24 settings make one meil, 24 meils make one last, and one meil is 11 stone-weight and a half.

Sera-fish,<sup>1</sup> 24 mais.<sup>2</sup> Butter, 8 last, 8½ bar, 6 liespound.<sup>3</sup>  
Oil, 4 last, 2 bar. Wax, 20 pound. Peats, 55 fathom.

*Bishoprick of Ross.*

Money, L.504, 1s. 2d. Bear, 78 c. 4 b. 1 f. 1 p. Oats, 7 c. 4 b. Mairts, n. 40. Mutton, n. 169. Kids, n. 132. Capons, 10 dozen. Poultry, 57 d.

*N.B.*—As for the Bishopricks of Argile and the Isles, and the Religious Houses in these bounds, such as the Abbay of Ycolmkill or St Columba, in the isle of Yona, the Priories of Ardechattan and Oronsay, &c. no rentals of them were given up. There is, indeed, in the Book of Annexation of the Ecclesiastical Benefices to the Crown, made in the year 1587, and to be seen among the other Records in the Laigh Parliament-House, a rental of all these benefices; but the same is so indistinctly drawn out, at least to my capacity, that I cannot from thence venture to offer any thing to my readers. Howsoever, I reckoned the more curious of them would probably receive in good part these two following proportions of the rents of the several Bishopricks of the Kingdom (the Isles or Sodoren excepted), taken from the original old Chartulary in the Abbey of Aberbrothock, in the Advocate's Library; by which scroll the rent of the Bishopricks in that time may be somewhat discerned.

*Æstimatio Episcopatum Regni Scotiæ secundum quosdam.*

Episcop. Glasguensis,	.	.	L.4,080	13	4
Katenensis,	.	.	386	13	4
Rossensis,	.	.	352	19	8
Moraviensis,	.	.	1,418	15	4
Lesmorensis, Argile,	.	.	281	06	8
Candidæ Casæ,	.	.	358	15	0
Brechinensis,	.	.	341	03	4
Dunkeldensis,	.	.	1,206	06	8

<sup>1</sup> Sera-fish is a year-old seathe dried in the sun without salt; and a seathe is a coarse grey sort of fish as large as a big cod; but the sera is no larger than a whiting.

<sup>2</sup> A mais of sera contains some 1000, others 1500, according to the size.

<sup>3</sup> This measure contains about two stone of Amsterdam weight.

Episcop. Dumblanensis,	.	.	L.606 13 4
Aberdonensis,	.	.	1,610 09 4
Sancti Andreae,	.	.	8,018 03 0

It appears I have not been able to read exactly the several numbers; for my sum here extends only to L.18,660, 19s., whereas the sum in the Chartulary is plainly L.18,750, 19s. 7d.<sup>1</sup>

*Summa de quolibet Episcopatu Scotiæ quand. 4 denarii dantur de marca.*

Episcop. Sti. Andreae,	.	.	.	L.200 09 00
Glasguen.	.	.	.	102 00 04
Abirden.	.	.	.	40 05 03
Moravien.	.	.	.	35 09 04
Dunkelden.	.	.	.	30 03 02
Dumblan.	.	.	.	15 03 10
Brechyn.	.	.	.	11 00 07
Candidæ Casæ,	.	.	.	08 19 00
Rossen.	.	.	.	08 11 00
Katenen.	.	.	.	07 03 04
Ergad. Argile,	.	.	.	08 00 08
				<hr/>
				L.467 05 06

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBAYS, ETC.

WITHIN SCOTLAND, TOGETHER WITH AN ACCOUNT  
OF THEIR REVENUES.

*Benedictin Abbey of Aberbrothock [commonly Arbroath], in the Shire of Angus or Forfar.*

C. Money, L.2,483, 5s. Wheat, 26 c. 9 b. 1 f. Bear, 118 c. 7 b. 2 p. Meal, 168 c. 8 b. 2 f. Oats, 27 c. 10 b. 3 f. 3½ p. Salmon, 1 l. 3 b.

A. Money, L.2,553, 14s. Wheat, 30 c. 3 b. 3 f. 2 p. Bear, 143 c. 9 b. 2 p. Meal, 196 c. 9 b. 2 f. Oats, 27 c. 11 b. Salmon, 3 last, 1 barrel. "Omittit capons, poultry, grassumes, dawikis, and all other services and small dewties.

<sup>1</sup> [Bishop Keith had not the advantage of comparing the Arbroath Chartulary with those that have been printed since his time. There are slight, but no material differences in the Episcopal revenues, and hence, no doubt, the discrepancy he alludes to.—Reg. Prior. Sti. And. p. 28.—E.]

Alsua, *N. B.*—That the Kirkis of Abirnethy and Monyfuith are nocht comptit heirin.”

In another part of *A*, a like rental is given up in the Latin tongue soon after the year 1561; in which, besides 37 barrels of salmon, are contained likewise 2 barrels of glyssort. [Grilses, *f. i. e.* young salmon.] To this Latin rental is added the valuation of the Kirks of Abernethy, Monyfuith, and Tanadies, viz. Abern. L.273. Tan. L.237, 5s. 4d. Monyf. L.0, 0s. 0d. Wheat, 4 c. 12 b. Bear, 12 c. 9 b. Meal, 15 c. 10 b. None of all which is put into the rental.

*S.* Money, L.2,594; in the other articles agrees with *C.* except in the salmon with *A.*

*Augustinian Priory of St. Andrews,<sup>1</sup> in the Shire of Fife.*

Money, L.2,237, 18s. 1½d. Wheat, 38 c. 1 b. 3 f. 1 p. Bear, 132 c. 7 b. Meal, 114 c. 3 b. 1 p. Oats, 151 c. 10 b. 1 f. 1½ p. Pease and Beans, 3 c. 7 b.

*Cistercian Priory [a Nunry] of St Bothan's, in the Shire of Merse.*

Money, L.47, 2s. 4d. Wheat, 2 c. 1 f. Bear, 3 c. 8 b. 2 f. 3½ p. Pease and Beans, 12 b. *S.* Oats, 7 c. 9 b.

*Cistercian Abbay of Balmerinock, in the Shire of Fife.*

*C.* Money, L.704, 2s. 10½d. Wheat, 4 c. Bear, 21 c. 12 b. 3 f. 1½ p. Oats, 1 c. 14 b. 1 f. 3½ p. *A.* adds Meal, 15 c. 12 b. 2 f. and Poultry, n. 763.

*Reformed Cistercian Priory of Beaully, in the Shire of Ross.*

Money, L.136, 13s. 4d. Bear, 14 c. 2 b. 3 f. 3½ p. Oats, 7 b. 3 f. 3½ p. Mairts, n. 10. Mutton, n. 20. Poultry, *C.* 21 doz. *S.* 24 d. Salmon, 2 l. 6 b.

*Augustinian Priory of Blantyre, in the Shire of Clidsdale.*

Money, L.131, 6s. 7½d.

*Augustinian Abbay of Cambuskeneth, in the Shire of Stirling.*

Money, L.930, 13s. 4½d. Wheat, 11 c. 11 b. 2 f. Bear,

<sup>1</sup> It was a mistake to say, p. 279, [ii. 286.] that this Priory was a pendicle to the Abbay of Holyrood-house.

28 c. 12 b. 3 f.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p. Meal, 31 c. 6 b. 3 f.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p. Oats,  
19 c. 15 b. 3 f.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p.

*Augustinian Priory of Cannobie, on Solway Firth.*  
*See Jedburgh.*

*Carthusian Priory of Charter-house,<sup>1</sup> within the  
Town of Perth.*

C. Money, L.0, 0s. 0d. Wheat, 24 c. 15 b. Bear, 20 c.  
Meal, 2 b. Oats, 24 c.

A. Money, L.509, 6s. 2d. Wheat, 8 c. 5 b. Bear, 20 c.  
Meal, 2 b. White Oats, 12 c. 6 b. Black ditto, 12 c. 9 b.  
3 f. This given up in the year 1563 by A. Forman Prior.  
And in the year 1570 the Lords Auditors of the Chequer  
ordain the following rental only to be charged, viz. Money,  
L.366, 8s. 8d. Wheat, 7 c. 5 b. Bear, 19 c. Meal, 2 b.  
White Oats, 9 c. 6 b. Black ditto, 12 c. 9 b. 3 f. Signed,  
George Balfour, Prior. Mention is herein made of there  
being taken away by the river Tay, viz. Wheat, 1 c. Bear,  
1 c. White Oats, 3 c. S. agrees with this last rental.

*Benedictin Priory of Coldingham, in the Merse.*

Money, L.818, 10s. 9d. Wheat, 6 c. 7 b. 3 f. 2 p.  
Bear, 19 c. 12 b. 1 f. 2 p. Oats, 55 c. 4 b. 1 f. Rye, 1 c.  
4 b. 1 f. Pease, 3 c. 13 b. 3 f. 2 p.

*Cistercian Abbey [a Nunry] of Coldstream, in the  
Shire of Merse.*

Money, L.201. Wheat, 3 c. 11 b. 2 f.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p. Bear, 3 c.  
11 b. 2 f.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p. Meal, 3 c. 11 b. 2 f. 2 p.

A. makes mention of nine aged women, sisters in the place.

*Benedictin Abbey of St. Colm's Inch, in the river Forth.*

S. Money, L.426. There is nothing else concerning this  
rental, except in A., and even there it is very confused,  
though given up by James Stewart, who most probably has  
been the Abbot himself. The best I could make of it is  
thus, Wheat, 2 c. 8 b. 1 f. 10 b. Bear, 8 c. 9 b. Meal, 14  
c. 14 b. Oats, 11 c. 12 b.

<sup>1</sup> This is a corruption only for the French word Chartreux, or for the  
Latin Chartusia.

*Cluniac Abbey of Corsraguel, in Carrick.*

Money, L.466, 13s. 4d. Bear, 18 c. 7 b. 3 f.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p. Meal, 37 c. Oats, 4 c. 15 b. 3 f.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p.

*Cistercian Abbey of Coupar, in the Shire of Angus.*

Money, L.1,238, 14s. 9d. Wheat, 7 c. 13 b. 1 f. Bear, 75 c. 10 b. 3 f.  $\frac{1}{2}$  p. Meal, 73 c. 4 b. 3 f.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p. Oats, 25 c. 4 b. 2 f. 2 p.

*Cistercian Abbey of Culros, in the Shire of Perth.*

Money, L.768, 16s.  $7\frac{1}{2}$  d. Wheat, 3 c. 3 b. Bear, 15 c. 10 b. 2 f. Oats, 13 c. 12 b. 3 f.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p. Salt, 1 c. 2 b. Wedders, n. 10. Lambs, n. 22. Capons, 7 doz. Poultry,  $26\frac{1}{2}$  d. Butter,  $7\frac{1}{2}$  stone. Cheese,  $79\frac{1}{2}$  st. A. Straw, 8 tursses. And the Abbot says there were nine Monks in the Convent, five whereof had recanted, but the other four would not, by any perswasion. And he mentions a certain allowance he had given to those that had recanted ; but had given nothing to the others.

*Cistercian Abbey of Deir, in Buchan.*

C. Money, L.572, 8s. 6d. Wheat, 14 b. Bear, 14 c. 10 b. Meal, 65 c. 7 b. 1 f. 3 p. A. Money, L.805, 15s. 2d. Meal, 59 c. 11 b. And again, Meal, 63 c. 9 b. 1 f. S. wants the article of wheat.

*Premonstratensian Abbey of Dryburgh, in Teviotdale.*

Money, L.913, 19s. 1d. Wheat, 1 c. 14 b. 3 f.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p. Bear, 24 c. 7 b. 3 f.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p. Meal, 22 c. 15 b. 3 f.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  p. Oats, 3 c. 15 b. 1 f. S. Money, L.1,044, 16s. 8d.

*Cistercian Abbey of Dundrenan, in Galloway.*

Money, L.500.

*Benedictin Abbey of Dunfermline, in Fife.*

C. Money, L.2,513, 10s. 8d. Wheat, 28 c. 11 b. 1 f. Bear, 102 c. 15 b. 1 f. 3 p. Meal, 15 c. Oats, 61 c. 6 b. 2 f. Horse-corn, 29 c. 1 b. 1 f.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  p. S. agrees with this, except in the article of Oats, being in all, 152 c. 2 f. 2 p. And then adds, Butter, 34 st. Lime, 19 c. 15 b. Salt, 11 c.

8 b. *A.* agrees with *S.* in Oats, viz. White Oats, 64 c. 12 b. 2 f. Horse-corn, 87 c. 4 b. 1 f. Which is given up by Allan Coutis in the year 1561, in name of my Lord of Dunfermline, viz. George Dury, Abbot.

There is likewise another rental by the same person, viz. Money, L.2,404, 4s. Wheat, 27 c. 4 b. 3 f. Bear, 83 c. 11 b. 2 f. 2 p. Oats, 158 c. 5 b. 2 f., whereof 84 c. White Oats. Lime, 20 c. Salt, 11 c. 8 b. Capons, n. 374. Poultry, n. 746. By the same rental we learn that in the Convent were 26 Monks, whose assignations were in money, L.394. Wheat, 9 c. Bear, 32 c. White Oats, c. 38. Horse-corn, c. 26.

*Priory [a Nunry] of Eccles, in the Merse.*

Money, L.647, 13s. 8d. *A.* says, caines, customes, grassumes, and uther dewties, capons and poultry are omitted.

*Cistercian Priory [a Nunry] of Elcho, in Strathearn.*

Money, L.64, 6s. 8d.

*Cistercian Abbey [a Nunry] of Emanuel, in West-Lothian.*

Money, L.52, 14s. 8d. Bear, 3 c. Meal, 7 c. Salmon, n. 24.

*Ministry of Failford, in Kyle.*

Money, L.174, 6s. 7½d. Bear, 3 c. Meal, 15 c. 4 b.

*Premonstratensian Abbey of Fern, in Ross.*

Money, L.165, 7s. 1½d. Bear, 30 c. 2 b. 2 p. Oats, 1 c. 6 b.

*Cistercian Abbey of Glenluce [i. e. Vallis Lucis], in Galloway.*

Money, L.666, 13s. 4d.

*Cistercian Abbey [a Nunry] of Haddington, in East-Lothian.*

Money, L.308, 17s. 6d. Wheat, 7 c. 11 b. Bear, 40 c. 1 b. 2 f. 3 p. Meal, 11 c. This rental given up in *A* by a venerable lady, Elizabeth Hepburn, the Prioress, on the — day of February 1561, tells, that in the Convent are eighteen Nuns, each having in the year 4 b. wheat, 3 b. (meal no doubt) ; for flesh and fish to each of them for every day in the year, 8d. and for cloaths in the year to each, L.4. This

rental likewise observes that grassums, carriages, capons and poultry, are omitted. *S.* adds oats, with great variation.

*Augustinian Abbey of Holyrood-house, beside Edinburgh.*

*C.* Money, L.2,926, 8s. 6d. Wheat, 27 c. 10 b. Bear, 40 c. 9 b. Oats, 34 c. 15 b. 3 f. 3½ p. But *A.* and *S.* add these articles, viz.—Capons, n. 501. Hens, n. 24. Salmon, n. 24. Salt, 12 loads. *S.* alone, Swine, n. 3.

*Premonstratensian Abbey of Holywood, in Nithsdale.*

*C.* and *S.* Money, L.425. *A.* L.394, 18s. 8d. And there is likewise in *A.* another rental as far back as the year 1544, containing L.700. Meal, 19 c. 14 b. 3 f. Bear, 9 b. 3 f. Malt, 1 c.

*Augustinian Abbey of Jedburgh, in Teviotdale.*

*N.B.*—In *S.* there are annexed to this Abbey Restennet and Cannabie, and so is Restennet in *C.* *A.* and *C.* Money, L. 974, 10s. Wheat, 2 c. 2 b. Bear, 23 c. Meal, 36 c. 13 b. 1 f. 1 p. But *S.* gives in Money, L.1,274, 10s., and it may be supposed that this addition of L.300 arises from one or both the other Priories. Omitted cains, customs, &c.

*Augustinian Abbey of Inchaffray, in Strathearn.*

Money, L.666, 13s. 4d.

*Augustinian Priory of Inchmahomo, in Perthshire.*

Money, L.234. Bear, 7 c. Meal, 59 c. 13 b. 1 f. 3½ p.

*Cistercian Abbey of Kelso, in Teviotdale.*

*C.* mentions not this Abbey at all. *S.* connects with it the Priory of Lesmahago, and gives the rental thus:—Money, L.2,501, 16s. 8d. Wheat, 9 c. Bear, 52 c. 6 b. 2 f. Meal, 92 c. 12 b. 3 f. 1 p. Oats, 1 c. 3 b. Hay, 1 fiddler. Pepper, 1 pound. In *A.* is contained a great deal concerning this Abbey, yet I could perceive nothing clear and satisfactory. Here follow some of the summa's, viz. Money, L.2,057. Wheat, 9 c. Bear, 40 c. 4 b. 3 f. 1 p. Meal, 65 c. 6 b. 2 f. 3 p. Oats, 8 b.

Another is, Abbey of Kelso and Lesmahago, Money, L.1,682, 5s. 6d. Kelso victual by [*i. e.* besides] Lesmahago,

Meal, 91 c. 4 b. Bear, 91 c. 4 b. Lesmahago sedinker [f. asunder] Meal, 28 c. 1 b. 3 f. 3 p. Bear, 12 c. 1 b. 2 f. 2½ p.

Another is, Money, L.1,983, 17s. 8d. Wheat, 3 c. Bear, 30 c, 11 b. 2 f. Meal, 57 c. 14 b. Oats, 8 b.

*Tyronensian Abbey of Kilwinning, in the Shire of Airc.*

C. Money, L.850, 3s. 4d. Wheat, 8 b. Bear, 14 c. 1 b. 3 f. 3 p. Meal, 67 c. S. has no rental of this Abbey; and A. reaches not the West Country where it is situated.

The Book of Annexation contains the rental thus:—L.355, 3s. 10d. Bear, 9 b. 2 f. 3 p. Meal, 1 c. 8 b. 3 f. 2½ p. Stirks [bullocks] n. 13. Capons, n. 140. Hens, n. 106. Cheese, 269 st. Peats, 9 fuir.

*Cistercian Abbey of Kinloss, in Murray.*

A. Money, L.1,152, 1s. Victual in Bear and Meal, 47 c. 11 b. 1 f. 3 p. C. Bear, 47 c. 14 b. 1 f. 2 p. Oats, 10 b. 3 f. Wedders, n. 34. Geese, n. 41. Capons, n. 60. Poultry, n. 125.

From this rental are marked the following deductions, viz. "To fourteen Monks for habit-silver, ilk Monk haiffand 50s. be zeir, L.35. *Item*, For thair fische and flesche be zeir, ilk ane haiffand 8d. in the day for thair flesche, and 2d. in the day for thair fische, L.93. *Item*, For thair fyir, buttir, candill, spice, and Lenton meat, L.12. *Item*, For braid and drink, ilk ane of thame haiffand in the zeir 19b. 1f. 2p. extending in the hail to 16 c. 15 b. 1 p." And among other deductions is, "L.40 to Mr Johne Ferrarius for his pensoun, quhilk he hes under the commoun seill of the place, for his lyfytyme zeirliche."

*Priory of Lesmahago, in Clidsdale.*

Besides what is said of this Priory in the Abbey of Kelso, there is in A. a very distinct rental of its revenue, drawn up in the year 1556, in the Latin tongue, extending to, Money, L.1,214, 4s. 6d. Bear, 15 c. 8 b. 1 f. 2 p. Meal, 41 c. 8 b. 3 f. Oats, 4 c. 3 b.

*Tyronensian Abbey of Lindores, in Fife.*

A. Money, L.2,240, 14s. 4d. Wheat, 11 c. 12 b. 3 f. 3 p. Bear and Malt, 40 c. 7 b. 1 f. Meal, 49 c. 5 b. 3 f. Oats,

2 c 7 b. “ Omittit, grassumes, entrey-silver, zairds, fische-ingis, capons, poultrei, caynes, customes, martis, carriages, and uthir dewties.”

*Augustinian Priory of St Mary Isle, in Galloway.*

Money, L.307, 11s. 4d.

*Cistercian Abbey of Melrose, in Teviotdale.*

C. Money, L.1,144, 15s. 4d. Wheat, 19 c. 9 b. Bear, 77 c. 3 b. Meal, 14 c. Oats, 47 c. 1 b. 2 f. Butter, 105 st. Salt, 8 c. S. in some years agrees, and in other years disagrees from C., and it adds, cane-fowls, called also muir-fowls, n. 376. Capons, n. 24. Peats, 340 load. A. Money, L.1,758. Wheat, 13 c. 9 b. Bear, 56 c. 5 b. 1 f. Meal, 78 c. 13 b. 1 f. Oats, 43 c. 10 b. Capons, n. 104. Poultry, n. 520. Butter, 105 st. Salt, 8 c. Peats, 340 load. 500 carriages. With this S. sometimes agrees.

Out of this rent assignation is made to eleven Monks and three Portioners, of 20 merks to each. *Item*, Wheat, 4 b. Bear, 1 c. Meal, 2 c. to the Monks, and the measures are said to be country-mett. *N.B.*—This country to this day uses a measure different from the rest of the Kingdom.

In the books of A. and S. there is a particular rental of the pension of Melross money, L.1,060.

*Augustinian Priory of Monimusk, in Aberdeenshire.*

A. and C. Money, L.400. S. L.384.

*Cistercian Abbey of New Abbey, or Sweetheart, in Galloway.*

Money, L.682.

*Cistercian Abbey of Newbottle, in Mid-Lothian.*

C. and S. Money, L.1,334. Wheat, 15 b. Bear, 15 b. Oats, 5 c. 10 b. A. Money, L.1,413, 1s. 2d., but the victual is *in cumulo* 120 bolls. And yet there is added after—Wheat, 6 c. 3 b. Bear, 3 c. 5 b. 2 p. White Oats, 15 c. 10 b. 2 f. This rental given up by Mark, Commendator thereof; and among other disbursements is L.240 to six aged, decrepit, and recanted Monks.

*Cistercian Abbey [a Nunry] of North-Berwick, in  
Mid-Lothian.*

A. and C. Money, L.556, 17s. 8d. Wheat, 9 c. 12 b. Bear, 19 c. 4 b. Oats, 14 c. 4 b. A. Pease and Beans, 3 c. C. 9 b. A. Salmon, 6 b. C. L.1. 9 b. ditto. A. Malt, 1 b. 3 f. 3 p. Oxen and Cows, n. 11. S. 18 Oxen, 13 Cows. In this Convent are eleven Nuns, to each of whom is assigned L.20.

*Cluniac Abbey of Paisley, in the Shire of Renfrew.*

Money, L.2,468. Bear, 40 c. 12 b. Meal, 72 c. 3 b. 3 f. 1½ p. Oats, 43 c. 1 b. 1 f. 1 p. Cheese, 705 st.

*Ministry of Peebles.*

Money, L.323, 13s. 4d.

*Augustinian Priory of Pittenweem, in Fife.*

Money, L.412, 12s. 6d. Wheat, 4 c. 5 b. Bear, 7 c. 2 b. Meal, 4 c. 12 b. 2 f. 1½ p. Oats, 7 c. 2 b. 1 f. 3½ p. Pease, 1 c. 11 b. Salt, 24 c.

*Reformed Cistercian Priory of Pluscardy, in Murray.*

C. Money, L.525, 10s. 1½d. Wheat, 1 c. 1 b. 2 f. Bear, 51 c. 4 b. 3 f. Salmon, L.30. A. agrees in Money and Salmon. Wheat, 1 c. 1 b. 2 f. Dry multures, 9 c. 11 b. Victual, Malt, Meal and Bear, 51 c. 4 b. 3 f. 1 p. Oats, 5 c. 13 b.

This rental, sign'd by the Œconomus in 1561, has, among other deductions, to the sustentatioun of fyve Monks, ilk ane of thame in kething and habit-silver, L.16, and to ilk ane of thame in victual, 1 c. 5 b. And Note, the wages to the master-cook, porter, baker, gardener and malt-maker, is 14 bolls to each. Grassums, cains, customs, poultry, capons, &c. omitted.

*Augustinian Priory of Portmoak, in the Shire of Kinross.*

Money, L.111, 13s. 4d. Bear, 1 c. 12 b. Oats, 4 c. 8 b.

*Augustinian Priory of Restennet, in Angus. See it in  
Jedburgh.*

*Cistercian Abbey of Saulseat [i. e. Sedes animarum], in Galloway.*

*C.* Money, L.253, 6s. 7½d. and adds no more. Nor is there any thing of this Abbey in *A.* But *S.* gives the rental thus: Money, L.333, 6s. 7d. Bear, 7 c. 8 b. Meal, 13 c. 4 b. 2 f. Oats, 6 c. Capons, 13d. Wax, 1 pd.

*Augustinian Abbey of Scone, in Perthshire.*

Money, L.1,140, 6s. 6d. Wheat, 16 c. 2 f. Bear, 73 c. 13 b. 2 f. 2 p. Meal, 62 c. Oats, 18 c. 3 b. Salmon, L.1. Of this rent *A.* says, there is assigned to the Convent, consisting of eighteen persons, the Prior having double allowance; Money, L.352, 3s. 4d. Wheat, 6 c. 12 b. Meal, 7 c. 1 b. 3 f. Bear, 22 c. 12 b. 2 f.

*Ministry of Seotland-well, in Kinross.*

Money, L.102. Bear, 2 c. 11 b. Meal, 5 c. 11 b. 3 f. 3½ p.

*Priory [a Nunry] of Siens,<sup>1</sup> beside Edinburgh.*

Money, L.219, 6s. 8d. Wheat, 8 b. Bear, 6 b. Salmon, 1 b.

*Augustinian Priory of Strathfillan, in Perthshire.*

Money, L.40. This from *C.* Anno 1575.

*Premonstratensian Abbey of Tunland.*

I find no rental of this Abbey separate from the Bishoprick of Galloway; which see.

*Premonstratensian Priory of Whitern, in Galloway.*

*C.* Money, L.1,016, 3s. 4½d. Bear, 15 c. 14 b. 2 f. 3½ p. Meal, 51 c. 15 b. 1 f. 3½ p. *S.* Money, L.1,159, 3s. 4d. Bear, 16 c. 6 b. 3 f. Meal, 53 c. 9 b. 2 f.

Having thus laid before the readers these foregoing rentals, they may likewise know, that by the collector's books it appears that the whole money arising from the thirds of these, and all the other benefices of the Kingdom for the first year, amounted to (Rests included) L.49,956, 18s. The Wheat to

<sup>1</sup> So denominated from St Katherine of Sienna, in Italy, for whom these Nuns had a peculiar veneration.

123 c. 2 f.  $1\frac{2}{3}$  p. The Bear to 689 c. 11 b.  $\frac{1}{3}$  p. The Meal to 551 c. 4 b. 2 f.  $\frac{1}{2}$  p. Malt, 10 c. 10 b. 1 f.  $1\frac{1}{3}$  p. Oats, 314 c. 2 b. 2 f.  $\frac{1}{3}$  p. Victual, called cost in Orkney, 26 last, 7 meil, 1 setting, 7 mark. Other victual in Orkney, 7 c. 8 b. Pease and Beans, 5 c. 4 b. 1 f.  $1\frac{1}{3}$  p. (The amounts of the other payments are so clear, that they need not be here inserted.) And it appears also by the same books, that the total sum of money, victual, and all other payments whatsoever, converted into money, for that single year, amounted to L.72,491, 13s.  $3\frac{1}{2}$ d.<sup>1</sup> And now it may be reasonably expected I should also afford some satisfaction to the manner and uses to which this large sum was employed. And first, as to the manner; the same was all disposed of by warrants subscribed by the Queen. Next, as to the uses; I perceive by the same books still, that the Superintendents, Ministers, Exhorters and Readers throughout the Kingdom, received L.24,231, 17s. 7d. besides these following separate articles to four Superintendents and to John Knox, viz. to the Superintendent of Angus<sup>2</sup> and Mearns; of Wheat, 5 c. Bear, 10 c. Meal, 0. Oats, 0. To the Superintendent of Fife; Wheat, 2 c. Bear, 5 c. Meal, 2 c. Oats, 3 c. To the Superintendent of Lothian; Wheat, 2 c. Bear, 4 c. 5 b. Meal, 1 c. Oats, 3 c. 8 b. 2 f. 2 p. To the Superintendent of the West; Wheat, 2 c. Bear, 5 c. Meal, 3 c. Oats, 3 c. 8 b. To John Knox, Minister;<sup>3</sup> Wheat, 2 c. Bear, 6 c. Meal, 0. Oats, 4 c. But I can find nothing at all marked to John Kerswell, Superintendent of Argile and the Isles; perhaps because no thirds were hitherto given up, nor received from these bounds. Only among the other debursements of money made by the collector, I see L.26, 13s. 4d. given to Mr John Kerswell, Prebend of the Chapel Royal of Stirling; and this is the first time I have found any thing concerning this man.

In the article of victual given to the Superintendents, there is likewise of Bear, 2 c. 5 b. 1 f, and of Meal, 2 c. 8 b.

<sup>1</sup> Several small benefices had been omitted at first to be given in, the sum whereof in the year 1578, by the same books, extended to L.1,389, 10s.

<sup>2</sup> In all the Books of Assignment, which are pretty regular after the year 1573, I can observe no stipend marked to any of the Superintendents except to this one, which amounts to L.786, paid partly in money, partly in wheat, bear, and meal.

<sup>3</sup> In C, for the year 1568, I see L.333, 6s. 8d. given to Mr Knox.

l f. 1 $\frac{1}{3}$  p. marked to Alexander Bishop of Galloway ; and in the article of money, where he gets the remittance of his own thirds, he is stiled Bishop of Galloway, Commendator of Tunland, and Overseer there.

Another article of discharge to the Collector is, L.1,018 given by the Queen to so many Friars ; and L.754, 3s, 11d. given to a certain number of Nuns : And the names of all the Friars and Nuns are set down.

But the grand gulph that swallowed up the whole extent of the thirds, were pensions given gratis by the Queen to those about the Court ; and remittances of their thirds to several Bishops, Abbots, Priors, &c. of which last the Earl of Murray was always sure to obtain the thirds of his Priories of St Andrews and Pittenweem. The Earl of Argyle likewise comes in for a good large share, and the Lord Erskine for no less ; and, if I mistake it not, the pensionaries, both of Church and State, were mostly such as followed the new form of religion.

This was the manner, and these the uses to which the monies arising from this new fund were employed ; and so far was the Queen or the State from reaping any benefit therefrom, that in all the many articles of debursement made by the Collector, I could hardly perceive any one political article except L.9,000 for payment of the Queen's guard, and L.303, 13s. 8d. for palliesses to ditto. I almost perswade my self that it shall not be takin in bad part that I set down this other single debursement, viz. " 150 franks, in Scots money L.75, to David Riccio, valet of the chamber."

Follows here the price in money of the greatest part of those things which compose the rents of the Nation, by means whereof we can enter into the full knowledge of the true value of the foregoing rentals.

In the beginning of the Book of Assignations for the year 1573, are inserted the following prices of victual, viz.—

In Cathness, the victual 20 merks the chalder. Ross, L.16 the chalder. Murray, alsmekill. Aberdene, L.16 the chalder. Angus and Mearns, wheat, L.24 the chalder ; bear, L.20 the chalder ; meal, 20 merks the chalder. Stratherne, alsmekill as Angus and Mearns. Fyfe, wheat, L.26, 13s. 4d. the chalder ; bear, L.21, 6s. 8d. the chal-

der ; meal, L.16 the chalder ; oats, 20 merks the chalder. Lothian, alsmekill as in Fyfe. Merse and Teviotdale, alsmekill, with Lothian mett. Nithisdale, L.16 the chalder, with Lothian mett. Galloway, L.16 the chalder, with the same mett. Kyle, Carriet, and Cunninghame, L.20 the chalder of victual. Cliddisdail, Renfrew, and Lenox, L.20. the chalder of victual. Stirlineshire, L.20 the chalder of victual. Orkney, the last of cost, 20 merks ; barrel of butter, L.8 ; barrel of oyl, L.5, 6s. 8d.

In the Book of Assumptions these prices are found scattered up and down, viz. bear and meal, 10s. the boll ; oats, 5s. the boll ; salmon, L.4 the barrel ; mairts, L.1, 10s. the piece ; wedders, 5s. the piece ; poultry, 4s. the dozen ; capons, 8s. the dozen ; swine, from 7 to 10s. the piece ; geese, 1s. the piece.

In the Collector's books the converted prices are thus set down, viz. Wheat, L.1. the boll ; bear, L.1, 13s. 4d. the boll ; meal, L.1, 13s. 4d. the boll ; malt, L.2 the boll ; Rye, L.2 the boll ; pease and beans, L.2 the boll ; oats, 10s. the boll. Cost of Orkney, L.5 the last ; victual of Orkney, L.1, 5s. the boll ; butter, L.18, the last ; oyl, L.1 the barrel ; flesh of Orkney, L.3, the last. Mairts of Aberdeen, L.2, 13s. 4d. the piece ; ditto. of Beaully, L.2 the piece ; ditto of Orkney, L.1, 6s. 8d. the piece. Mutton of Aberdeen, 9s. the piece ; ditto of Kinloss, 6s. the piece. Capons of Aberdeen, 12s. the dozen ; ditto of Kinloss, 10s. the dozen. Swine of Aberdeen, L.1 the piece ; kids, 1s. the piece ; poultry, 4s. the dozen ; geese, 1s. the piece ; muir-fowls, 4s. the dozen ; cheese, 6s. 8d. the stone.

As by these foregoing prices it will evidently appear that the victual is now risen about five times higher than it was formerly, and that all other eatables are risen far above victual in this present time by what they were formerly, in comparison of victual ; so also will the difference of proportion be readily discerned between silver and the necessaries of life in that time, and the same silver and necessaries of life now in this time. Silver, if considered by its arbitrary and extrinsick value, that is, by its denomination of pounds, shillings, and pence, has formerly been seven times, at the least, more valuable in the general than it is now a-days ; because one pound, shilling, or penny, would purchase seven

times the quantity of the necessaries of life<sup>1</sup> (victual and other eatables being mixed together), than it can do now. But if silver be considered by its fixed intrinsick value, *i. e.* by its weight in pounds, ounces, and drops, it would only purchase about three times and a half more the quantity of eatables than it does now, by reason that the denomination or the extrinsick value of silver is now become double of what it was then; so that one ounce of silver yields now with us three pounds of denomination, whereas in that time it yielded only one pound ten shillings: And we find, that as the denomination or extrinsick value of money came gradually to be raised, the prices of victual and all eatables did gradually increase likewise, tho' indeed these with a greater proportion, by reason, I suppose, of the greater quantity or plenty of silver in all parts of Europe from the silver and golden mines of America. Thus, in the year 1587, silver is at 40s. or L.2 per ounce, and victual at L.32 per chalder. Vid. Ja. VI, Parl. II, c. 52. Upon the whole matter, this much seems to be certain, that for all domestick uses, one hundred pounds of the money of the time we are now treating of, was, at a moderate computation, as valuable in all points as seven hundred pounds are now a-days, because the one did purchase as many necessaries then, as the other will do now.

Before I leave this subject of the thirds of the benefices, I'll take the freedom to suggest a scruple which arises to me from this following record of Privy Council; and it is this, viz. whether the Queen's Collectors of the thirds did not lift the entire rents of the benefices, and thereafter deliver to the beneficed persons the two remaining parts? Besides the suggestion of this scruple (which however I will not pretend to say is sufficiently justified), this record will likewise plainly discover the bad treatment which some, at least of the beneficed men (such probably who were most averse to the new form), received from the Comptroller and Collectors of their rents. And the other record which I here also sub-

<sup>1</sup> There is one article in the Collector's discharge which somewhat surprised me, viz. "To Johne de Spynaceo, Frenchman, L.40 to buy a horse." It would seem that either horses have been very dear in this kingdom at that time, or this must have been a finer horse than might be supposed necessary for such a person.

join, will in like manner discover the same sort of treatment which the poor Monks, &c. have received from those Abbots who complied with the new model.

*Apud Edinburgh, 14 Decembris, Anno 1563.*

SEDERUNT—*Jacobus Moraviæ Comes, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Willielmus Marascalle Comes; Johannes Dominus Erskin, Patricius Dominus Ruthcen, Thesaurarius, Secretarius, Clericus Registri, Clericus Justiciariæ.*

ANENT the petitioun and clame gevin in befor the Quenis Majestie and Lordis of hir Secreit Counsale be Dene Adame Forman, sumtyme Priour of the Charterhouse besyde Perth, aganis Johne Wischart of Pittarro, Knicht, Comptrollar to oure Soverane Lady, makand mention, that howbeit hir Hienes had commandit oft and sindrie tymes hir said comptrollar to answer the said Dene Adame of the frutes of the said place, the third thairof first tane up to hir Grace's behalf, with ane pensioun to Adame Stewart: And last of all, be deliverance and advyis of the saids Lordis of Counsale, berand in effect that the said Comptrollar suld tak sik ordour with the said Dene Adame, that hir Hienes suld heir na forther complaint. Nochttheles hir Grace's command and ordinance forsaid is on nawayis obeyit, nocht only to the said Dene Adamis greit hurt, bot als of the puir, agit, and seik men, brether of the said place, and ar drevin to sik extreme povirtie and indigence, throw lack of the obedience to the saids commandis and ordinances, quhilk the said Priour knew and schew wes to be, albeit the Quenis Grace wald nocht beleif, quhill the deid self presentlie previs, that howbeit sum credite thai had afor this amangis godly and peaceable persones, quha of reuthfull compassioun wes helplie unto thame, lippynand, [*i. e.* looking for,] as reasone cravis, for recompence and payment, quhilk cannocht be maid sa lang as this inobedience is unremedit, with this thair credite is fastlie tynt: And albeit the said Comptrollar allege, that it is nocht gottin fra the tennentis; his indiscretioun (gif it durst be sayd) is to be blamit thairof, quha nocht only in ane part to hurt the said Priour, in ane uther part alsweill to hurt utheris, is to satisfie his indiscrete appetite, throw sik cullor, sylis the Quenis Grace *simpliciter*, and oppressis hir Hienes'

puir liegis ; for he and his factouris nocht only refuse to tak the vittalis in dew tyme, and quhen thai wer in place, and mycht and wald haif bene payit, and wer offerit to pay ; bot als burdingis thame with exorbitant prices,<sup>1</sup> as at mair lenth is contenit in the said supplicatioun.

This business is continued in several diets of Privy Council, until at last we see no more of it ; and so it appears to have been altogether dropt.

The other record is this :—

*Apud Edinburgh, 18 Januarij, Anno 1562-3.*

**SEDERUNT**—*Jacobus Dux de Chatellaraunt, Jacobus Comes de Mortoun, Cancellarius, Willielmus Maitland de Lethingtoun, junior, Secretarius, Johannes Wischart de Pittarro, Miles, Rotulator, Johannes Bellenden de Auchnoule, Miles, Clericus Justiciaræ.*

**ANENT** the supplicatioun gevin in to the Quenis Majestie be Johne Harvy, Thomas Guld, Adame Scot, and George Simsoun, aganis Mark, Commendatar of the Abbay of Newbottill, makand mentioun that he put thame fra thair levings thir thre zeris bigane, and he hes intromettit, and intromettis with the hale frutis of the said Abbey, and sensyne wald nevir gif thame worth ane penny to leif on ; and in the mene tyme thai haif spendit all that thai had, and is awand mekill in the cuntrie that thai tuke in thair extreme povirtie and necessitie to thair sustentatioun, and dailie molestit and cravit therefore, as at mair lenth is contenit in the said supplicatioun. And anent the charge gevin to the said Commendatar to compeir befor the Quenis Grace and Lordis of hir Secreit Counsale, at ane certane day bigane, to answer to the said complaint : The said Commendatar being personalie present, and the said Johne,

<sup>1</sup> How exorbitant soever the prices might be which the Comptroller made the tenants pay to him ; yet it is very obvious, by the converted prices just now set down, that he and the Collectors have made the excrease become a perquisite of their own, seeing the prices they gave up in their charge are far from being exorbitant ; nor has the Queen reaped any advantage thereby.

Thomas, Adame, and George, siklike being personalie present ; The Lordis of Secreit Counsale decernis and ordanis the said Commendatar to content, pay, and thankfullie deliver to ilk ane of the personis above-written, the soun of twentie pundis money of Scotland, betwixt this and the secund day of Februar nixt tocum, and that in contentatioun and full satisfiatioun to thame of thair full sustentatioun, leving and furnesching of all zeris and tymes bigane befor the date heiroyf, restand, awand, undeliverit to thame. And siclike, decernis and ordanis the said Commendatar to content and pay to ilk ane of thame zeirlye, in tyme cuming, at twa termes in the zeir, Whitsunday and Martimes in Winter, be evin portionis, the soun of twentie pundis for thair sustentatioun, leving and furnesching, ay and quhill farthir ordoure be takin thereintill, and letteris to be direct heirupoun, gif neid beis.

*N.B.*—This and many other Abbots, by conforming themselves to the new model of religion, had the interest to get their Abbacies transferred to them or erected into temporal Lordships ; and the other Abbacies were generally either gifted away to some great families, or erected into temporal titles for them, after the death of the present Abbots, or their forfeiture in the troubles which ensued upon the Queen's misfortunes.

When the preceding list of Bishopriks and religious places was working at the press, a learned gentleman, of the profession of law, desired I might insert likewise a list of all the parsonages within the Kingdom, assuring me the same would be of use in adjusting the debateable rights of the modern titulars, as himself had experienced in his practice. In compliance with this desire, I give here a list of them in the same order as they are in the Collector's books, dispersed here and there among the other benefices ; and I suppose the ranking them according to the several shires (as they are in these books) will also be found to be the more useful, both in respect that there may be two or three of these parsonages of the same name and appellation, and likewise that the titulars and heritors in the several shires may more easily discern where this or that particular parsonage is situated.

*List of Parsonages.*

IN Orkney : St Colm in Sanday, Crosskirk in Sanday, Westray, Stanehouse. Inverness : Assint, Kildonan, Far, Spittal, Kiltern, Urray, Logy in Ross-shire, Cannesby, Kilmure, Lymlair, Rosken, Contan, Kincardin in Ross, Alves, Cullycuddin, Orlík, Dunnet, Dingwell, Kincardin in Strathspey, Kirkmichael. Murray : Bonoth, Aberlowre and Skeirdustan, Abdy and Cromdail, Dipple and Ruthven, Inverkeithny, Rothés, Moy, Spynie, Kingussy, Londychtie, Croy and Moy, Duthel, Petty, Unthank, Boleskene, Alwy. Aberdeen and Banff : Aberdowre, Toweh, Tullynessil, Lonmay, Une, Tyrie, Ochterless, Crimond, Rayne, Tureff, Spittal at Old Aberdeen, Methlick, Clat and Rynie, Kincardin-O-Neil, Belhelvy, Snaw, Invernochty, Auckindoir, Fetternier, Cushnie, Forglan, Murthlack, Kinkell, Monimusk, Rathven, Philorth, Coddilstains, Cruden, Forbes, Botarie and Elchis, Kinnoir and Dunbennet, Dalmaok, Furvy, [now over-blown with sand,] Glass, Essy. Forfar and Kincardin : Kinnell, Nava, Eccles-John, Logy-Montrose, Idvay, Lundy, Edzel, Kilmoir, Finevin, Invercarity, Newdisk, Cookstoun, Kirkbuddo, Buttergill, Cortachy, Lethnet, Lochley, Monyfuith, Kinnettles, Benholm, Fetteresso, Dunnotar, Glenbervy, Arbuthnot, Durris, Nig, Menmure, Tannades, Fern, Essy, Dunloppy, Fetter-cairn, Banchory, Deveny, Strathmartin, Balumby. Fife : Cleish, Ochterderry, Terbat, Tory, Methill, Kirkforther, Ballingery, Flisk. Perth : Abirnyte, Comery, Glendovan, Forteviot, Weyme, Blair-in-Atholl, Strowan, Kilmaveynok, Lud, Culless, Kinowl, Muckarsy, Lancardy, Lundeiff, Creiff-Secundo, Rattray, Abernethy, Benvy, Monydie, Muckert, Rannoch, Samadoss, Creif-Tertio, Aberfoil, Tullyellen. Striline : Slamannan-moor, Killern. Lanerk : Kilbryde, Thankertoun, Dolfinton, Douglas, Cambuslang, Dunsyre, Carmichael, Carnwath, Glasgow, Heartside, Torrence, Carstairs, Lamington, Cobinton, Dalziel, Codquen, Liberton, Crawford-John, Cowter, Wellstoun, Biggar, Glasford. Renfrew : Govan, Erskin, Eglesholme, Renfrew. Dumbarton : Cardros, Inchealzeoch, Luss, Bothernok, Campsay. Air : Cumnock, Air-Tertio, Commonel, Invertig, Terbolton. Wigtoun : Wigton, Kellis, Balmaçlellan, Dalry, Zudeik,

Staniekirk, Kilbride, Loncaster. Kirkeudbright : Kirkpatrick-Juxta, Partoun, Kirkerist. Annandale : Cumbertrees, Mouswald, Huton, Hoddum, Moffet, Wamfray, Lochmaben, Johnston, Reidkirk, Trailtrow, Garvel, Dalton-Meikle and Dalton-Little, Annand. Dumfries : Durrisdair, Kirkbryde, Kirkmichael, Sanchar, Kirkmacho, Rowel, Tynwald, Kirkpatrick-Iron-Gray. Berwick : Dunse, Hiltoun, Upselinton, Chirnsyde, Whitesom, Cranschaws, Lauder. Roxburgh : Bedrewl, Welton, Askirk, Abbotsrule, Ancrum, Suddoun, Merbottle, Auldroxburgh, Yettane. Pebles : Glenquhome, Kilbocho, Newlands, Lyne, Skraline, Lintoun, Kirkurd. Selkirk : Minto, Hawik. Linlithgow : Aldeathie, Ecclesmachan, Strabrok. Edinburgh : Keith, Calder, Kirknewton, Pentland, Curry, Melvil, Restalrig, Penyecook, Carington, Gogar. Haddington : Dunbar, Hauch, Morham, Spot, Auldhamstocks. There is one other parsonage, viz. Ardewnan ; but I could not discover in what shire it is situated, though it seems to be in Perthshire.

*N.B.*—I omitted to tell that in the Collector's books there is mention of the Trinity Friars of Aberdeen, whose rental is marked no more but L.54, 1s. 1½d. Those who are versed in these matters will know that there is a Ministry of these Friars said to have been at Aberdeen ; but it would appear the revenue has been so low that this title of dignity has been neglected about this time.

II. [iii. 189.]—ACT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESTORING  
THE BISHOP OF ORKNEY.

*Edinburgh, 10 Julij, 1568.*

TOUTCHING the Bischop of Orkney's suspensione from the Ministrie the last Assemblie, and his obedience and submissione, the Kirk restoris him again to the Ministrie of the Word ; and als ordains him on some Sunday, quhen he best may, for waiknes of his body, to mak an sermoun in the Kirk of Halieruid-house, and in the end thereof to confess his offence in marieing the Queene with the Erle of Bothwell ; and desire the Kirk thair present for the time, to forgive him his offence and selander given be him in doing the forenamit act : The quhilk he promised to do.

III. [iii. 192.]—ACT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ALLOWING OF  
MR JOHN CRAIG'S PURGATION.

*Edinburgh, 6 Julij, 1569.*

ANENT the defence given in the Assemblie haldin in December 1567, be Mr John Craig, ane of the Ministers of Edinburgh, twitching the proclaiming the Queene and the Erle of Bothwell: The said defence beand publictlie read, the haill pointis thairin containit be the haill Assemblie maturelie considerit; it was found be the haill brethren, that he had done the dewtie of a faithful Minister, and had committit nathing sclanderous to sik as hes reichteous judgement, in respect of the defence forsaid, quhilk was found baith godly and sufficient for declaratioun of his innocencie thairanent, quhilk the haill Assemblie declareit and testifeit, and ordanit the same to be notifeit to all and sundrie.

ADDITION TO THIS APPENDIX OF BOOK III. WHICH MAY RELATE  
TO P. 501. [iii. 33.]

*Copy of a Letter from Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crosraguel, to James Bethune, Archbishop of Glasgow, 7th April, 1559.*

MY LORDE,—Eftir all hertlie commendatioun of service, I resavit twa wryttingis of zour Lordschip fra this berar this 7 of Apryll; and sall nocht fail (God willing) to meit zour L. at Glasgo at zour seynze, [assize court,] accordyng to zour wrytting. As to the secret purpois quhilk zour L. wryttis to me, I haif herd little or nathing therof as zett, bot sall labour to gett the intelligence that I can, and thereftir adverteis zour L. with dilligence; therefore referris ferther in this purpois, till the tyme I speik zour L. quhilk salbe (God willing) as said is. Ferther pleis zour L., to witt, accordyng to zour wrytting sent to me with the Priour of the Black Friars, I passit on Pasch evin till Ayr, and thair remainit aught dayis. Afoir my cumin, Willok had prechit with intolerabill exclamatiouns, cryand out on the Mess, persuadand the haill peple that he exponit certane Scripturis allegit be him, truelie conforme to the jugement of the Doctoris, and allegit thame to be expresslie agains the Mess, and the ydolatrie usit be it. The names of the Doctoris quhilk he allegeit,

wer thir, Irenæus, Chrysostome, Hilarius, Origene, and Tertulliane. Fra hand [immediately] eftir that the mater wes schawin to me, I persavit the craft of the knaif [knave], quha belevand to haif gottin na recountar, allegeit sic Doctoris, belevand thair Workis had nocht bene in this cuntre, quhairthrow he mycht apply thame as he pleisit : It fortunit I had all the Doctoris he allegeit, and diverse uthers, quha treittis *quod cæna is sacrificium*, speciallie Irenæus and Chrysostome ; I persaivand the peple abusit in the maner, I wes constreinzit on my conscience to oppone my self to this wickit lymmaris [villain's] heresie and doctrine, and nochttheless eftir ane generall maner, and causit my wryttingis to be maid manifest to all the honest men of the town : Schortlie thair wes diverse wryttingis past amangs us, sic as I beleif zour L. hes nocht herd of befoir, of the quhilk zour L. sall resave the just copie. For conclusioun, I draif the lymmar to that point, that I constreinzit him to refuse the interpretatioun of the Doctoris allegeit be him and all utheris, bot sa far as he thocht thay war agreable with the Worde of God, quhilk wes as gud as ryeht nocht. Quhen the day of ressoning come, I causit ane gentilman of this cuntre (quha is very expert) pass with ane notar and witnesses to the house quhair our ressoning sould haif beyn, and tak documentis that I wes reddy to fulfill my promise conforme to my wryttingis ; and that the ressoning ceissit on his pairt, in sa far as he gaif me nevir answir to my wryttingis, nor zit baid at his sayingis, as zour L. will cleirlye persair be baith our wryttingis. Zour L. sall undirstand, that quhen the day of our ressoning come (quhilk wes Sounday last wes), thair convened above four or five hundred to fortifie him : Truelie, my Lord, and I had pleissit, I culd haif beyn twyse als mony ; for my broder sone, my Lord Eglinton, and all thair friendis and servandis wes in reddines as I wald pleisse to charge, bot alwyse I wold nolder suffer thameselfis nor zit thair servandis to cum ; for gif I had done utherwyse, it had not failzied cummyr [trouble] : Thairfoir I wes allutterely cumpanied with religious men, with swa mony gentilmens as I causit bere witnes to the mater ; for I tuke documentis baith att the mercat-croce and in the Parish-Kirke oppinlie, he beand at his precheing, of the quhilk the principallis of the broder [the brother's supporters] wes mervelouslie miscontentit. I assuyr zour L.

my Lord of Glencarne did not his pairt to me, as the berar will schaw zour L. at lenth. Eftir my opinioun, this cuntre may be easilie helpit, quhilk to wryte to zour L. war owr prolix; thairfoir I referr it to our meitting, as said is. Nottheles thair is sum thingis quhilks wald be presently done (and that in ane verray secreit maner) as zour L. sall persais on the uther syde of the leafe; zit I may wryte *unnot* [a word] to zour L. quhilk the Laird of Lossynorys schew me, sayand that thair wes diverse of the new sect of the principallis that are in thir partis, that said till him, that I wes nocht qualifiet to resson with Willok, because he wes chosen Primat of thair religioun in this Realme, and I wes bot ane meyne man in our Estait; swa that thair wes nane qualifiet to resson with him bot my Lord of Sanct Androis. Prayand God, gif the haille actioun wer referrit to thame twa, swa thai had competent jugeis, for my opinioun. Als zour L. pleis, to witt, thair come ane of the brether to me, within twa dayes eftir that I had givin in my wryttingis aganis Willokis, and said, gif I pleissit, Willok wold cum himselfe, and ane boy with him, and speik with me in my awin chamber; quhilk I also refusit. Truelie, my Lord, Willok wryte nevir ane worde to me, bot he hes 20 or 24 landit men and gentilmen of his counsell, and causit evir the wryttingis to be deliverit to me, owther [either] quhen I wes passand to my bed, or to my supper: Quhairfoir zour L. man tak in pacience, albeit my answeris be not swa perfyte as myster [need] war; for truelie thai war wryttin in gryte haist, bot I held me evir fast at ane grounde. I pray zour L. appardone me that I molest zou with sic tryffils. I am swa hamelie with zour L. that I thinke I cannot abuse zou.

It will please zour L. to commend my hertlie service to my L. of Sanct Androis, and lat his L. knaw sic novellis as ar amang us and the brethir in this cuntre. I assure zour L. the Priour of the Black Friaris in Ayr, zour L. oratour and servand, did his pairt as become him to haif done in all sortis, and that richte manfully: Bot he wes alluterlie dissobeyit, and culd haif na entres in the Peroche-Kyrke; as I haif wryttin to the Quenis Grace, and als sent to hir Grace the copy of Willokis Colloquium and myne, sic as I beleif hir Grace hes not oftymis seyne of befoir. Zour L. will nocht beleif swa satisfiet as money are, that thai refuse the

jugement of the Doctoris towart the interpretatioun of the Scripturis ; for thai maid the cuntre till [to] beleif that the auld Doctoris war for thame all the way, and wald not beleif me for na sayings I culd say, speciallie some of my awin friendis, quhill now that it come till this prief. Willok and the rest of his counsell labourit earnestlie to sie gif I wald admitt the Scripture onlye juge, and be that meines to haif maid me contrarray to my awin buke ;<sup>1</sup> bot thair labouris wes in waist. This referris to the berrar, prayand God to haif your L. in his keiping. Att Mayboil, the 7 April 1559, be

Zour Lordschipis awin,

CORSRAGUELL.

*The first Writting generall.*

CORSRAGUELL.

QUHASUMEVIR will mayntene, byd att, and say, that the Mess is ydolatrie, I will preif him ane heretick be the express Worde of God ; conforme to the doctryne, jugement, and understanding of the maist aneant and godlie Wryttaris and Doctoris quhilk evir hes bene sen the tyme of Jesus Christ unto thir dayis ; and is contentit that he (quhasumevir he be) cheis twelf, sic as he thinkis gude, to be auditoris ; (quhilkis are men of resonable jugement and understanding) and I uthir twelf, providand that I be advertist 24 houris afoir hand, that I may bring all the Doctoris and auld Wryttaris that I may gett, to the effect that every manis allegiance may be seyng : And failzeing I do the samyn, God willing (as said is) I oblyss myself, be this my subscription, to be punist as ane heretick. Att Ayr, the 26 day of Marche, 1559.

WILLOK.

PROVOCKIT be this wrytting, I answer this for the present tyme ; quhasumevir affirmes that he is habill to preif the Papis Mess to be the Supper of the Lorde, or institutioun of Jesus Christ our Lorde, be the Worde of God, affirmis

<sup>1</sup> He means the book set forth by himself, under the title of "Ane Compendius Tractive," &c., an account of which book is immediately subjoined here.

that thyng quhilk he sall not be hable to preif thereby ; for I do affirme it to be nane of bayth, bot playn ydolatrie and vayn superstitioun : And I am contentit to admitt the conditioun expressit within the wrytting deliverit to me, the tyme and place beand appoyntit (openlie) be the Noble and Gentlemen of the schyr, quha (as I understand) will be in this town schortly, att quhais comeing advertysement sall be maid of the day and company, with the names of sic personis as is requyrit, aggreand to the number conteinit in the said wrytting. Att Ayr, the 27 day of Marche, 1559.

*Willok, eftir langer Adrysement.*

THESE may be to advertyse zou, that the day which wee have thought gude for disputatioun is Sounday nixt to cum, at ten houris of the klok afoir noon, in Sanct John's Kirk of Ayr, oppinlye, because I do teache my doctryne oppinlye befor the pepil thair. The auditoris, my Lord of Glencarne, my Lord Boyde, my Lord Uchiltre ; the Sherriff of Ayr, the Laird of Craigy, the Laird of Cesnock, the Laird of Bar, the Laird of Carnell, the Laird of Keris, the Laird of Rowallan, the Laird of Blantyre, the Laird of Dregarne, Robert Campbell of Kinzaneleugh, the Laird of Carleton, the Laird of Sornebeg, the Laird of Kelwode, twelf of this foirnaimit personis, conforme to zour awin wrytting, daittit att Ayr, the 26 day of this instant : The order of disputatioun to begin at Goddis Worde, as the said wrytting proportis ; desyryng zour answer in lykewise agane in wryte, with the names of the twelf personis to be send quhilkis ze cheis for zour pairt, to be delyverit to thir honorabyl berirs. At Ayr, the 29 day of Marche, 1559.

CORSRAGUELL.

MY answir to ane wrytting of John Willok, deliverit to me in the Gray Friaris Kirke of Ayr, the 29 day of Marche instant, by the Laird of Keris, is this—I am content on Sounday nixt to cum afoire none att ten houris of the knoke, to cum till ony lugene within the town of Ayr, and bring with me twelf resonable and honest men to be auditoris for my pairt, he bringand twelf sicklike ; providand always that there be na ma bot 24 personis allanerlie for baith the sydes, nolder in the house where wee ressonne, nor zit on the

back stairs, loftis, nor back dooris, because this samyne numer is sufficient to be auditoris; for I desyre nolder tumultuatioun, cummyr nor stryfe, bot only the just tryal of Goddis Worde, in sic maner as may be to the glore of God and quietness of the congregatioun; and in this maner foirsaid, I oblyss my self, be this my hand-wryte, with the grace of God, to preif him ane heretyke be Goddis Worde, conforme to the doctryne, jugement, and understanding of the maist anceant and godlie Wryttaris and Doctoris quhilkis evir hes bin syn the tyme of Jesus Christ untill thir dayes, gif he will saye and byd att that the Mess is ydolatrie; and I am content to begyn at Goddis Word to preif the samyn. Att Ayr, the penult day of Marche, the zeir of God, 1559.

## WILLOK.

GIF this uther wrytting lyke zou not, because of the desyred publick place, I am contentit, according as the letter deliverit to me offeris, to joyne and conveine in the Laird of Carnel's house in this town, having the nowmer that ze zoursel self desyre, desyring zou to proceid in the disputatioun, begynnyng with the Worde of God, according to the said letter, by whiche I am content also to be jugeit accordingly; and the said disputatioun to be upoun Sounday nixt to cum, att ten houris befor none, att the place foirsaid appoynetit. Zour answer wee requyer in wryttinge. At Ayr, this Wednesday, the penult day of Marche, 1559.

## CORSRAGUELL.

I HAVE receaved ane wrytting, to the quhilk I accorde all through, except that in the hinder-end thair of is ane worde quhilk may give occasioun of cavillatioun, superfluous stryfe and contentioun, rather than that our intent sall take effect: The worde is this—ze desyre that the ressoning begyn att the Worde of God (of the quhilk I am verray hartilie content); but quhar zee desyre to be jugeit be the Scripture, that is to mak bot ane endless pley; for quhy, zee will say that the Scripture is for zou, and I in lykwise will say it is for me; and appeirandlie wee are not able to have ane competent juge presentlie to decerne quhilk of us alleiges the Scripture maist truelie (and I desyre effectu-

ously that thair be na difference) : Quhairfor the maist competent jugeis quhilkis we can haif presentlie (in cace we differ for understanding of the Scripture) are the anceant Fatheris and Doctouris, sic as, Irenæus, Origenes, Cypriane, Chrysostome, Damascene, Gregor-Nazianzene, Hilarius, Hierome, Ambrose, Augustine, Theophylact and Tertullian, quhais wryttingis are a thousand zeir auld, and of quhome ane greit pairt sufferit martyrdome for Christ's sake ; and but dout, without affectioun, shaws truelie thair jugement toward the undirstanding of Goddis Worde : And on thys maner, quhilk is according to all my wryttingis, and as I am informit of honest men, was zour awin desyre and allegiance to resaiue the jugement of the Doctouris towart the true interpretatioun of the Scripture, swa that frute may be had of our ressoning. I am gladly content to keip day, tyme, place, and nowmer of personis contenit in zour last wrytting : Desyrand that ze be schortlie resolvit ; for this wrytting, and all the rest quhilkis I haif wryttin sen our first commonyng of this purpois, is but declaratioun of my first wrytting, quherby I will stand, and nolder eik nor pair [neither add nor take away], because I traist it sall be found be men of ressonable jugement, agreeable with Goddis Worde and all ressonne. Penultimo Marcij, 1559.

## WILLOK.

I HAIF receaved twa letteris this penult day of Marche, the first quhairof shawed that ze are content with the place, tyme, and company, and also that ze desyre the just tryal of Goddis Worde, and that ze are content to begyn the disputatioun att the samyn ; all quhilk I do well admitt and allow. But in the second, it apperis to me that ze think it sall be ane endless pley to stand att the jugement of the Scripturis, except I suld admitt the jugement of those Doctouris that ze name upoun the samyn. This may be thairfoir to geif zou advertisement, that my mynde is, and evir was, (as it may appeir by my letteris) to stand to the jugement of Goddis Worde onelie, be whiche all maner of heresies must be confoundit, as it evir hitherto hath bene : And the mynde of those and uther Doctouris, I will gladlie admitt, sa lang as thai speake not contrare thairto ; I meyn that I will allow all the Doctouris, so far as thair sayingis and

jugementis aggreis with the said Worde of God, expresselie contenit in the Holie Scripturis ; utherwayis not. Att Ayr, the day above wryttin, 1559.

CORSRAGUELL.

THIS is my answer schortlie to zour third wryttinge, quhair ze saye that zee are glaid to admitt the sayingis and jugementis of the anceant Doctouris, sa far as thai are not contrary the Worde of God, and agreis expresselie thairwith ; and utherwayis nocht. It is as meikle to saye, as zee will be juge to the anceant Doctouris, and decerne upoun thair jugementis towart the understanding the Scripturis. Truelie in my conscience I cannot gif zou that pre-emyence and place, but gif [unless] I knew some excellent godlie learning and gude lyfe in zou mair than all the anceant Doctouris, quhilk as zet is conseillit fra me. Thairfoir, gif ze will be contentit, accordyng to my first wrytting, to stand to the interpretatioun of the Doctouris rehersit in my uther answer, or ony uther anceant, godlie, and approven Doctouris, without cavillatioun or exceptioun, (quensumevir question arises amang us for understanding of the Scripture) quha assuredlie wryt nolder for affectioun of zou nor me, and sall be found alwyse agreable with Goddis Worde, I am contentit, accordynge to the rest of my wryttingis, to kepe tyme, place, and nowmer of personis afoir mentionit in my uther wryttingis, utherwyse the hail world may se that is but difference [delay] that ze desyre, and not to haif the mater at ane perfyte tryall, consideryng ze haif said in pulpit planelie, that the anceant Doctouris are alwyse for zou, as I will preif be honest men : And I am contentit to admitt in special sic anceant Doctouris as ze haif allegit alreadie. Forther, that all the noble gentlemen of this schyre sall perfytly know how ze go about to circumvene and abuse thame be zour preching, speciallie this day, quhare ze haif oppynlie cryit out, but older [without either] Scripture or Doctour, affirmand falslie and ungodlie, that it is ane false ydoll quhilk is usit in the Mess : Gif ze will produce ony approvin anceant Doctour or Wryttar sen the tyme of Jesus Christ unto thir dayes, that sayes as zee saye, or zet find ony text of Scripture that hes ony maner of appearance for confirmatioun of zour doctryne, conforme to

the interpretatioun of the anceant Doctouris or Wryttaris, I quyte zou the haill cause without farther disputatioun. Zee may thraw [twist] the Scripture as zee pleis, contrare the godlie meining of the samyne, and in contrare the doctryne of the Kirk of God, and all the anceant Fatheris thairof, quhilk hes evir bene famyliar to all heretykis in all ages, zeirs, and tymes. And take thys for finall conclusion, conforme to my first purpois and wrytting, quherat I abyd, and evir did, and sall do. Att Ayr, the penult day of Marche, 1559.

## WILLOK.

I HAIF ressavit zour wrytting thys last of Marche, at elevin of the klok befor none, daitit the penult day of the samyne, quhairin zee interprete my saying, that I sayd I wald admitt the Doctouris sa far as that thai aggre expressellie with the Worde of God, utherwyse nocht ; eftir this maner it is, says zou, as meikle as to saye, that I will be juge to the anceant Doctouris, decerne upoun thair jugementis towart the understanding the Scripturis ; quhilk place and pre-emynece (zee saye) zee will nocht gif me, becaus baith my lernyng and gude lyfe are to zou unknowin : Thairfoir ze will me to be contentit, accordyng to zour uther wrytting, to the interpretatioun of the Doctouris allannerlie, or else the differring [deferring] of the cause may be (as zou saye) justlie imputit unto me. This is the sum of the first pairt of zour letter. To quhilk I answer, The jugement of the old authoris, as well as new, is, and evir hes bene referrit to the godlie redars: Nether wald the old authoris be utherwyse usit thamselvis, as it may appeir be St Augustine's wordis, "*ad Hieronymum Epistola, jampridem charitati tuæ ;*" and be Hierome, "*ad Letam, De institutione filiæ ;*" quhairin he wald haif her to be ane juge to mony of the Doctouris ; "*et ad Demetriadem.*" And be Tertullian in his buke, "*De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum ;*" and be diverse utheris places, as I can allege be the saidis Doctouris, as of Augustyne, *contra Maximinum*, and upoun the cxlvii Psalme ; and be Justyne the Marthyre, *contra Marcionem* ; and be Ambrose, l. 3. "*de virginibus.*" All quhilk Doctouris appellis to the Scripturis as thair juge, and exhortis men to the samyne from thame, so as thay seek no ferther credyte bot quhen thay agre with the

Scripturis, as I am be thame well able to preif, sa as it may appeir I seik na unressonable thing; whiche, as zou refuse to let me haif, so must I refuse the samyn unto zou, becaus zour lernyng and gude lyfe are lykewise to me unknowen. Nether do I in ony point differr the caus, nor will nocht. Gif ze war juge, and the mater nocht zour awin, I wold aske quhilk of us differreth the caus, quhether he that promisseth to preif an heretyke be the express Worde of God, and also sayeth he is contentit to beginn his disputatioun at the samyne, and now falleth to the interpretatioun of Doctouris, or he quhilk seiks the jugement of his caus att Goddis Worde only? I saye, quhilk of both is the differrer of the caus? I nevir said I wold byde be the Doctouris contrare to the Scripture, nether will I saye att this present; bot I am contentit to be jugit be the Scripture, truelie understand, for I knaw the Holie Goist and the Scripture are not contrare one to the uther. To the second pairt of zour last wrytting, quhairin ze burthen me with circumventioun, false and ungodlie prechingis, I answer, Ze haif said that quhilk ze are not hable to preif; for I proved my doctrine thair be gude argumentis, groundit upoun the Scripture, without collusioun, for whiche I sall be alwyse redde to answer, be Goddis Worde, as well be oppin disputatioun, as be my pen. Bot becaus I thinke ze will kepe zour daye appointit for ressonning, and this mater is that quhilk ze go about to impreif, I will differr the full answer, for my pairt, to the daye of our ressoning: Doyng zou to wit, that I haif nocht throwin the Scripturis, as zou do wryte, contrare to Goddis menyng. Take thys for my last answer, nocht mynding to trouble zou with ony ferther wrytting unto the daye of our ressoning be past. Att Ayr, the said last of Marche, 1559.

CORSRAGUELL.

I RESSAVED zour wrytting this day, quhilk to rehearse were owre prolix. Schortlie I answer to zou, conforme to all my wryttingis sent to zou of befoir, That gif ze will saye that the Mess is ydolatrie, I will preif zou ane heretyke be Goddis Worde, conforme to the doctryne and interpretatioun of auld, godlie, anceant Doctouris and Wryttaris thairupon: and is content to beginn our ressoning at Goddis Worde; provydande alwyse, that gif we differr for the understandyng

of the samyne, that the declaratioun thair of be referrit to the Doctouris, as sayd is ; and failzeing of thys, I can persave na fruit can cum of our ressoning, but rather contentioun and stryfe. As to the uther pairt of zour wrytting, quhair ze saye ze will submitt zou to the jugement of the Scripture onlie, quhat saye zee in that pairt bot as Arrius, Macedonius, Nestorius, and the maist deplorit heretykis quhilks evir wes, sayd, ay allegeand Scripturis for thame, standand at thair awin interpretatioun for the samyne ? Quhairfoir I conclude, the interpretatioun of the Doctouris are necessar to be admittit for us baith, or else na fruit sall be had of our ressoning, as sayde is : and all thys, by my pretense [more than I intended] I haif wryttin, not believand bot ze wald haif biddin att the jugement of the anceant Doctouris, specialie sic as zour self in pulpit did allege. Att Ayr, the last day of Marche, 1559. And zour finall answer quhether ze will ressonne conforme to thys wrytting or nocht.

## WILLOK.

THESE are to advertyse zou that I will kepe the daye, the houre, and the place, with the nowmer of the personis, God willing, as is appoinetit ; cheis zou quhether ze will kepe or nocht. Att Ayr, the last daye of Marche, at nyne houris att nycht, 1559.

SECUNDO Aprilis, Anno Domini, 1559. Indictione prima Pontificatus Pauli Papæ IV. Ann 3. In mei notarii publici, et testium subscriptorum præsentis Joannes Blayre de Middillanchnidrane, nomine venerabilis patris Quintini Commendatarii de Crosraguell, hoc modo vulgariter publice loquutus est. This is to be answerit to John Willok, in presence of zou that are heir ; quhair my Lord of Crosraguell writtand ane generall wrytting in thir wordis, Quhasumevir will manteyne, byde at, and say that the Mess is ydolatrie, I will prief him ane heretyke be the express Worde of God, conforme to the doctryne, jugement, and understanding of the maist anceant Wryttaris and Doctouris quhilks evir hes bene sen the tyme of Jesus Christ, as in the said wryttin at mair lenth is contenit : To the quhilk wryttin I haif gottin na answir as zet, conforme thairto ; thairfoir I take ane instrument, that the caus of

the ressoning ceassing is in the said John Willok, as baith our wryttingis testifie thameselffis. Super quibus omnibus et singulis præfatus Joannis Blayre, nomine dicti Commendatarii a me Notario Publico subscripto,—— et successive petiit instrumentum publicum. Acta erant hæc primo apud domum Hugonis Wallace de Carnele, intra Burgum de Ayre; et deinde statim apud crucem foralem ejusdem Burgi, immediate post horam decimam ante meridiem. Præsentibus Joanne Lokart de Bar, Hugone Wallace de Carnele, Waltero Kennedie de Knokdoune, Fergusio Kennedie, suo fratre germano, Joanne Kennedie in Grenline, Joanne Kennedie, suo filio, Hugone Kennedie, et Davide Blayre, filio dicti Joannis Blayre. Posthæc dictus Joannes Blayre (quia Joannes Willok neque apud dictam domum neque crucem foralem tempore prædicto præsens fuit,) accessit ad Ecclesiam parochialem de Ayre, et ibidem hora duodecima in meridie intimavit verba antedicta (vulgariter scripta), Joanni Willok personaliter apprehenso in suggesto dictæ Ecclesiæ. Præsentibus Dominis et Nobilibus, Alexandro Comite de Glencarne, Joanne Domino Ochiltre, Matthæo Campbello, filio et hærede apparente Hugonis Campbelli de Lowdoune Militis, Joanne Wallace de Cragy, et omnibus et singulis reliquis testibus suprascriptis. Super quibus iterum dictus Joannes Blayre, nomine dicti Commendatarii petiit instrumentum publicum.

Ita est Magister Joannes Gervane Notarius Publicus ad præmissa requisitus, teste manu propria, signisque quibus in talibus uti consuevi.

Collat.

JO. GERVANE, N. P.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Willok having come to the conference attended by four or five hundred Protestants, instead of twelve, as had been agreed on, Kennedy declined meeting him, through fear of a tumult, and so the proposed controversy did not take place. For an obvious reason, he equally declined a private conference; and having entered a legal protest against his opponent for departing from the agreement, the matter dropped. But it is quite evident, that unless the disputants had acquiesced in some acknowledged *standard of Scripture interpretation*, they never could have come to a satisfactory conclusion; and what that standard could be, except the general consent of antiquity, I know not; and had they fairly referred to this standard, they would have found that the truth lay between them. If private judgment is to be the rule of religious truth, then truth, instead of being one, as we know it is, will be multiform; and if educated men

¶ Another piece published about this time was Mr Quintin Kennedy's Book, entituled, "Ane compendius Tractive, conforme to the Scripturis of Almyehtie God, Resson, and Authoritie; declaring the nerrest and onlie way to establische the conscience of ane Christiane man, in all materis (quhilks ar in debate) concernyng Faith and Religioun. Set furth be Maister Quintine Kennedy, Commendatar of the Abbay off Crosraguell, and dedicat to his derrest and best beluiffit nepuo, Gilbert, Maister of Cassillis. In the zeir of God, ane thousand fyve houndreth fifty aucht zeris." This book contains 58 leaves, in a small Quarto, and Saxon type. It has two prefaces; the first, to the Master of Cassils; the second to the reader. And it is divided into 18 chapters. The author begins by shewing that God has appointed both a witness and a judge in all controversies about matters of religion. The witness or testimony, he says, is the Holy Scripture; (and for this he cites St. John, chap. v.) the judge, is the Kirk or Christian congregation. But because the whole Kirk cannot meet together in one place, in order to decide questions; and though they could, yet all the members thereof have not a capacity to decide: Therefor the principal member is appointed to be the overseer, judge, and guide, even as the head in the humane body governs and directs all the other members of the body. He maintains that Ecclesiastical Councils have always consisted of the most devout and best learned men, who have always concurred uniformly in all material points concerning Faith, *i. e.* things necessary to be known in order to salvation; but acknowledges that in points of religion, that is, as he explains it, in ceremonies, civil ordinances, and laws, they may have appointed some things at some certain times, which the circumstances of people have required to be altered afterwards; which, he says, is no more than what God Himself has been pleased to do, by the ceremonies of His own appointment. And he affirms, that though the lives of the principal members of the Christian

cannot discover this one truth, with the combined aid of Scripture and antiquity, the fault is in themselves, or they are responsible for their ignorance.—E.]

congregation should be supposed to be not so exemplary as might be wished, yet even in that case God will take care to direct their decisions aright. In support of this he gives the instance of Cajapha's prophecying, because he was the High Priest; the advice of our Saviour to hearken to the Scribes because they sit in Moses's chair; and the answer of the Priests to Herod's question where Christ should be born. And the author all along intersperses several not unprofitable observations, together with such solutions of the objections as appeared to him most satisfactory, as may be seen by this following 12th chapter, which I have taken the liberty to insert here at length.

*The Twelfth Chapitre.*

SEN we have had just occasioun (conforme to Goddis Worde and all resoun) in the chapitre abone rehersit, na wayis to have dout of the thyng quhilk hes bene done be the Kirk, in respect of thare lyfe, quha convenit in General Counsalis. Now wyl we cum to the ferde part of the argument, quhare question is, Gyf thair lawis and constitutionis ar conforme to Goddis Worde or not? For understanding of the samyn, thou sal considder that thair is twa extremitis now ryngand [reigning] in the world. Sum men are sua fer [far] gevin tyl superstitioun that geve ony man speik ane worde aganis thair indurit [hardened] custum, ze [yea] perchance albeit it be lytle or na thyng aggreable with the Worde of God, bot croppin [grown] in the Kirk be ane abuse rather than be ane ordour, fra hand thay sall estime that man ane heretike. Be the contrare, thare is sum sua rache of jugement that nocht allanerlie thay wyll cry oute on abuse and superstitioun, bot misordourlie wyll thay condempne al maner of thyng that evir hes bene usit or appoyntit be the Kirk fra the begynning. Betwix thir twa extremitis geve it plesit God that the myddis sulde cum furth, apperandlie it wer ane gret ease, and ane gret occasioun of quietnes to the hale congregatioun. To cum to the myddis, (efter my sobir jugement) the nerrest way wer to esteme first the commande and lawe of the Lorde (quhilk hes procedit of God allanerlie) abuse all thing. The secunde, to regarde the constitutionis of the Kirk, as constitutionis of men.

Bot nocht allanerlie as constitutionis of men, bot as constitutionis procedyng of God mediatlie (as I wald say be the wirkyng of God be man in authoritie) quhilkis aucht and suld be obeyit, nocht allanerlie (as sayis the Apostole) for feare of man, bot als for feare of God : Nocht in compair of the Worde of God, bot to be regardit as the commandimentis of the trew Ministeris, and organis of Almychtie God sterit [stirred] up be the Spirite of God, disponand every gude Christin man to be the mair able to keip the law of God. Heir wyl we schortlie answeir to the injuste murmur of divers men spekand aganis the Kirk on this maner, saying that the Kirk punissis men mair cruellie for transgressioun of thair law, (as it wer heresie) nor for the transgressioun of the law of God, quhareby it may be persavit that the Kirk preferris thair law to the law of God. For consideration of this purpose thou sall understand that man is nocht puniste to the rigour for transgressioun of the law of the Kirk, bot for dissobediencie, and the indurit opinioun quhilk he consavisthaireftir, thynkand that he dois na offence in doyng of the samyn ; quhilk but dout is heresie expres aganis the Worde of God, as sayis the Apostle, “ He that resystis the hear power, he resystis unto God, and wirkis the thyng quhilk is his awin dampnatioun ” Geve ane man transgres the command of God, he grantis hym self to have done wrang : Bot geve ony man wald be indurit, saying, it wer na syn to transgres the law of God, trewly he aucht and sulde be punissit as ane heretike. Sua it is the opinioun with pertinacie and induritnes that makis the heresie (quhair upon the punischement followis) and not the nature of the deid : For nocht all syn is heresie, bot all heresie is syn. And to the effect that thou may perfectlie knaw that the Kirk na wayis regardis nor estimates thair law, in compair of the law of God ; it is lesun, in tyme of necessitie, to transgres the law of the Kirk without syn or punischement, quhilk wes never permittit be the Kirk towart the law of God, for ony maner of necessitie. Sum murmouris, saying, that the Kirk offendis, commanding thair law to be kept under paine of deidlie syn. Trewly, albeit the Kirk mak the law, it is God quha all reddy hes declarit the brekyng thair of, syn ; nocht be nature of the deid for the maist part, (as I schew the off before) bot be ressoun of

dissobedience to the hiear poweris : Specialie in transgression of sic constitutionis as gevis occasioun to men to be the mair habyll to keip the commande of God, and is to the weill of the hale congregatioun committit to thare cure, as we reid in divers partis of the Scripture, creuell punisshement following for dissobedience, as I schew the of before of Chore, Dathan, and Abiron. According to this purpose wrytis the Apostole on this maner, “ Brether, stand ze fast, and keip the traditionis quhilkis ze have learnit, older be our precheing, or be our Epistole.” Now wyll we retorne to our purpose ; quhare consideratioun is to be had, how the Lawis and Constitutionis of the Kirk disponis all Christin man to be mair hable to keip the law of God, and is nocht comparit (conforme to the godlie menyng of the Kirk) to the Worde of God. As be exempyll, we wyll compair the Wourde of God to the wynezarde [vineyard] ; and the commande of the Kirk, and all uther hiear power, to the dyik or closure of the wynezarde ; Than sall thow understand that the dyik is not ordanit for the self, bot to the effect that the wylde beistis tramp not down the tender branchis of the wyne. Swa the commandimentis of the Kirk, and all uther hiear poweris, ar nocht allanerlie ordanit for thame self, bot rather to geve men occasioun to be the mair habyl to keip the commande of God. Thus ar thay in errour and extremitie quha wald persuade the ordinance of the Kirk to be tane away ; for than sulde Goddis Wourde be abusit, as gyff the closure of the wynezarde be castin down, than sulde the wylde beistis destroy and devore the tender wyne branchis. Of this rigorus jugement (movit perchance on zeale but knowlege, as sayis the Apostle) thair is mony in thir dayis belevyng tyll awance [advance] the gloure of God, quhilkis oppinnis ane plane port tyll all kynd of misordour, incontrar the commande of God ; as but dout, gyff thou wyll tak away the ordinancis of the hiear poweris, and lawis of the Kirk, quhilkis the tyme hes evir techeit ws ; and nocht allanerlie the lawis, bot tak away the ceremonyes, with proces of tyme the peple in the world sulde forzet thair wer ane God. For be the outward ceremonyes we ar brocht to the mair perfect knowlege of God, conforme to the doctryne of all men of godlie learnyng. Treuth it is, geve men levit conforme to the law of God,

the law of the Kirk, and all uther lawis and ceremonyes, mycht be the better sparit: As geve thare wer na wylde beistis to trampe doun the wynezarde, the dyik wer the les necessare. Perchance thow wyll murmur and say, that under the colour of the constitutionis of the Kirk, thair is growin sic abusoun that Goddis Worde is selanderit and abusit. Albeit that wer trew, it is nocht cause to tak away ane gude constitution for ane wrang abusoun; be resoun mennis maneris sulde be thrawin [drawn, conformed] to the law, the law sulde nocht be thrawin to mennis maneris. For quhat is mair precius nor is the law of God? and zit it is daylie brokin and abusit. Als thow may see, that of all heresyis quhilkis ever hes bene, for the maiste parte men hes tane occasioun of the Scripture. Nochtheles the falt wes not in the Scripture, bot in thare awin perverste mynd, and laik of gude doctryne: As in cais, throw negligence of the gardnare, thare enterit divers wylde beistis in the zarde, and under the umbre [shadow] of the dyik thay make thare dennis and cavernis, and thairefter cum oute and devore and trampe doun the tender wyne-branchis; the dyik hes nocht the wyte [fault], bot the gardnare quhilk wes sua negligent. This wyll thow considder all the constitutionis quhilkis evir wer maid be the Kirk, havyng considderatioun of the tyme and the occasioun quharefore thay wer maid, thow sall fynd thame aggreabyll with Goddis Worde. Than sall thow evir persave the falt principalie to be in thame to quhame it appertenis of thare vocation to be instructaris of the peple, and nocht in the ordinances of the Kirk.

Perchance thou wyll say, that thare is sum constitutionis quhilkis wer tollerabyll and convenient for the tyme; and now the tyme hes wrocht sua, that thay ar improffitabyll. Trewlie I thynk that to be verray trew of sum: Nochtheles every man quhilk persavis the falt aucht not to be ane correctare of the samyn, bot sulde complane to the hiear poweris; and in cais thay be negligent, desyre of God to steir up the hartis of thame to quhame it appertenis of thare vocation to be correctaris, and nocht to every private man to thynke upone his zeles, that he wyll correct it (quhilk is done be ane ordour) miserdourlie. For I dar baldlye say, thair sall mair inconvenientis follow on all thingis quhilkis ar done by [without] ane ordour, nor to thole

[suffer] the abuse, to the tyme God provide ane remeid be ane ordour. As be exampyll, in cais thair be ane part of the dyik quhilk is consumit, and servis of not, zit every man quhilk passis by sulde not cast down the place quhilk he thynkis falteis, at his plesour, bot suld (geve his zeles be godlie) schaw to the gardnare to quhame it appertenis to correct the falt. Thus sulde Christian men seik reformatioun (and that be ane ordour) and nocht plane distructioun and confusioun, as men dois in thir dayis.<sup>1</sup>

In the 14th chapter there are likewise some things which it may not be impertinent to shew the reader, in the author's own words.

*The Fourtent Chapitre.*

PERCHANCE sum zelus man havynge pietie [pity] of the pure miserabyll pepyll, will say, quhat wonder is it, albeit the simple peple in thir unhappy dayis be abusit with erroris, blyndit in ignorance, drounit in vice? Is not heresie prechit planelie but [without] punischement be men cumand but autoritie? And thay quha sulde preche the trew Worde of God, conforme to thair vocation and levyng quhilk thay have thairfore, ar (as sayis the Propheite), lyke dum doggis, quhilkis can nocht bark; nolder precheis thair selfis, nor causis precheyng sufficient to be maid to resyste erroris: Ar nocht thay quha sulde gyde the peple mair ignorante nor the simple peple self? And quhat can cum of that, bot, as sayis our Salveour, quhen the blynde ledis the blynde, baith fallis in the fowsie? Ar thay not oppin scandaleris of the congregatioun (for the maist part) quhilkis sulde be myrrouris of gude lyfe? Ar nocht all estatis declynit fra the way and wyll of the Lorde? Se we nocht daylie be experience, gyf ane benefice vaick, the gret men of the Realme wyll have it for temporale rewarde (and sua the Prince is maid to be subject to the unreasonnable desyre of thame quha sulde be subjectis to thair Prince), or ellis thay wyll steir up seditioun, be dissobedient contrar Goddis command, serve as thay think gude, with perpetuale grudge and disdane? And quhen thay have gottin the benefice, gyf thay

<sup>1</sup> [No reasoning can be more just; to which it may be added, that a man may be a successful opponent of error, and yet miss the truth.—E.]

have ane brother, or ane sone, ze suppose he can nolder sing nor say, norisheit in vice all his dayis, fra hand he sall be montit on ane mule, with ane syde gown and ane round bonett, and than it is questioun quhether he or his mule knawis best to do his office. Perchance Balaame's asse knew mair northay baith; quhat wounder is it (quhen sick disagysit personages ar chosin to have Christis flock in gyding) that the simpyll peple be wickit (as thay ar in deid), estimand vice to be virtew, and virtew to be vice? And nocht allanerlie sick men ar croppin in the Kirk be meanis of sum wickit gret personages: Bot thow maye se daylie lykewyse be experience, ane bairne and ane babe, to quhame scarcelye wald thou geve ane fair apill to keip, gett perchance fyve thousand saules to gyde; and all for avarice, the rute of all vice, that thair parentis may gett the profect of the benefice to thair awin singulare commoditie, and the pure simpyll bairne scarslie gett to bryng hym up vertuuslie; the Convent, and place quhare God sulde be daylie honourit and servit, gais elene to rewyne: And zit thay quha ar the procuraris, disponaris and upsteraris of sick monsterus farssis to be in the Kirk of God, ar the maist principall cryaris out on the vices of Kirkmen.<sup>1</sup> Geve the Kirk had the auld ancient libertie (as perchance sum tyme it had) that ane Byschop wer frelie chosin be his chaptire, the Abbot and Prior be the Convent, and of the Convent; than sulde be qualifeit men in all the estatis of the Kirk, than sulde all hereseis be stemit, and the peple weill techeit. This wer the way to cum in att the dure to be ane Minister in the Kirk of God, quhilk our Salviour spekis of; quhare now be tyrannie and avarice (for the maiste part) as it wer thevis or brygantis, we creip in at wyndoys or bak-durris. And this (blyndit in avarice) gret men trowis to mak up thair housis be abusioun of the patrimony and rentis of the Kirk, quhilk but dout salbe utter rewyne (albeit it be plesand for the present) to mony gret housis, besydis the gret perrel and

<sup>1</sup> [To give an example of this horrid abuse:—James V. got the Pope to give his four natural sons, while they were mere boys, four of the richest monasteries in Scotland; he, during their minority, drawing their revenues, and applying them to his own use!—Epist. Reg. Scot. i. 251. In such a corrupt state of things, an ultra-reformation was almost unavoidable.—E.]

danger on the latter day. The day ! the day ! the terrible day sall cum quhen the unhappy avaricius man sall warry [lament] the tyme that ever he had the brother, or sone, to quhame he bure sic fleschelic and ungodlic favour, as to steir hym up to be ane gydare and rewlar of Christis floke, quhilke culde not gyde himself: The malheurius Prince sall warry the tyme that evir he wes sua mischeantlie subject to the unressonable desyre of his subjectis: The miserable ignorant, sterit up in autoritie, sall curs the tyme that evir he tuke on hym the charge, quhilke wes na wayis convenient for hym. In the mene tyme the pure simple peple sua deirlic bocht be the blude and deith of Jesu Christ our Salviour, miserablie perischeis: The Kirk is sclanderit, God is dishonorit, all hereseis, wickitnes, and vice regnis. As to me, I wyll say na thyng; but humelic beseik the Lord God tyll illuminat the hartis of the Magistratis (specialie quhilkis hes the autoritie, to be the upsteraris of faithfull Ministeris in the Kirk of God) to provide sic qualifeit pastouris as wyll do conforme to thair vocatioun, and as may be to the glore of God, exoneratioun of thair awin consciences, and thairis quha providis them to have autoritie in government of Christis flok. And als I beseik the levyng God, that thay quha ar all reddy Ministeris in the Kirk of God (specialie quha occupyis the place of the Apostoles be office and autoritie) call to remembrance the seveir and rigorus sentence of the Apostole, saying, “Wa be unto me and I preche not;” and als the wordis of the propheet, saying, “Wa be unto zou Pastores of Israell, quhilkis feidis zour selfis, and nocht my flok.” Quharethrow the Pastores doying thair dett and devore to the simpyll peple committit to thair cure, all hereseis, wickytnes and vice sulde be suppressit, the Kirk unsclanderit, and God honourit, to Quhame be glore for evir.

Here follow two very rare and much noted pieces, done by Mr Ninian Winzet, [now Wingate,] the first whereof, (containing three tractates) is indeed so exceeding rare to be found, that I am told there is not another copy of it now extant besides that one from which this is taken. It was printed at Edinburgh in the black or Gothic letter, the 21st May 1562, and is the book which the Magis-

trates of that city seized in Mr Scot's printing-house, when the author narrowly escaped. This piece is certainly one of the most valuable monuments of the ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland in the XVI age; so far as it contains and discovers the causes and manner of the eversion of the ancient form of religion in this Kingdom, and treats the Bishops and Nobles of that time with a freedom which their unconcernedness for the religion they professed, and their vicious manner of living, did justly deserve. This copy belonged formerly to the Reverend Dr John Jameson, a Priest in the Church of Rome, born in the city of Aberdeen, a person much esteemed for his knowledge in the antiquities of this Kingdom, by all our learned countrymen. He died at Edinburgh in the year 1700, and bequeathed these tractates, together with some other ancient pieces, to the Scots College in Paris, where they are now carefully preserved. There is not the least variation made here from the original; and the pages of it (being in all 33, on a small quarto, or large octavo) are carefully marked here on the margin as they stand in the original.<sup>1</sup>

*Certane Tractatis for Reformatioun of Doctryne and Maneris, set furth at the desyre, and in the name of the afflictit Catholickis of inferiour ordour of Clergie and Layit-men in Scotland; be Niniane Winzet, ane Catholicke Priest, borne in Renfrew. Quhilkis be name this leif turnit sall schaw. Murus aheneus sana conscientia. Edinburgi, 21 Maij, 1562.*<sup>2</sup>

THE *First*, Ane exhortatioun to the maist excellent and gracijs Soverane, Marie Quene of Scottis, &c. To the Bischopes and utheris Pastores, and to all thame of the Nobilitie within this hir Grace's Realme, for unfenzeit Refor-

<sup>1</sup> [These marginal references are now omitted as superfluous.—E.]

<sup>2</sup> [The object of this writer was to purify the Scoto-Catholic Church from its acknowledged abuses, by bringing it back, if possible, to its primitive state; and at the same time to denounce the conduct of those who were labouring to destroy it, on the plea of reforming it. This, doubtless, was the wise and Christian policy. True reformation consists in restoration; but the still small voice of reason is not listened to amidst the uproar of human passions. Whether such a restoration *could* have been effected in Scotland in the sixteenth century, may be a question.—E.]

matioun of doctryne and maneris, and for obteneing of license to propone in wryt to the precheouris of the Protestantis, certane artyculis tweching doctryne, ordour, and maneris approvin be thame.

The *Secund*, Thre questionis tweching the lauchfull vocatioun of Johne Knox, and his brether precheouris, to the Protestantis in Scotlande; quhilkis ar in noumbre the xxxiii, xxxiv, and xxxv, of the fourscore thre questionis proponit to thame be the saidis Catholickis; togidder with thre wryttingis deliverit to the said Johne, quhairin is replyit aganis his answeris maid to ane part of the said thre questionis.

The *Thrid*, Ane declamatioun to the honorable Provost, Baillies, and Counsell of Edinburgh, for the observatioun of the glaid solemnities of the blyssit Nativitie, Circumcisioun, Epiphanie, Ressurrectioun, and Ascensioun of our Salviour, with the Feist of Witsonday; haistelie maid on Pasche-Tuisday, Anno 1562, quhen thare apperit ane dangerous seditioun in Edinburgh, throw calking of the durris on every syde, as efter sall follow.

*Dominus mihi adjutor, non timebo quid faciat mihi homo.*

*The first Tractat to the Quene's Majestie, Pastouris, and Nobilitie.*

EFTER that we, thy Grace's humill subditis, MARIE, maist excellent and graciuss Quene, be our small jugement hes considerit the stait of this thy Realme, at this present, tweching religioun, (quhairupon the wellfair thair of is onely groundit) can esteme it to nathing mair lyke, than to ane schip in ane dedely storme, enforسد be contrarius wyndis betwix maist daingerus sandy beddis on the rycht hand, and terrible rolkis, presenting deth alrady, on the left. Quhilk, gydit thir mony yeris be sleuthfull marinaris and sleipand sterismen, (we mein of the Pastores of the Kirk, and in that part of their promoveris,<sup>1</sup>) is evyll crasit [broken] on the schaldis [shoals]: Quhairat sum effrayit, and almaist desperat of thair awin and utheris lyves in the samyn schip, hes pullit the rudder and government fra the formare rewlaris, maist

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* Those Noblemen, &c. who procured undeserving men to be put into Church-offices. See Mr Quintin Kennedy's preceding chapter, where the same matter is excellently touched.

unworthy thir mony yeris of that name; and, be our jugement, fleing fra the sandy bedis, speidis baith with airis and erect sailis, to brek in splendoris the schip on the feirfull rokis. For the quhilk perril we now mair effrayit, than we and thay wes for the uther, may not contene us for na feir of man, sen the mater standis in danger of our bodeis and saulis; bot exhort the latter marinaris, albeit impatient owther of repreif or advertisment, to lat down ane grete dele thair hie sailis, and hald to wyndwart, returning thair course fer [far] by the first sett compasse, and direct it to sum mair sure harbery place than thay first intendit to. To that end we have collectit, as we mycht for schortnes of tyme, our apperand ressonis,<sup>1</sup> that the passage and dew course is partlie tyll us knawin: Exhorting thame to assent to our counsell, or to schaw mair plane demonstration of strenthiar ressonis for thair interpryse, or to be jugeit wylfull and led be sum phrenesie, and thairfor not to be hard. Zit, sen the godlye wysedom of thy Majestie hes be ane edict<sup>2</sup> inhibit any questioun or controversie to be movit in this actioun for a tyme, to the end that seditioun be eschewit; we differ to present our said advertisment and ressoning to the crabbit rewlaris foresaidis, quhill thy gracios licence be had thairto: Quhilk we hope to obtene, our ressonable desyris being knawin, alrady present in wryt, as we for schortnes mycht collect to that effect; hoipand that thay sall answeir with mair expeditioun and circumspect advisment to the samyn, (quhilk thing we maist earnestlie desyre) fra [from the time] thay persave our ressonis to be knawin to thy Majestie. And also war not the urgent schortnes of tyme and imminent dainger of deth afore our eis, thunderis in our earis to hald and defend us but delay fra the rolkis of errour, heresie, and manifest seditioun in this thy Realme, manassing alrady destructioun of zour reuling, misreulit, and misgydit Goverment, Fatheris, Bischopis, and utheris Pastores, we wald lament afore God, and cry for remeid afore the warld: suppose utherwayis, for honour of zour offices, we dar not contemne zour selfis. And albeit the tyme be schort, sumthing of zour prais man

<sup>1</sup> In the eighty-three questions.

<sup>2</sup> Proclamation in August 1561, soon after the Queen's arrival in Scotland.

we speik. Bot quhidder sall we begin zour commendatioun and loving [praise], at zour haly lyfes, or at zour helthfull doctryne, we ar doutsum; sen zour godly leving garnisit with chastitie, fasting, prayer, and sobrietie, by the worthy frutis thareof (quhat neds mair) is patent to all man.<sup>1</sup> Zour marchandrice, zour symonie, zour glorious estait, zour sollicitude be mariage, efter to have brocht the Baronis to be impis of zour posteritie, and witnessing in all aiges to cum of zour godlines, quhay speikis not of it? Zour liberalitie to the pure, zour magnific Collegis of godly learnit in zour companie, zour nurissing of pure studentis, of ryche ingynis able efter to reull the Kirk of God in helthfull teachement, all cuntreis and Collegis dois deplore. Zour godly and circumspect distributioun of benefices to zour babeis, ignorantis, and filthy anis, all Ethnik, Turk, and Jow may lauch at it, that being the special ground of all impietie and division this day within the, O Scotland! Zour wyse, saige, and grave familiar servandis, void of all vanitie, bodely lustis, and heresie, ar spokin of to zour prayse, God wate. Zour dum doctrine, in exalting ceremoneis only, without ony declaratioun of the samin; and fer mair [far more], keiping in silence the trew Word of God necessar to all manis salvation, and not resisting manifest errorrs, to the world is knawin. Quhat part of the trew religioun, be zour sleuthfull dominion and princelie estait, is not corruptit or obscurit? Hes not mony throw inlake [lack] of techement, in mad ignorance misknawin thair deuty, quhilk we all aucht to our Lord God, and sua in thair perfitt belief hes sairlye stummerit? [sadly stumbled.] Wes not the Sacramentis of Christ Jesus prophanit be ignorantis and wikit persones, nother able to persuade to godlienes be lerning nor be leving? Of the quhilk nummer we confesse the maist pairt of us of the ecclesiasticall stait to have bene, in our ignorant and inexpert zouthie, unworthelie be zou admittit to the ministratioun thair of. Give thir thingis maist speciall, throw ignorance and avarice, be brocht fra thir puritie, qhat marvell is it, that materis of les pryce, as of ymages, the invocatiounis of Sanctis to praye for ws, the prayar for the saulis departit, and mony

<sup>1</sup> These things are ironically said.

sicklyke thingis in sobrietie and learnit simplicitie lesun [lawful], to be at this tyme corruptit and prophanit fra the mynde of our auncient elderis, be the samyn vices? War ze commandit in vaine of God, be the mouthis of his Prophetis and Apostoles, to watch attentlie and continualie upon zour flok, and knaw diligentlie the samyn be face? Or gaif the princes <sup>1</sup> of the erth zow yeirly rentis (as the disciplis in the beginnyng sauld thair landis, and gaif the pryces thair of to the Apostolis), to the end that every ane of zow mot [might] spend the samyn upon his dame Dalila and bastard browis [brats]? And albeit it chance oft to the infirmitie of man, that he fall on sleip quhen he suld erast [chiefly] walk [watch], and be gevin to pastyme quhen he suld maist diligentlie labour: Bot zit, O mercyfull God, quhat deidly sleip is this that hes oppressit zow, that in sa gret uproir, tumult, and terrible clamour, ze walkin nocht furth of zour dreame? and in sa grete dainger of deth, ze haif na regard of zour awin lyves nor utheris? Awalke, awalke, we say, and put to zour hande stoutlie to saif Peteris schip; for He nother slepis nor slummeris quha behaldis all zour doings, and seis zour thochtis; bot sall require the blude out of zour handis of the smallest ane that sall perise throw zour negligence. Bot the tyme not permitting us to speik ferder in this mater, occasion provokis us to schaw sum thing to zour Honouris, O worthy Nobilis, of ilke degre, within this Realme, and that in hope of reformatioun in all the partis of Godis Kirk. The speciall rutis of all mischief, we suspect nocht zour prudent Nobilitie to mysknow, to be the twa infernal monstres, Pryde and Avarice; of the quhilkis unhappellie hes upsprung the electioun of unqualefeit Bischopis, and utheris Pastores in Scotland; and that laitlie, as we can collect, within thir hundreth <sup>2</sup> yeris, in the grete destructioun of the trew religioun of Christianis, and in provocation of Godis wrath contrare us. For afore thay dayis, na man, gentle nor uther, for feir of conscience, and dout of his inhabilitie, wald resave the office of ane Pastour, quhill he wes almaist compellit thairto. Ane witnessing of the samyn, may be the ceremonie observit be mony now in

<sup>1</sup> Vide bonam Literam Jacobi Regis I. ad Religiosos, in continuat.—Fordun.

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* From the reign of King James III.

hypocrisie, *nolens volo*. And zit we may nocht dout of the lauchfull ordination and auctoritie of all, as we may not of our lauchfull Soverane be name; for in douting thair of quhat ellis is it bot to plant but [without] rutis of ordour, in manifest confusion and utter exterminion of this Realme; setting up ane peple heidles, left of God, as the Prophetis speikis, “Absque Rege, absque Lege, et absque Sacerdote;” that is, “without ane King, without ane Law, and without ane Preist.” But give ony spote or bleke be in the lauchfull ordination of our Pastores, we may nawayis of reasone bot impute that cryme to the hie reproche of zour Nobilitie.

Call heirfor to remembrance, we beseik zour humanitie, that zour selfis on lyve, togidder with zour Eldaris in the lait aige foresaid, fra the lawaste to the hieaste degree, to haif bene the inventaris, nurissaris, and simoniacall merchandis of the samyn mischief, playand to zour inferiours the part of lipper [leper] Giezi in this mater, sayand, “Quhat wyll ze geve me?” and to the Kingis of this Realme (bot God impute not that to zow and zour posteritie) playand the part of Symon his companzone, sayand, “Schir, quhat sall we geve thee?” And sua ze Nobilis speciallie, and zouris lait progenitouris, blyndit be carnall effectioun of zouris babeis, brether, or utheris freindis, or be avarice, hes destroyit the trew religioun and triumphand Kingdome of Christe, sa fer as ze mycht, puttand in the place of godly Ministeris and trew successouris of the Apostolis, dumb doggis, quha, for the maist part, in extreme dainger of thair Maisteris House the Kirk of Christe, quhair ennimeis ar without and within, dar nocht barke, bot maist schamefullie payit with staff and sting [baton], dar nother quhryne nore quhyng [cry nor complain]: Bot of the rigour to the pure [poor] done on zour awin landis, and of the appropriing the Kirk-landis, with utheris dewiteis thair of to zour awin ketchingis [kitchens]; of the depaupering the tennentis be zour fewis, augmentationis, and uther exactionis; or of the schuting [thrusting] of honest men fra thair native roumes, be tittle of zour newe quhertie fewis, tyme servis not to schaw. Heirfor, sen be His justice God punissis oftymes in the samyn thing quhairin man offendis, that sum of zour houssis hes bene laitlie aluterlie destroyit, and put out of memorie, and the utheris dejectit to povertie, is not that the justice of God?

And that utheris degenerat fra the auncient Nobilitie of thair eldaris, be fallin in extreme ignorance of God, and in obstinat stubbernes to leir sincerlie His law, or walk thairin conforme to thair knowlege; bot havand regarde to the wreck of this warld, or lustis of thair bodyis, levis as Epicurianis, but [without] faith or lufe to God or man. And utheris contrarie, rejoises to be callit Gospellaris, and cunning in Scripture; quha reft up [lifted up] in hie curiositie of questionis, and (as apperis tyll us) in manifest errouris and presumption, makis of the Gospell ane takin craft, but [without] ferder practise of Godis law in deid; quha albeit they cry out fast upon ydolatrie, zit thay ar, na les than the utheris, degenerat ignorantis abone specefeit, as wikit ethniskis and bund subditis to the monstrous ydolatrie of avarice, nevir intendand to clenge thair handis of the Kirk-rentis, nor of the blude and sweit of the pure anis [ones]; spurrand fast utheris to reformatioun, bot indeid nevir reformand thaimselfis fra the ydolatrie of avarice; nevir changeand in this dangerous battel of religioun thair babis<sup>1</sup> with men, thair ignorantis with learnit; except in ane elokit maner to sustene ane Minister, quhate three hundreth ryche and pure hes sustenit before. O Immortall God! quhy persave ze nocht thir three plagis to be the scourge of the divine justice for zour former impietie and devilische simonie? Sen ze and zour last forefatheris in the wyldsum way of this dangerous lyfe, chesit zour selfis sa blynd gydis, quhate marvelle is it that ze sa lang indurat but [without] repentance, be fallin in the pot of ignorance, errour or vice? Quhy clenge ze not zour hart and handis fra ydolatrie quha be toung condemnis ydolatrie sa mekle? Sen God gevis us libertie, after our understanding, frelie to think, sall this zour ydolatricall avarice persuaid our conscience (albeit we be ruid of letteris and jugement) that ze intend only to trampe down ydolatrie, and set up Christis

<sup>1</sup> Children in Church-benefices and Pastoral charges. [Covetousness is called idolatry, Col. iii. 5. Winzet condemns all parties equally, much in the style of the Jewish Prophets when reproving their countrymen, and with no less reason. He condemns the Papal Church for its corrupt innovations, the higher Clergy for their simony and profligacy, the Nobles for their avarice, and the Gospellers or Reformers for their sacrilegiously rewarding their supporters out of the plunder of the Church, and persecuting those who conscientiously opposed them.—E.]

Kingdome? Or that zour forbearis, quha distributit thair awin juste gudis, geris, and landis to exercise the loving [praise] of God, and to sustene the pure, to have bene ignorantis of God and ydolatouris; and zow (safing zour dew honoris we speike) quha rugis [snatches], as ze may, fra God and all godly use, to zour awin ketchingis, to be the trew discipulis of Christe? Na, na, trewlie; sen the veritie pronounces this, "*Non potestis Deo servire et Mammonæ.*" And againe, "*Nisi quis renunciaverit omnibus quæ possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus.*" Noctheles we persave monye amangis zow (to God be glore) quha with humil spirit wald flee fra all ydolatrie, susperstition, and abuse; and siclyke fra errour, heresie, and curious presumption, with vaine babling; and practissis the law of God, leving soberlie, godlie, and justlie: To quhome we committ this regiment, "*Qui se existimat stare, videat ne cadat;*" as we do to the warldly ignorantis abone specifeit, this uther of the prophet, "*Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus, in quibus non est intellectus.*" And as we have schawin sum thing, as we may say, for tyme to our Pastores, exhorting thame to reformatioun, swa we suspect nocht zour gentle humanitie, zee noble potent Lordis, Baronis, and utheris quhatsumevir of the Nobilitie of Scotlande, to be offendit with us, zour pure anis, bot our Soverane Ladyis fre liegis, to zet in [pour in] unfenzetlie the veray selfis affectionis of oure myndis, as in the bosumis of thaim monywayis deirbelusit; sen we of the law [low] sorte ar togidder with zour Excellence in the samyn schipe of the commounwelth of this Realme, participant, conforme to oure small part, of all prosperitie and adversitie thairof.

And thairfor of nature and of conscience ar movit to wysch gude to all in the samyn: And zit we attempt this mair bauldlye, that we ar compellit be ane part of zour Nobilitie and zour prechouris, as we efter sall schaw.

Bot to thy Majestie, maist excellent Soverane, we returne, beseikand maist humlie thy G. and thy Nobilis foresaidis, to impute that nocht tyll us as a falt that we speik in the cause of God sa frely; desyrand licence that we may, but [without] juste offence of ony persoun, propone in wryt to the prechouris of thaim callit the Congregatioun, thay thingis quhairin specialie we ar offendit, tweching doctryne,

ordour, and maneris approvin bee thaim ; to the intent that all errour and abuse being cuttit away, we all, on baith sydis, mot knaw the veritie, and glaidlye and unfenzetlie embrace the samyn, as the deir belovit dochter of God.

The quhilkis we set furth for twa causis : The ane is, that we, intending to be faithfull Christianis, and reddy to suffer thy Grace's lawis for ony cryme committit be us, ar compellit owther to affirm in religioun afore man contrar our conscience, or to be incarceration or exilit, and haldin be the world as infidelis, heretykis, apostatis, or wikit persones, unworthy the companie of Christianis ; and in the mein tyme, at sic extreme povertie all we of the Clergye, that we ar almaiste losit without ony mercy of man. The uther cause is, that we, being of small learning, and zit laith to be hypocritis to our condemnatioun, hes lang abydit for ressoning of the Bischopes, Theologis, and utheris weill learnit, tyll ane godly reformatioun rycht necessare. Quhilk thing not cumande to passe, bot mair cair had of the ketching nor of the queir, we may naywayis langer contene us, bot expresse on all sydis as we think ; referring our judgement to the haly Catholick Kirk, and that without eloquence or manly persuasion, of the quhilk we have lytle regarde, in respect of the divine veritie ; knawand that lyke as ane beautifull persoun is lustie [lovely] aneuch in ane sobir rayment, that sa is the veritie in ane ruid style. Bot sen this controversie and tumult, O gracios Soverane, cumis but dout of the formare iniquitie and contempt of God in us and our forbearis ; qhua of His gudnes, besydis His mony maist excellent giftis gevin to thee amangis all Princes, hes gevin to thy Hienes ane maist excellent of all, in the preserving to this day thy bewtifull body and saule fra all spot of notorius cryme in ony of baith : We may not bot exhort thee, our malst excellent Soverane, to have the gudnes of thy God in memorie, intendyng be His grace to persevere sa to the ende, walkande and panceand [meditating] in His lawis day and nycht. Quhilk thing consistis nocht in the reydying of mony cheptouris, (albeit that be proffetable to ane humill mynde) bot in haly feir, trew faith wyrkand be charitie ; quhairon dependis sure hope of temperall prosperitie and blyis eternall : " For the Kingdome of God is nocht in worde bot in worke." Bot because gret contro-

versie is now for the downtramping of ydolatrie : To the outruiting of the quhilk, we beseik thy Princelie Majestie maist effectuellie, for the lufe of Christ, (quhome in word we all professe) to bent up thy mynd maist earnestlie, sen that is the falt quhairwith the Majestie of God is maist grevouslie offendit. For albeit mony in thir dayis hes laborit to abolise and pull the samyn mereylesly up be the rutis, and erd [bury] the leist memoriall thair of oute of the mynd of man ; and in the name of it, in thair greif [anger] hes destroyit mony thingis nawayis ydolatricall ; zit thay left to thy victorious hand, amang utheris mair small, three of the gretast ydolis, but controversie, untwechit ; verray ydolis indeid, zea the rute, top, and body of all utheris ydolis. Of the quhilkis ane we have schawin the monstruus ydoll of avarice, with the quhilk the Princes of the erd maist commounlie committis fornicatioun. To the end that thy Majestie be nevir thairwith pollutit, nother in civil nor ecclesiasticall effairis, every day we pray war in thy mynde the historie of Naboth, of Ananias and Saphira ; praying that wikit persoun quhatsumevir quha wald defyle thy conscience and faime thairwith, haistelie to returne to oppin repentance, or to have the reward of wikit Jesabell, in exemple and terroure of utheris. The secunde ydoll is the wikit dum Pastour ; of the quhilk we make thre kindis. Sum for saying only to our ruid Reformearis, “ My Maisteris, zour doctryne plesis us ; ” hes libertie to bruke the Kirk-rentis, and leve als dum in Goddis cause as ony fische in the watter, and in mair licentius lyfe than evir they did afore. Ane uther sorte startis up faithles, every zeir embrayssing with grete brak [zeal] the faith of the starkast [strongest] party ; and utheris fornot saying this ane word, “ my Maisteris, we lufe zow and zour doctryne, ” ar deposit of thair offices, denudit of thair rentis ; and that apperandlye be the permissioun or erar [rather] revenge of God, sen thay being afflictit, hes na compunctioun nor dolour of thair former negligence, nor intent to reformatioun, bot onlie lukis backward with the Israelites to the potis of flesche in Egypt ; that is, to thair former licentius leving : Quhilk sort ar les profytabill to Godis Kirk, than wes Lothis wyfe to him, efter that scho wes turnit in ane stane of salt. The thrid ydoll, and worst of all, is the fals precheour, sittand in the

temple of God, schawand himself (as S. Paule speikis of his Maister the Antichrist) as he war God; that is, exaltit in the consait and conscience of man, and estemit to have that perfectioun that he can nocht, nor may nocht lie.<sup>1</sup>

Thir three ydolis, be the mycht of thy Majestie, and bauld assistance of thy Nobilis and trew Pastores, being with the speciall grace of God anis in this thy Realme oppressit; we dout not bot all ydolatrie, quhilk is now in controversie in religion be men of mein learning, amang all peaceble men, salbe pacifit be small labours, to ane godly concorde. We speikand frelie in the cause of our God, to His glore, and in fervent zeles, efter our small jugement, to the weifair of thy Majestie, nixt eftir God, to us thy trew subditis, maist deir belovit in erth, suspectis na godlie persoun to be offendit with us: For geve we had kepit langer silence, we fearit baith the offence of our God, and our conscience to be smotit [spotted] with the cryme of *lese majestie*, for not assisting to the veritie in this daingerus tumult. Farder, sen all men hes this word Reformatioun in mouthe, wissing to reforme utheris; that all men have juste occasioun also to reforme ane, that is himself: We maist humelie and earnestly beseikis thy Majestie, maist gracious Soverane, for the supporte of utheris, and every ane within this Realme quha unfenzetlie lufis God and ane godlie reformatioun, to luke in the mirrour underwryttin, set up be the finger of God, and the mouth of His haly Prophet Ezechiel, quhairin every stait may see his smot [spot], and have juste occasioun to reforme himself first, and thairefter be mair able to help his nychtbour or inferiour. The Spirit of Jesus Christ, our onlie Salviour and Mediatour, mot convoye the hert of thy Majestie and all Christiane Princes, with zour subditis in every degre, to behald attentlie every day the samyn mirrour, and to purge and wesche all smotis expressit be it. Amen.

*Ane cleir Mirrour for the Reformatioun of all Estatis.—  
Ezech. xxii.*

THE Worde of the Lord come unto mee, saying, thou sone of man, the House of Israel is turnit into drosse or roust. All

<sup>1</sup> [It is curious to find Winzet here quoting against the reforming Preachers the very passage of the New Testament (2 Thess. ii. 4) which their successors are in the habit of applying to the Pope.—E.]

thay that suld be tin, irne, and leid, ar in the fyre becum drosse, &c. And a lytle efter; Thow art ane unclene land, quhilk is not raynit upon in the day of the creuell wraith. The Prophetis that ar in it ar lyke ane lyone roryng and takand the pray: They have devorit the saulis, they have resavit ryches and glore, and multipliit the wedowis in the middis of it. The Preistis of it hes contemnit my lawe, hes defyлит my sanctuarie, betwix the haly and the unhaly thay have had na difference: And fra my halydayis thay have turnit away thair ein [eyes]: And I wes unhallowit in the middis of thaim. The reularis in the middis of it, ar lyke woulfis ravisching thair pray, to sched blud, to destroy saulis, and gredelie to searce [seek] lucre. Bot the prophetis of it spargeonit [plaistered, or did over] thaim with untemperit morter, seing vaniteis, and prophecying leis unto thaim, sayand, the Lord hes said this, quhen the Lord hes not spokin. The peple of the land usit wikit extorsioun and rubberie. Thay vexit the pure and nedy, and oppressit the strainger aganis rycht. I socht of thaim an man that wald mak up the haige, and set hymself in the slope before me in the landis behaif, that I suld not uterlie destroy it; bot I could fynd nane. Thairfore I have pourit out my cruell displesour upon thaim, in the fyre of my wraith haif I consumit thaim. Thair awin wayis haif I recompencit upon thair heidis, sayis the Lord God. Deliverit to the Quenes Grace, the 15th of Februar, 1561.

*The Secund Tractate. Geve John Knox be lauchfull Minister?*

*The xxxiii. Questioun. [Of the lxxxiii.]*

SEN we reid that nane suld tak the honour of ministratioun of Godis Word and Sacramentis on him, except he be lauchfullie callit thairto, owther be God immediatlie, or be man haifand power to promot hym to that office: And sen we reid nane callit be God onlie, except sick as schew thair power gevin to thaim be Him<sup>1</sup> be power of the Spirit, or in signis and wounderis. Heirfor give zou, John Knox, we say, be callit immediatly be God, quhair ar zour mervellis wroucht be the Haly Spirit? For the mervellis of woltering

<sup>1</sup> What is meant by these words is declared after, p. 23.—[This is perhaps a misprint for article or question 33, of Winzet's following Treatise.—E.]

[overturning] of Realmes to ungodly seditioun and discorde, we adnumber nocht to be of His gyftis: Bot give ze be callit be man, ze moist schaw thaim to have had lauchfull power thairto; as the Apostolis ordinatit S. Paule and Barnabas, albeit chosen be God afore; and thay siclyke utheris, in the xiv of the Actis: And as S. Paule ordinatit Timothe and Tite, gevand thaim power and command to ordour utheris; quherin apperis the lauchful ordinationoun of Ministers. Zour lauchfull ordinationoun be ane of thir twa wayis, we desire zou to schaw; sen ze renunce and estemis that ordinationoun null, or erar [rather] wikit, be the quhilk sumtyme ze war callit Schir Johne.<sup>1</sup>

*Give Johne Knox be not lauchfull Bischope, quhow can thay be lauchfull ordinatit be him? The xxxiv Questioun.*

GIVE he can nocht schaw himself ane lauchfull ordinatit Bischope, nocht onlie ane Priest or inferiour Minister? quhow can ze Superintendentis, or uther inferiour prechouris ordinatit and electit be him, not haifand power thairto, juge zour selfis to be lauchfull Ministeris in the Kirk of God?

*Quhy ar not the Lordis and utheris, lauchfull Ministeris as Johne Knox and his Complices? The xxxv Questioun.*

GIVE Johne Knox and ze affirmis zour selfis lauchfull, be resson of zour science [knowledge]; and that ze ar permittit alwayis, give ze be not admittit, be thay Kirkis quhome ze serve: Quhy have ze techit manifestlie ane grete errour and schisme in zour congregatioun, contending with tuith and naill (as is the proverb) sum Lordis and Gentilmen to have gretumlie failzeit, ministrand zour Communioun in tymes bypaste to thair awin houshald, servandis, and tenantis; sen the saidis Lordis and Gentilmen being men of science, be thair awin jugement, in that case wes permittit be thair saidis servandis to that office, quha affirmis thameselfis to be ane Kirk of God?

<sup>1</sup> Here is a plain and certain instruction that John Knox had formerly received the ordination of a Priest. [To the question, "By what authority doest thou these things?" Knox could have given no satisfactory answer; and his biographer, Dr M'Crie, fails in answering it for him, as indeed, with his principles, was to be expected. It is said that, when once pressed with this difficulty, Knox got angry, and replied, "Buf, buf, man, we are anes [once] entered, let us see quha dare put us out agane."—E.]

*The Copie of ane Wrytting delyverit to Johne Knox, on Tuisday the thrid day of Marche, 1561. [1561-2.]*

SCHIR,—It mote pleis zow, forsamekle as we delyverit certane Articulis to zow, tweching [touching] zour doctryne, ordour, &c. quhairin speciallie we war offendit; and that privatlie be ane honorabyll persoun of zour awin religioun, quha of his cheritie (as he thocht) had oft exhortit sum of us tyll ane unioun with zow. And albeit we onlie desyrit ane answeir thairroff in wryt privatlye, without contentioun, as we proponit to zow; nochtheles ze have oppinit the samyn in the pulpet, and rehersit sum thingis thair of in our name, nocht sa sinceirly as we proponit thaim, nor zit in that mynd. Heirfor we exhorte zow zit as afore, that we maye have zour answer in wryt; and give it sall pleis zow also to answeir to thaim in the pulpet, we wald that first ze red our wrytingis fullerie and sinceirlye, and thairefter answeir thairto, “sicut ex Deo coram Deo, et in Christo.” Whare ze sperit [asked] quhat we menit to be send of God immediatlie, be power of the Spirit, or, &c.? This is our trew mening and mynd, that Almychtie God testifis thair power gevin to sick be His Worde and expresse Scripture, pronuncit be inspiratioun of the Haly Spirit, that He sent thaim as His trew Ministeris of His Worde and Sacramentis, as He testifiit S. Johne Baptiste, be the Prophetis Malachias, Esaias, and Zacharie his father, be the Angell, and the mouthe also of our Salviour self; or as He testifiit that He sent His Apostolis and sevinty-twa Disciples be the samin His Worde, gevand thaim also power to wyrk wonderis. Joh. xx, Luc. ix. And sa ze sall fynd nane in the Lawe of Grace send immediatlie of God, bot be ane of thir twa wayis; of the quhilkis nane (as we understande zit) convenis to zow. And as tweching S. Johne Baptiste, we think his lauchfull vocatioun sufficientlye schawin to the people be God, in signis and wonderis wrocht afore his concepcioun, and eftir his nativitie, in Zacharie his father, and be Elizabeth and himself in hir wamb, that thair nedit na ma signis of his lauchfull office, sen thay wonderis wes knawin and keipit in memorie, as it is wryttin, Luc. i. “In tota montana Judææ divulgabantur omnia verba hæc. Et posuerunt omnes qui audierant

in corde suo, dicentes: Quis putas puer iste erit? Etenim manus Domini erat cum eo.” Bot sen ze haif harpit sa lang on that ane string, tweching zour lauchfull vocation, we exhorte zow to schaw it justlie toneit, [tuned] or [before] ze leif it. Quhilk geve ze may do, and assuir the peple and us heiroy, it is the readiest waye to persuade all zour adversaris to delyte in the rest of zour melodie. In Christo vale, et operam da, ut veritas et non homo vincat. 3 Mart. Be zouris in all godlines.

NINIANE WINZET, at the desyre of his afflictit Brether.

Geve ony wryttingis be put furthe ony wayis contrare zow or zouris without subscriptioun, impute nocht that to me, for I testifie to zow, that I wes nevir participant of sic wryttingis to this hour.

Idem NINIANUS.

Swa it is wryttin on the bak as on the utheris.

“ Raræ eruditionis facundiæque viro Joanni Knox.”

*The Copie of the wrytting deliverit to Johne Knox, the tent day of Marche, 1561.*

SCHIR,—It mot pleis zow be rememberit, that we declarit zow in our last wrytting, at zour desyre, quhat we meanit “ to be immediatlye callit of God ” to be ane lauchfull Pastour: Quhilk is, ony man to have the speciall command of Godis Worde at the lest, chargeand him to that vocation, or ellis to have the samyn command, with power to wyrk signis and wounderis: And we schew that S. Johne Baptist (be quhois exemple ze apperit to intend to preve zour lauchfull vocation) had the auctoritie of Goddis Worde, and that signis also war schawin be God that he wes send be Him. Bot quhair ze denyit that S. Johne wrocht ony signe, ze affirm that with the Jowis, quhilk albeit be trew of the exterior signe requirit be infidelis, zit in the samyn place ze may collect that he wrocht that signe sufficient to ane faithfull; quhilk wes, that all thingis quhilk he spak in the spirit of prophecie of Christ wes trew. Quhair ze intendit to preve zour lauchfull vocation be exemple of the Prophet Amos, that profetis zou na thing: For quhat Christiane man may dout but [without] infidelitie (as all men may dout of zour doctryne but all perrell) bot the Prophecie of Amos is the Worde of God? For the Scripture testifis that Amos wes send be God, and that

visible signis wes schawin to him be God. And ane sufficient signe to the peple wes, that all thingis quhilk he forespak come to pas. And suppose Amos, as the rest of the Prophets, war send, namelie, to schaw sum speciall thing of Godis wyll conforme to the tyme; zit he usurpit not the auctoritie of the hie Bischope in Hierusalem, as ze do at this present of the Primat of Scotlande, in Edinburgh: Quharefor the chearitie moveis us to advertis zow of three thingis: The first is, of the terrible punisement of Core, Dathan and Abiron, being of that tribe appoyntit onely of God to be Preistis, and allegeand the Scriptur also for thaim, sayand, “sufficiat vobis quòd omnis multitudo sancta est, et in ipsis est Dominus;” as ze do this place of the Scripture for zow, “fecit nos (Christus) Reges et Sacerdotes Deo et Patri,” with sicklyke. Be the quhilk autoritie, give ze be ane lauchfull Preist or Bischope in Edinburgh, ze ar be the samyn auctoritie also lauchfull King of Scottis. The second is to remember zow, “quod sapientia quæ est desursum, à patre luminum, pudica est, pacifica, modesta, tractabilis, &c. et nihil simulans. Et quod Domini servum non oportet litigare; sed placidum esse ad omnes, propensum ad docendum, patientem, cum modestia corripientem eos, qui resistunt veritati:” And sen we allegeit na thing in our last bill, bot sincerelie the expres Worde of God, but wrysting, wrying, gloissing, or cloking, as ze culd not preve the contrare; thair ar sindry offendit with zour terrible exclamatioun towart us, quhilk wes, “progenies viperarum,” &c. The thrid is, that we exhorte zow, and abjuris zow also, in the name of our Lord Jesus, give ze have na mair testimonie for zour lauchfull vocatioun immediat than ze have schawin, to descend from the hie skyis but ferder contentious cavillatioun amang men, and shaw zour power gevin zow of thaim; for utherways we freindlie adverteis zow, that zour awin secleris thinkis that ane mistoneit string confoundis all zour harmonie. The Lord of Peace mot geve zou His peace and cheritie with us, and mynd to wyll that veritie win the victorie. 10 Marc. 1561. Be zouris in all godlines.

NINIANE WINZET, at the desyre of his Brether.

*Ane uther delycerit the xii of Marche, &c.*

SCHIR,—It mot pleis zour prudence to have in mynd that

we send zow ane wrytting this last Twisday, exhortyng zow to testifie tyll us mair planelie zour ordination to be lauchfull ; of the quhilk ze spak na thing in zour nixt sermon. Heirfor sen ze, by our [contrary to our] first desyre and counsell, hes spokin sa braid thair of in the pulpet, and as zit not assurit nocht only not us, bot nocht zour awin best learnit scolaris of the samyn ; we pray zow and exhortis zow, and als be all power gevin to mony of us be the auctoritie of preisthed, commandis and chargeis zow in the name of our Lord Jesus, and in the power of His maist mychtie Spirit, that ze other mak demonstratioun to the peple and us of zour lauchfull Ministerie gevin be God immediatlie, as had the Apostolis ; or be man in the cause haifand the power of God, as S. Paule ordinatit Timothe and Tite ; or be baith, as the said S. Paule wes first callit be God, and syne ordinatit be men. Or utherways, that ze aluterlie desist fra the usurpyng of ane uther mannis office, quhill ze be lauchfullie callit thairto ; and heir zit the Apostill say-and, “ *nec quisquam usurpat sibi honorem, nisi qui vocatur à Deo.* ” The seveir punisement of Core, Dathan and Abiron, and the feirfull plaige that come on thay people quha fuleschellie assentit to thair prydefull arrogance (as we sum-part schew in our last wrytting), thunderis swa throw all our sensis, and peirsis with feir our heartis, that we dar nocht bot in compatiencie brotherlie adverteis zow and zour scolaris to be (as we think) in the perrell of the samyn punisement. We beseik zow also to remember of the plaige of the King Ozias, quha in his presumptioun ingerit himself to offer the brynt sacrifice at the Alter of God, to quhilk office he wes not callit : And zit his falt wes a small thing in respect of zouris, give ze want Godis auctoritie as he did ; sen he intendit to offer the signe onelie, and ze to treit the veritie self of the sacrifice of the Kirk at zour Communion conforme to our Salviouris institutioun, togidder with all the utheris Sacramentis and Mysteries. For we can persave be zour awin allegiance na power that evir ze had, except it quhilk wes gevin to zow in the Sacrament of Ordination be auctoritie of Preistheid : Quhilk auctoritie give ze esteme as nochtis, be reasoun it wes gevin to zow (as ze speak) be ane Papiste Bischope, and thairfor renunciis it, and seikis ane uther ordination of secularis ; it followis consequentlie

that ze (quhilk God forbid) sulde renunce zour Baptism also, gevin to zow be ane Papiste Preist, as ze allege on lyke maner. For as S. Augustine maist cuninglie and godlie wryttis, as ane man throw schisme and heresie amittis nocht the Sacrament of Baptism; siclyke, sayis he, for the samyn faltis, he amittis nocht the Sacrament to geve Baptism, quhilk is the Sacrament of Ordinatioun; conferring the perpetuities of the ane Sacrament anis ressavit with the uther. Mairover, that zee may be persuadit that we speik unfenzeitlie and sincerlie of conscience, we pray the Omnipotent to be mercyfull tyll us all, and to dit and close the mouthis of zow or us quha speakis iniquitie in double mynd. Vale et in Dei sapientia vince, aut resipisce. 12 Mart. 1561. Be zouris in all Godlines.

NINIANE WINZET, at the desyre of his Brether.

*The Thrid Tractat. Niniane Winzet to the Reidar, wyssis grace and peace.*

QUHEN it come to my earis, gentill reidar, of the seditious calking of the buith-durris of certane Catholikis in Edinburgh, at the command of the reularis thairof, on Pasche-Monunday last passit; and quhow at that nycht at evin the durris of certane Calvinianis wes calkit also, with sum notes of dishonour: I wes panceand [thinking] quhow happy ane thing it war, geve every man mycht leve according to his vocation at ane tranquillitie in godliness. And throw that, revolveand in mynd that maist flurissand part of my aige spent in the teching of the grammar scule of Linlychtquow, about the space of ten zeris, I jugeit the teching of the zouthhed in vertew and science nixt efter the auctoritie with the Ministers of Justice under it, and efter the angelicall office of the godlie Pastouris, to obtene the thrid principall place maist commodious and necessare to the Kirk of God. Zea, sa necessare thoct I it, that the dew charge and office of the Prince and Prelate without it, is to thaim, efter my jugement, wouderous pynefull and almaist importable; and zit lytle commodius to the commonwelth, till unfenzeit obedience and trew godlines, quhen the peple is ruid and ignorant; and contrarie, be the help of it to the zouthhed, the office of all potestatis is lycht to thaim, and plesand to the subjectis: For the mynd of man

of ane gude inclinatioun (as ane auncient wryttar rycht warily notis) obeyis not, nor submittis not the self willinglie to ony commandar or techar, bot to sick quhome it is persuadit to command justlie, for utiliteis cause : Quhilk persuasioun throw ignorance it may not weill have without the lycht of understanding. Bot as understanding with science is maist specialye and happelye conquest in zouthe, sua nane doutis it at that tyme obtenit, maist firmlie to be reservit in memorie, and maist fruit to cum thair of. The siugular utilitie thair of to the communwelth causit me to marvell gretumlie quhow in tymes passit, among sa gret liberalitie and ryche dotationis maid in Scotland of sindry foundationis to religioun and science, that sa litle respect hes evir bene had to the grammer sculis (quhairin commonlie the maist happy and first sedis of the said commonwelth ar sawin), that in mony townis thair is not sa mekle providit thairto as a common house ; and in nane almaist of all, ane sufficient life to ane techar, albeit ma [more] be requirit to undertak that cuir [charge] deulie, as becomis of ony a scuill. And agane, quhow it mycht be that at this tyme quhen men presis to reforme all cauce of ignorance and abuse, that sa few childer war haldin at the studie of ony science, and specialie of grammar. The contempt heirfor of this small enteres to science, without the quhilk na ferder progres may be had thairto, I conjecturit to be ane gret portent and foretalking of ignorance and ma confusit erroris (quhild God avert) schortlie to cum ; namelie, sen now all men will be theologis and curius seircearis of the hie Mysteriis of God. In remembring thir thingis, I callit than to memorie quhow, be the mercyfull providence of the Almychtie (quha be in all and for evir praisit) thair wes sumtyme submittit to my techement (albeit my eruditioun wes small) humane childer of happy ingynis, mair able to leir than I wes to teche ; to quhom I usit to propone almaist dalie sum theme, argument, or sentence, of the quhilk I wald have thaim intending to mak orisone or epistil in Latin tounge ; and thoecht that this mater of seditioun aforenamit had bene ane verray convenient theme to the purpose. Heirfor, I being drery [sad] and dolorous for the schisme and divisioun presentlie in Godis Kirk, and appearand temporall calamiteis to upryse thairthrow ; and als haifand affectioun to my kynd discipulis, and

my glaid and godlye exercise sumtyme with thaim, began I, almaist for pastyme and sum mitigatioun of my displesur, to wryt this declamatioun following; that is, "Ane Forme of Ditement, maid for caus of exercise and privat studie, as usit to be in Sculis." Notheles quhen ane of our breder chanceit to reid it, he devulgat it in the countrie in my name, bot subscrivit as efter followis, and gaif copiis thair of, as if it had bene ane ernist mater. Bot quhen I onderstude that sum wes offendit thairwith, and with me also for it, I seik the coppie thair of, and consideris it; and as I persave rethorick thair of verray small, sua I can espy na thing thairin abhorring fra the Treuth. Of the quhilk, I (geving the honour of learning to utheris) intending to be ane faithfull Christiane and sone of the Haly Kirk Universale, hes onlie regaird. Heirfor, sen Inervir sett furth ony wrytting contrare the Protestantis, suppressing my name, that I maye save me zit in the innocence, void of all detractioun, I confesse me to have wrytting the samyn tractate, and nathing penitent thair of as zit, except that I strenthit not my purpose with ma sufficient ressonis and auctoriteis. Quhilkis I differ, quhill oure adversaris mak answer heirto: Praying God, maist gracios, to move thame with the spirit of humilitie, that thay be not echamit to recant thair errour in this mater, and all utheris; bot thay be aluterlie confoundit to maling [malign] in ane jot aganis the knawing veritie, I nameit the twa personis following, by utheris, because the ane is knawin to be the principall deformare of his allegeit Reformatioun; and to certifie the uther, that erar I condemnit of idolatrie Hierome and Augustine as leand witnesses, and the hail Kirk of God, in this a poynet without cause, that I had levir [rather] be banisst furthe of Europe, as be his assistance I was banissit fra Linlychtquow, for not assenting to his factioun generalie, in all poyntis. This far, gentyll redar, have I schawin, that I may be clein fra all smot of blame in the putting furth of privat wryttingis without subscription; praying thee to fairweil in the Lord. Of Edinburgh, the 24th of May, 1562.

*To the Honorabyll Provost, Baillies, and Counsall of  
Edinburgh.*

QUHEN I remember, honorabyll Schiris, that Solon, law-maker of Athenis, amangis the rest commandit this in

speciall, that gif ony in the towne in ane publict seditioun or tumult, quhen on baith sydis thai ran to armour, hid himself as ane cowart at hame, not takand part with the ane syde, he suld be denudit of his gudis, and banissit the citie : It stryakis me not with lytle feir that I, sielyke in this controversie of religioun, as ane soldiour of the Kirk of Laodicea, that is, nother haet not cauld, be expellit (quilk God forbid) out of my citie of hevinlie Hierusalem, for not assisting to the assurit veritie, in gainsaying leis, the father thairof the Devyll, and all his memberis. Quhairfor quhen I se the seditioun amangis zow and zoure citizanis for the celebratioun of the solemnitie of Pasche, and quhow ze command to calk the closit buith-durris, at this tyme, of certane nocht disjoint fra the haly Kirk Universale with zow, aud haldis the samyn men ydolaturis and worthy of punisement, it appears to my waik jugement that to attempt sic proude misordour, sall not only big up ane wall betwix us and zow in religioun, bot also sall engener (quhilk the mercy of God stay) mair temporallseditioun, cummeris, and debait ; I thocht that I, ane privat man, could do na better at that tyme bot pray for peace amangis all professing our Lord Jesus. Quhilk quhen I did, and thaireftir castand up the bukis of sun auncient Fatheris to seik the mynd of Godis Kirk in this mater, I fynd maist cleir witnessing of famous Fatheris, and specialie of S. Hierome and Augustine, that the haill Kirk of God, with ane consent, hes zeirlie celebratit the solemnitie of Zule and Pasche, with utheris feistis of our Salviour ; and sielyke kepit the zeirlie abstinence of fourty dayis afore Pasche, callit Lentren, in all countreis in the world professing Christ, afore thir dayis : And affirmis, that thir and sielyke thingis universallie observit, and zit not expresslie contenit in Scripture, ar traditionis of the Apostolis, or decreis of Generall Counselis, and thairfor nawayis, be ony particulare countre, to be changeit. Ane notable cause of thir solennit dayis gevis the said renownit Father Augustine, and worthy to be lokit in the memorie of thaim quha knowis thaimselfis to be men in this flesche, and waik and frail as zit in this world, *ne curriculo temporum* (sayis he) *ingrata subrepat obliuio*, that be the proces of tyme unthankful forzetfulnes steil not upon us. Quhen I reid this maist cleir testimonie of sa renownit Fatheris of the universale

consent of Godis Kirk in this mater sen our Salviouris dayis, I begin to marvell at the arrogant temeritie of zour haly prophete John Knox, quha commandis to abolise thir solenniteis as Papistrie; be the quhilk name he understandis, as I can collect, ydolitrie, superstitioun, or doctryne contrar the Scripture: And gif he understandis thay vices be this name, I think that thare is na trew Christiane bot he dar affirm baldlie in the face of all the warld, that in this mater (quhair he callis the saidis solenniteis ydolatrical, superstitius, or contrarius to Godis law) he speikis blasphemie aganis the Halie Gaist, and aganis the essential veritie of our Lord and King, Christ Jesus, quha promittit His said spirit of treuth to teche His Kirk, and be with it to the warldis end. For Johne Knox and his scoleris schrynkis not to rail and lie, that it hes bene evir in ydolatrie in this case of thir festual dayis amangis utheris ma. Bot I misknaw not sum of zow to object the command, charge-and sex dayis to labour, and the sevint day to sanctifie to the Lord; thairfoir I desyre the doutsum man to cause his doctour and prophete foresaid, with all the assistance of his best learnit scoleris, to answer in writ, quhat Scripture hes he, or uther authoritie, by [besides] the consent of the haly Kirk Universale, to sanctifie the Sonday to be the sevint day? And gif he abolissis with us the Saterdag, as ceremoniall and not requisit in the law of the Evangell, quhat hes he by the consent of Godis Kirk to sanctifie ony day of the sevin, and not to labour all the sevin dayis; the sext day, because it is sua commandit, and the Sabbaoth, because it is abolissit be the Evangell? And gif he can schaw na expres Scriptor tharfor, quhy abolissis he not the Sonday, as he dois Zule, Pasche, and the rest, universalie observit be all Christianis as the Sonday? Bot note, honorabyll Schiris (that the veritie be not losit be altercatioun), the historie of Judith, quhow the Jowis by the solenniteis of thai dayis gefin thaim afor in the Scriptor, institute ane zeirlic solennitie to glorifie God for the delivering Bethulia and thaim fra the crudelitie of Holofernes. Reid also that Mardocheus, Hester, and the rest of the Jowis captives under the King Assuerus, institutit sic zeirly solennitie of blythnes, in remembrance that be the myehtie hand of God they war delyverit fra the tyrannie of wikit Ammon. Gif

sic zeirly memorial in blythnes and thankisgeifing wes haldin for the delyverance of thair bodeis, had not the Apostolis and the hail Kirk of God, gydit undoutitlie be the Haly Gaist, sielyke authoritie to institut sic festual dayis for the delyvering of thair bodeis and saulis, not fra twa eirdlie tyrannis, Holofernes and Ammon, bot from the Devyll, Hell, and Syn; not be twa women, Judith and Hester, bot be the precious blude of the immaculat Lamb, the Sone of God? Ze reid sielyke the fest of the dedicatioun callit Encenia, institute be the Hebrewis without ony command contenit in ony canonicall Scripture; quhilk solennitie wes approvin and decorit be our Salviouris awin presence: Sall the hail peple of God heirfor of all aiges, in the libertie of the Evangell, haif less liberte in the lyke materis, than had the Jowis under the zok of the Mosaical law? Ze may reid also, that Salamon, at the dedicatioun of the Tempyll, celebratit in gret solennitie sevin festuall dayis together; and trow ze that he brak the command thairthrow, sex dayis sall thou labour? Quhen we heir zour prophete cast in dout, sayand, quha wat quhat day Christ wes borne on? Can ze think him in ony uther gre [humor] bot nixt eftir to speir, gif Christ be borne? O mad man and maist fulische, wald he persuade ane faithfull Christiane that the hail Universall Kirk is mair unthankfull and les myndfull of the birth of hir spouse and king the Sonne of God, than ony Realme is of thair temporal King, quhais day of nativitie na countre forzettis induring his lyfetye? Bot our king and maiste sweit spouse levis for evir. Quhairfore ever sall the day of His blissit Nativitie, Circumsitioun, Passioun, Resurrectioun, Ascensioun, and his manifestatioun to the warld, callit Epiphanie, in the despyte of the Devyll and all his furius memberis (quha ever hes laborit to abolische His name oute of this warld) be in fresche memorie of His deir belovit spouse His haly Kirk Universall. Bot allace! quhow mony in thir dayis repetis this haly Kirk Universall as ane necessare articule of thair belief (as it is but dout), and zit owther throw ignorance dessavit, or throw malice blyndit, impungis the trew understanding thair of? Amangis mony materis rycht weechty, lat this samyn grosse exemple of the abolition of thir solennit dayis, as ydolatricall, be ane; contrare the uniforme consent, in all tyme and place, of the samyn

Kirk. Bot allace ! for pietie [pity], honorabyll Schiris, quhy remember we not that for the abusing of thir dayis, amangis utheris faultis, God is at wrayith with us, and not for the institutioun and godlye observance of the samyn : Bot because we have mispent thaim fra the service of our God to the service of our belliis, and of thay memberis under the bellie ; fra the honour of our Lord Christ to the vaine-glorious pompe of our awin bodeis ; from cheritie to carnalitie, bestowand that pertinit to the pure nedy memberis of Chrystis bodeye on our sinfull flesche with the ryche glotton : And sa fra humilitie to pryde ; fra sobrietie to drunkines ; fra peace and lufe to contentioun and debait ; fra loving of God to manswering of His Name ; fra godlye talk of peace, amitie, and frendschip, to scurrilitie, stryfe, and detractioun ? Finallie, fra all the service of God requirit on the haly daye, to the service of Sathan or of the world. And last of all, when we sould lament for our impietie, and returne to God and the rycht use of thir solenniteis, ze eik this mischeif to all zour former wikitnes, quhen ze pronounce this blasphemie to the Spirit of God, affirming that His haly Kirk Universall hes bene ever pollutit with ydolatrie in the observing of thir dayis ! O mercyfull GOD, wyll ze not remember, quha spekis sa mekle of the Scripture, that God for the wikitnes of the peple wes not applesit with thay festivall dayis quhillkis He, in the Scriptures, afore had commandit be the Jowis to be observit quhill the cumming of Christ, and that for thair abusing of the samyn to ane uther fine [end] than he institute thaim. On this maner he complenis be his Prophete, “ I have haitit (sayis the Lord) zour festuall dayis ; I wyll not have zour brunt sacrificeis.” And in ane uther place, “ I sall turne zour solennit dayis in murnyng, and zour canticulis in sobing.” The Prophete Hieremie lamentis that God, for the impietie and sinnis, had causit the festuall and solennit dayis in Hierusalem to be forzet, and in the wrath and indignatioun of His fury (be quhilk we understand His justice aganis the wikitnes of man) had gevin the King and Prieste to be despysit, His temple, sanctuarie, and altare, to be destroyit. Be the quhilk place alane it is evident, that as the King and all lauchfull superiour poweris, the Prieste, Bischope, and all authoritie of the Kirk, wes contemnit for ane tyme, according to the justice of God,

bot zit be the wikit and reprobat onlie, that on lyke maner the ordinance of God tweching the saidis dayis in that tyme, quhill Christis Passioun among the peple of God wes to be observit according to the law gevin thaim : Zit for the abusing of the samyn, the Lord be the mouth of His prophete repellit thair solenniteis and sacrificeis. The cause thairof is declarit, because their congregatioun wes injuste and wikit, and thair handis full of blude. And zit as He wald at that tyme nane of His belufit peple to be disobedient, and nott reverence King and Prieste, not only the gude, bot also the evyll, nor zit His peculiar peple to dispyse His sanctuarie, temple, altare, nor His haly dayis ; swa he wyll but [without] dout His belovit to observe the ordonance of His haly Kirk Universall, tweching thir samyn solenniteis quhilkis ar now in controversie, albeit thay be despytit be the wikit. Give dew obedience and reverence be had to Kingis, Quenis, Princes, and Prelatis at this tyme, lat uther men juge. For a thing specially exhort I zour prudence at this present to consider, honorabyll Schiris, that ze be not of the noumber of that wikit generatioun quhom the Prophete rebukis on this maner, “ All thair generatioun said this in thair hart, Let us mak all the festuall dayis of the LORD to ceis out of the eird.” For except ze be wyllinglye blind, ze may persave thir dayis quhairof we speik to be the festuall dayis of the Lord : For as zour prophetis be auctoritie of the Kirk, without expresse Scripture thairfor, appreis with us the Sondaye to be the Sabbath-daye to all Christianis ; swa, be auctoritie of the samyn Kirk in all countreis and aiges, and be the exemplis also of the Scripturis above wryttin, appreve and affirme we baith the ane and the uther. And that ze may be mair assurit in conscience that thair is na errour committit be the Kirk in this mater, bot zour prophetis to have fallin arrogantlie in ane blynd, arrogant, and wylfull errour, quhen they dar oppone thaim sa proudlie, or erar impudentlie, to the hail Kirk of God, reid in the cxvii Psalme, quhare the Spirit of God commandis the Kirk in blythnes and thankisgeving for hir redemptioun bee Christ (quhare He exponis Himself to be the corner or band stane quhilk the bigaris refusit) to reiose and institute solennity of tyme thairfor, in thir wordis, “ Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et lætemur

in ea." And againe, "Constituite diem solennem in condensis usque ad cornu altaris." Twa thingis remanis, quhilk I of my small learning, bot of ardent lufe, besceikis zow Schiris to consider : *First*, That ze be not the scourge of God (as wes the wikit in the dayis of Hieremie) to dispyse King, Quene, Bischope, and all lauchfull auctoritie, togidder with thir solennit festuall dayis evir observit in Godis haly Kirk Universall ; and leir to prefer the samyn Kirk to the judgement of ony ane man, citie, province, realme, or ony ane aige of men of ane uther spirit, zea albeit it wer ane Angell frome hevin, and knaw zour fragilitie and fall, and returne hame agane to zour awin moder Godis Kirk. *Secundly*, Give the ruidnes of my dytement, haistely wryttin in fervour of spirit but eloquence, may not dissuade zow fra the obstinatt perversitie of zour erreure, I exhorte ze cause zour Prophete John Knox, and zour Superintendant Johne Spotiswod, to impreve [disprove] Sanctis Hierome and Augustine as leand witnessis in the premissis ; and cause thaim delyver thair answeir in wryt, for thir haly Fatheris bukis ar patent tyll us and thaim : And sum of our faithfull brether hes wryttin sundry tymes to thaim baith, and gettis na answeir in wryt, bot waist wynd agane. Bot peradventure, albeit thir twa zour kempis [champions] dar not for schame answeir in this mater, ze wyll appeill to the rest of zour lernit theologis of a gret number in Scotland and Geneva : Bot to thaim we oppone all the Christiane Catholikis in Aphrik, Asia, and Europa. Bot zit perchance, ze wyll allege zour private misordour to have auctoritie, as establissit be ane lang space now, almaist thre zeris in Scotland : Heirfore to that we oppone the universale ordour throw all the world belevand in Christ thir 1527 zeris, as the saidis SS. Hierome and Augustine witnesses afore thair tyme, and all historiis sen syne. Desiste heirfore, Schiris, maist deir belufit ; desiste I pray zou, in the sycht of God, fra zour furius rage and wylfull blyndnes. Think quhat it is to maling contrare Christ, His haly Kirk Universall, our Soverane Lady, and zour lauchfull Pastouris. Be war to move distruction to zour selfis, and seditioun in this nobyll town be zour calking and keling, and perverst mynd to puneis the innocent, contrare all lawis of God and man. The potent Spirit of God mot humyll zour hartis, and give zou grace that this tumult

tak rest without extreme damage. At Edinburgh, the last of Marche. Be zouris, N.

Quhais [whose] name ze sall knaw quhen ze sall knaw zour errour, or quhen Johnne Knox or his brether answeris heirto in wryt.

The Second Treatise of Mr Niniane Winzet, concerning which, the reader will find sufficient advertisement by the author in his preface to the book, as follows :—

*The Buke of fourscoir three questionis, tueching Doctrine, Ordour, and Maneris, proponit to the Precheouris of the Protestantis in Scotland, be the Catholikus of the inferiour ordour of Clergie and Laytmen, thair cruelie afflictit and dispersit, be persuasioun of the said intrusit Precheouris ; set furth be Niniane Winzet, a Catholik Preist, at the desyre of his faythfull afflictit brethir, and deliverit to Johnne Knox, the xx of Februar or thairby, in the zere of the blissit birth of our Salviour, 1561. Ne sis sapiens apud temetipsum, Proverb. iii. Sed interroga patres tuos, et annuntiabunt tibi : Majores tuos, et dicent tibi, Deut. xxxii. Antverpiæ, ex officina Ægidii Diest, M.D.LXIII. xiii Octob. Cum gratia et privilegio.*

*Niniane Winzet, a Catholik Preist, to the Christiane Reidar, wisshis grace and peace.*

AT the command of Dene Patrik Kinloquhy, Precheour in Linlythqow, and of his Superintendent, gentil reidar, quhen I, for denying only to subserive thair phantasie and factioun of faith, wes expellit and schott out of that my kyndly town, and fra my tender freindis thair, quhais perpetuall kyndnes I hoipit that I had conquest be the spending about ten zeris of my maist flurissing aige, nocht without manifest utilitie of thair commounwelth, and be all apperance had obtenit sik favour of thame as ony sik man might haif of ony communitie : I thought I had na cause to be eschameit, bot to reiose and glorifie my God (according to S. Petiris reull) for that I sufferit nocht as a wickit persoun, or an evill doar, bot as an unfenzeit and faithfull Christiane ; for the tyme is now (as the samin Apostill writtis) that the terribill jugement tocum, in a manere in this lyfe beginnis at the houss of God ; that is, at the faithfull Catholikus,

that first for thair awin sinnis, and syne for the trewthis saik thai suffer in this lyfe with Christe thair heid, that be divers tribulis thai mot enter with Him in the lyfe eternall. Nochttheles I began nocht littill to mervel at sa haisty and sa subdane a wolter [welter or tumble] of this warlde, in sa mony grete materis, and specialie of the subdane change of sum cunning clerkis, of the silence and fleitnes of utheris, and of the maist arrogant presumptioun approvin specialie in the ignorant: And amangis utheris strange mutationis, quhow micht it be, that ane Kinloquhy culd be King in Linlytqow; and specialie sik a King, as appropriat to himself mair large empyre and power in this caice than evir did faithfull King or Emprior in Christianitie. For of thame all, certane is it that ne ir wes ane quha attemptit to charge thair subjectis with the burding [burden] of an uther religioun nor faith, than the Universall Kirk of God had ever afore professit; quhilk in his presence (albeit I wes to him na subject) for the gloir of Christis name (quha in all mot evir be praisit), before honorable persones, maist planelie confessit I. And sua, fra I persavit this new proud Prince and his Calviniane brether on lyke manere in utheris partis, to hef subdewit sa to thame, under sik thirldum, thair miserable scoleris, nocht only that thai micht leid thame concerning thair bodyis, as thai war slaves, presoneris, and captives in a raip [rope]; that is, to cause thame to wair and hasert thair geris and bodyis for thair plesuir, bot to hef blindit also thair jugement and naturall ressoun, that thai regaird na lawis, divine nor humane, bot haldis it only law quhatevir thai rail, rattill, or trattill, be it never sa evident aganis Godis expres Word, His manifest ordinance, His haly Kirk, His Princis, and His Prelatis; and amangis the rest to hef usurpit to thame, in maist presumptuous bauldnes, that plane tyrannie, for satisfying of thair raige, to compell thair scoleris to banies catholik and innocent men, ze [yea] thair awin tendir freindis and kinismen, in contempt of oure Soverane Lady and hir Hienes lawis, fra thair just possessionis, native rowmes, and cieteis: I wes almaist astoneist at their proud presumptioun in sa hiech an interprise, and in sa prydeful and arrogant proceedingis, that sa obscur men durst presume to medle thame aganis all auctoritie, bayth with the auctoritie of the spiritual and temporal sworde. Bot fra (the time) I

mair deiply consyderit and weyit the hiech arrogance of men of sa law degre, and aluterlie void of all lauchful power, be ony titill thai allege thairfor, to be aganis all lauchful power placcit be God, a manifest scourge of His wraith, for the inundatioun of our synnis, lang raigeing in every estate, I ceissit ferther to mervell. For that few Catholik Kingis or Quenes, Princeis, or Prelatis, almaist throw Cristindome, hes this day voluntare and dew obedience, according to the expres Word of God, of thair subjectis, it is ouer patent, alace for pietie; insamekle, that quhilk the prophete spak afore of Jerusalem (quhilk wes a figure of the Kirk in this tyme of grace) apperis in thir our tribulus dayis, almaist fullelie complete. "*Oblivioni,*" says he, "*tradidit Dominus in Sion festivitatem et Sabbathum : et in opprobrium et in indignationem furoris sui Regem et Sacradotem. Repulit Dominus altare suum, destruxit sanctuarium suum :*" that is, "The Lord hes forzet in Sion (that is in His haly Kirk) the solennit tyme and the Sabboth-day : and in indignatioun of His wraith hes forzett the King and the Preist. He hes schott away His altar, and hes destroyit His sanctuarie." Thairfor, fra I wes persuadit that it wes the Almychty doutleslie quha, throw His justice aganis sin, sufferis the Prince and the Preist (quhome to in erd [on earth], be the expres Word of God, we aucht maist honour) sumtyme to be dishonorit, albeit be the wickit only, according to it that is writtin, "*Baltheum Regum dissolvit, et præcingit funes eorum : ducit Sacerdotes inglorios, et optimates supplantat.*" And in an uther place, speikand of the Hie Preist, "*Qui honorificaverit me,*" says the Almychty, "*glorificabo eum : qui verò me contemnunt, erunt ignobiles.*" I seirceit [searched] out the titill that our new Calviniane Kingis and Princelie Preistis culd haif for thair auctoritie ; quhiddir this thair dominioun abone us wes provydeit to thame as to a weilbelufit peple of God, as wes the land of Chanaan to the Israclites; or permitteit as to an ungodly and wickit peple, sterit up to be Godis scourge for a tyme above His welbelufit peple, in His discipline and fatherlie correctioun for thair trespassis, as wes the ungodly and confusit Babilonianis aganis the haly citie of Jerusalem. And brevelie considering the first part of thair titill to this thair supreme auctoritie, I fand it nocht only selinder [slender] and licht, bot planelie

inglorius, and a thing to deprive thame of all auctoritie without delay, gif thai had hald ony afore. This first and speciall part, and almaist the hail wair is, that thai confessit thameselfis to hef bene afore, in the preching of the hevinlie and eternal Word of Almychty God, contrare baith thair conscience and science, schameles learis, and be fals doctrine wilfull dissavearis and poysonnaris of the peple of God ; forgeing thair sermons for the plesuir of every auditour, efter the fassoun of schipmenis breiks, mete for every leg : ane thing to hef understandit and roundit privatlie in the mirk, and ane uther thing to hef precheit oppinlie in the pulpet : ane thing to hef had cloisit in thair breistis, and ane uther reddy, as thai thought tyme, in thair mouthe. Be the quhilk schameles testimonie of thair awin toungis, of na ressoun culd I be induceit efter to credit and reverence thame mair thairfor, as mony than (bot fy on the elekane wittit in the cause of God,<sup>1</sup>) of a marvelous facilitie did, bot to esteme thame rather at that present to be the samin self men quhome thai, without all schame, or appering repentance of sa horrible a cryme, (gif thai had recantit thair leis unfenzetlie fra the botum of thair hert, as thai used to speik,) confessit thame to hef bene afore. For no man is of ony jugement quha markis nocht thair schaimles confusioun, quhen thai wald thraw the exempill of the Conversioun of S. Paull to be a trim cloke and excuis of thair eversioun ; for S. Paull at that tyme wes ignorant of Christe, of His Word and Sacramentis ; and blindit be fervent zele towart the Mosaical law, persecut the membris of Christe in mirk ignorance, firmlie, albeit maist wranguslie persuadit, that all that he did wes a thing maist plesand to God, and thairfor, sayis he, “ Misericordiam consecutus sum, quia ignorans feci in incredulitate.” Bot thai contrarie, confessit thameselfis to hef techeit and wrocht contrare thair knowlege and conscience, and willinglie and wittinglie to hef borne fals witnes, nocht contrar man nor manly bissines, bot contrar God and His eternal veritie. And zit, because sum of thame wes eschamit to testifie sa planelie thair gret ungodlines, bot allegeit that thai had

<sup>1</sup> [I am unable to explain the meaning of this parenthetical sentence, unless it mean “shame on those who are changeable in the cause of God.”—E.]

obtenit mair illuminatioun of the Haly Gaist, and gretear knowlege of the veritie, I conferrit with meself quhow that micht be, that Christiane men, professing, techeing, and preching Christe and His Word sa mony zeris, in ane monethis space, or thairby, suld be changeit sa proudly in sa mony hiech materis in the plat contrar men. At Pasche, and certane Soundays efter, thai teeheit with grete appering zeles, and ministrat the Sacramentis till us on the Catholik manere; and be Witsonday thai change thair standart in our plane contrare: and sa jugeit I, that it necessarlie behuifit thame othir to hef bene afore verray finzeit hypocritis and temperizaris with the tyme, contrare thair conscience, or to hef bene revissit be sum mychty spirit, and thairfor thocht I it a thing nocht only profitable at that tyme, bot verray necessar, to obey the counsell of the Apostil; that is, to try and examin the spiritis, gif thai war of God. Heirfor, sen all man suld be reddy to geve compt of that faith and hoip in him, that I, being a Preist, suld nocht hef bene jugeit be the waik, to thair sclander (to quhome my conversatioun afore wes knawin), faithles and feble, nother hait nor cauld, I intendit, be Godis grace, to declare me planelie in this dangerus seditioun an unfeinzeit Christiane, that is, stoutlie to gainstand all abuse, negligence, licentius leving, and pharisaicall hypocrisie to me knawin, other of the former aige, or of it now present; and siclyke to schaw me a manifest adversar, efter my small leirning and knowlege, to all schisme, seditioun, errour, and heresie. And albeit I wes nocht sa weill exerceit in the Scripturis as become me of my aige and vocation, nor zit guidlie micht sua be, sen I had spent my maist flurissing zowtheid apt to that studie, in techeing of cheldring; zit I rememberit that I suld nocht be an hypocrite, nor applaud to the warld contrar my conscience, to beleve ane thing in the law of God, and say the contrar; nor zit for the feir or favour of man, fulechellie to appreve or condemne, in Godis cause, ony thing to me unknowin. And thairfor, that the waik suld nocht hef bene offendit be my silence, and that I micht hef knawin my adversaris strengthe, gif ony had bene for thair novationis, collectit I than, in synceritie of conscience, sum of thai heidis, quhilk I jugeit the foirsaidis persones to hef teeheit erroneously, and wrait to thame

familiarlie, in a plesand manere, forzetand all former injuris done to me, or to utheris, my faithfull brethir.<sup>1</sup> To the quhilkis heidis my new King Kinloquhy, in sindry writtings, void of all humanitie and compatiencie, and taistand nocht only of contentioun bot of contempt, maid sindry promissis of an ansuer, with grete boisting of the victorie to him, and triumphe alrady in hand; bot as zit, that we mot knaw his inwart religioun be his fidelitie (I will nocht say be his leis) in externe materis, we heir nathing of his promis fulfillit That delay suythlie of his ansuer, fra that I, efter sa mony oblisngis had awytit sevin or aught monethis thairupon, moveit me, efter that I had conferrit with sum weill lernit Catholikis, and with sum strang Calvinianis also, and had red sum controverseis and ressoning thairupon on baith sydis, to collect almaist the haille summe of thai thingis quhairin I wes offendit, in the doctrine, ordour, and maneris now auctorizit, contrar all auctoritie. Quhilkis sa collectit, I presentit to my Catholik afflictit brethir, laytmen, and utheris, in quhome apperit to me the spirit of knowlege and godly feir: Quha ansuerit in ane mynd thame all, speciallie to be moveit be the samin ressonis and auctoriteis, nocht to assist to the new impietie, callit be sum the Reformatioun of the Protestantis. Bot zit thai desyre thir questionis mair trimlie and strengthelie to be set furth, with ma [more] large auctoriteis, and to be writtin agane; and thairefter to be deliverit to the principall Precheouris of the new factioun: For I had collectit thame schortlie, wanting buiks, quhen I wes in travell, as thai come in my memorie of former reiding, and of conferring with utheris at that tyme be the way, as sum honorable personis knawis. This I eik, baith for the trewth, that gif ony thing negligentlie and nocht sufficientlie strenthit be set furth in this werk, it suld be impute to my haist and fervour, and to nane utheris injustlie; and to signifie also, that gif the lauchfull Pastouris, and utheris bettir leirnit, of the Catholik syde, did thair diligence in thir materis, and spak frelie without feir, that sik proud, fulege phantaseis, pyntit leis, brutall irreligiositie, and damnable errouris, as now regnis in the place of syncere veritie and trew Catho-

<sup>1</sup> [Would that all had followed the prudent advice and example of this candid writer!—E.]

lik religioun, defenceit only be finzeit eloquence, jesting and mockerie, wald nocht haif sa lang reinzeis, nor the estimatioun amangis the peple, as thai haif presentle, allace. Bot to the purpose ; I nocht than haifing opportunitie, and verray desyrus to haif utterit my religioun, to avoid all occasioun of selander till utheris, and to hef reduceit, sa fer as lay in me, the wilsum wanderin unto the richt way agane ; or to hef bene assuirit be the licht of Godis Word (quhilk our adversaris boistit thame to hef hald) that we had bene furth of that way in ony poynt, incontinent deliverit thame, writtin on this ruid manere following, to Johne Knox, as to him quha wes haldin in tha partis principall Patriark of the Calviniane Court : And that be ressoun, that the ane of my former competitouris keipit na promis, and the uther maid na anssuer ; hoipand mair fidelitie in this renounit man, gif it had pleisit him to promitt anssuer thairto in speciall, as he afore did generalie, sindrie tymes in the pulpet, oblisging himself to sik ressoning in word or writt ; oftymes objecting to the Catholikis (quhome he callis Papistis) that nane of thame durst impugne ane proposition of his doctrine, albeit the contrar wes knawin to be trew. For quhais anssuere, thairefter oftymes publiclie and privatlie promissit be him, we hef awaytit, almaist keiping silence sen the xx of Februar, or thairby ; quhill now laitlie within thir few dayis is cum to my hand a ressoning anentis the maist blessit, feirfull, and haly sacrifice of the Mes, haldin about a zere bypast betwix my Lord of Crocraguel and Johne Knox : A werk in beginning decorit with a pece of an epistil, als hali as is the auctour thair of, and I warrane zow cunninglie gloissit be sum weill leirnit and discrete man, God wate, in the mergin ; quharein Johne Knox, of his pregnant ingyne and accustomit craft of rayling and bairding, attributis to me a new style, calling me Procurtour for the Papistis, and thair oblis him of new to geve anssuer to our questioun tueching his lauchfull vocation ; and as we can collect thair of, and of his former promis, he intendis to anssuer lykewayis to the rest following in this buke. Of the quhilk twa poyntis I wes singularlie rejoyseit ; first, that God maid me worthy to be mockit for my small labouris in defence of his Catholik Kirk, fra the fals accusatioun of hir adversaris, and to be reknit be thame, in tyme

of persecutioun, in nummir of the faythfull, quhome thai in thair jesting callis Papistis. For in defence of that thing onlie procur I, quhilk the honorable and haly Papistis, the haly Bischope and Martyr of Christe, S. Cypriane, with the utheris renounit martyris in the Primitive Kirk, and quhilk the renounit Papistis and excellent Doctouris S. Augustine, Hierome, and Ambrose, zea brevelie, the hail Kirk of God sen the Apostolis dayis, in an uniformitie of doctrine maist clerlie appreis, and nathing disaggreing thairfra procur I: Nocht adhering to the private jugement or obscur sayingis of ony ane man, (as is the commoun practik of our adversaris, to mak of obscur mirknes a commentare to the cleir licht,) bot to the plane and uniforme confessioun of all, or at the leist, to the aggreable consent of the maist part of the best lernit evir be the Kirk of God auctorizit. And sua, godly reidar, quhattin a Papist I am, in this samin ruid buik of questionis (be the infallible and inconfutable treuth of the quhilk my adversar is offendit,) I tak on hand to preve, on perrell of my lyfe, the maist haly Martyris, the best leirnit Confessouris afore reherseit, and utheris mony ma bayth of the Greik and of the Latin Kirk, togidder with Generall Counsallis, to hef bene the samin Papistis. O happy heirfor, and happy agane think I this day to me, quhen the grete guidnes of God, of His mere mercy, hes preservit me in this maist stormy tyme fra the rolkis of schisme, errour, and heresie; zea, fra manifest rebellioun rageing at this present aganis Godis plane Word, His Kirk Universal, His Ordinance, His Princis, and His Prelatis: And besydis that also, hes lent me of His Spirit, to confes my faith to His gloir, quhill the erroneous assault me be tanting and mockerie, quhen thai may naways be veritie. For quhat veritie culd Johne Knox schaw for his lauchfull vocation, (quhilk ane Article specialie he cheseit out of sa mony, to confute and confund in the pulpet, to augment his gloir), I think it is nocht unknowin to Scotland; and is nocht in my defalt, bot in defalt of my small freind, Dame Cunzey, bot it suld hef bene layng or [long ere] now, as it salbe, God willing, schortlie, to the mein leirnit, alwayis (for the godly cunning neidis nane of our labouris thairto) mair notifiit in Scotland, and in uther Christiane cuntreis, in quhat wickit apostasie he and all utheris Preistis, Munk-

is, and Freris of his sect ar fallin in, in that thai renunce as rennigatis thair Preistheid gevin thame be the Sacrament of ordour, and quhow thai still remane Preistis be the samin Sacrament (let thame renunce it as thai pleis) ay quhill thai de ; albeit to thair mair severir punishment eternalie, except thai (quhilk the guidnes of God mot grant thame) in tyme repent thair fall : And siklike, in quhat proud arrogance and damnabil sacrilege is he specialie, and the utheris his fallowis in thair degre, sliddin ; usurping the auctoritie of godly Bischopes, and utheris Pastouris and Preistis in the Kirk, aluterlie aganis all lauchfull power onyway gevin be man to ony ministrie, that thai use in the Kirk, except only be that titill, quhilk thai esteme nochtis ; that is, insafer as thai ar Preistis, and that thai ar nocht send as trew prophetis be God, it salbe, God willing, mair cleir than the daylicht, be mony evident demonstrationis at lenthe. Bot now, quhen all his blunt bouttis and pithles artelzerie ar schot, to infirm and adnull his awin cause rather than to strenthe the samin, that be his lang silence, efter samony promissis, he schawis himself conviet in conscience, haifand na appering ressoun for the defence of his vocation, except we admitt him to be a new S. Johne the Baptist, or a new Prophet Amos ; hes he nocht win the hoiss worthelie, in forging a mok to me mony mylis fra him, calling me Procurar for the Papistis ? Gif ony man, gentil reidar, sall think this my procuratioun in thir Articulis to be ungodly, lat him remember quhat he menis be that Article in his Creid, the haly Kirk Universal : For only quhat this Kirk (quhilk my adversar insinuatis to be it, quhilk he callis Papisticall) hes evir defendit, and now defendis, intend I, be Godis grace, efter all my small power and spirit, evir to defend, and na thing disaggreing thairfra. Bot as to the terme Papist, albeit faithfull Christianis, of guid ressoun rejoseis in na new stylis concerning religioun, zit that thai sall be gretumlie offendit be the terme Papist, objectit to thame be thair adversaris, I can nawayis understand ; sen by it specialie, may be lot understandit a man that dois knaw the lauchful auctoritie of his Bischopes, quhome Almychty God hes commandit be His expres Word to favour, luve, and humelie obey, and specialie to the successour of Petir, now commonly callit Papa ; albeit Papa be a terme, efter the mynd-

is of the aunciant Fatheris, commoun to ony Bischope, as efter in this buik is schawin. Quha seis nocht this day, that gif Kingis and Quenis buir nocht a sword, quhilk our adversaris ferit mair than the spirituall sword of the Pape, and utheris Bischopes, bot thai wald mok us on lyke manere, and call us Kingistis and Quenistis, or siklyke name of thair commoun craft of mockerie, for our humil and dew obedience unto our lauchfull Soverane? And this mekle concerning the Procutar for the Papistis. As to the secund poynt that he promissis in his buke to mak anssuere, as be word he did afore oftymes oppinlie, I am rejoyseit that he intendit than to keip his first promis; albeit as zit in dede, efter ane haill zeris advisement, we heir nocht thair of. Nochttheles that he is sa laying making anssuere, I hoip only guid thairthow, that efter sa lang consultatioun he sall, be Godis grace, prefer the knawin veritie and his salvatioun to all vane gloir or plesuir of man: Bot failzeing thair of (quhilk God forbid) and gif also perchance he keip na promis heirin, he dois bot than as becumis his new professioun, and according to the commoun trade of that part of the Realme be him and his presentlie corruptit, quha declaris expreslie quhatkin [what kind of] a faith thai haif in God, be the faith and promis thai use now commonlie to keip to man. Bot always, because in the mein tyme we ar offendit be his layngsum delay, and ar stoppit be the tyrannie of sum to put furth our mynd in prent at hame; and understandis the copiis of our questionis and utheris tractatis corruptit be unclirnit writtaris, to the selander of the trewth, and to our schame, we sett furth this just copie, without altering or eiking ony thing, safer as we can remember; except onlie, that in place of this epistill wes sum Latin to the cunning reidar, exhorting him nocht to haif respect to our ruid style, bot to the trew Catholik sentence: Sen we controvertit nocht with our adversaris for trim talk, bot for the trying of the trewth; nocht for deckit vanitie, bot for the eternall veritie. Quhilk thing we requiest the, gentill reidar, zit anis agane, and to purge the copie according to this present; willing the to be persuadit that gif it pleisit us at this tyme and place to alter or eik this tractate, that with litill labouris it might be maid, tueching the style, mair plesing and persuading, and in sentence fer mair strenthy and difficill to our adversaris

to mak anssuer thairto. Zit nochttheles, because Johne Knox apperis to schaw that with his fallowis he labouris to fulfill his oblisng, we will eik nor alter na thing heirin, except sum illustratioun in the mergin, that the reidar, gif ony anssuer beis maid, may syncerlie confer the ane with the uthir, and in the mein tyme, that the sempill belevear may haif sufficient licht to eschew the dissaitful snairis of the erroneous. As to the phrase and dictioun heiroy, guid it war to remember that the plane and sempill trewth of all thingis requiris only amangis the lautefull and faithfull peple, plane, familiar, and na curius nor affectat speche; as the defence of fraud and falset necessarlie requeris a cloke of finzeat eloquence, be the quhilk the incircumspect and licht of jugement oftymes ar dissavit. And as tueching the mater, as we are informeit, that Johne Knox, efter advisement wes eschameit to set furth an anssuer, quhilk wes be certane of his grete scoleris about a zere and thre monethis passit deviseit heirto; sua we ar assuirit that na leirnit of thame without prik of conscience, (sa grete is the guidnes of God to knock at the breist of man,) without the studie, I say, of schisme and divisioun, and without rebellioun and wilfull malingning aganis the knowing veritie, sall tak pen in hand in our contrare; zea, contrare the waik membris of Christe, an hundreth ways invadit maist feircelie to leve that haly religioun quhilk thai maist godly professit at thair baptim; for quhais defence specialie thir questiounis ar set furth, that the unleirnit mot haif sum defence aganis the erroneous and contentious pleidaris quha, with thair continuall altercatioun, blasphemeis, and mockrie of all godlines, ithanlie labouris to subvert the sillie sempill anis. Thir thingis I spek in na fulege confidence of my eruditoun, bot in synceritie of conscience and godlie fortitude in the defence of the undoutit veritie techeit be the haly Kirk Universal, quhom only, efter my knowlege and conscience, I follow as the pillar and stabilisment of veritie, as the spous of Christe our Lord, be the illuminatioun of His Spirit, induceit according to His promis in all richteusnes, haifand the samin Haly Spirit at all tymes hir doctour, gyde, confortar, and advocate to hir promist, gevin, and to the warldis end with hir remaning. Bot gif ony salbe sa feble in faith, and negligent of his salvatioun to maling contrar his conscience and

instinct of the Haly Spirit, for plesuir of his forlorne brethir, and for a schaddow of gloir to himself, lat him be persuadit that the Almightie God, quha is the defence and suir protection of all thame quha walkis in simplicitie, sall steir up in his contrare strangar kempis [champions] and perfytear procutaris than I am, to oppin out and mak manifest the hypocriesie of the fule, and of all his mainteimaris: According to it that is writen of the leing maisteris, quha in the latter dayis be thair suete flattering eloquence ar to seduce the hertis of the innocent, and be siklyke joughlarie ar to ganestand the manifest veritie, as Jannes and Mambres be thair leing devilrie and incantatiounis gainstuid Moyses in the presence of Pharao. "Insipientia eorum," sayis the Apostill, "manifesta erit omnibus, sicut et illorum fuit;" that is, the fulegenes of thame salbe maid manifest to all men, as wes the fulegenes of Jannes and Mambres. This mekle, Christiane reidar, thocht I expedient to be notifiit; quhareby my first motioun to thir materis, and cause of ferther proceeding, with my hoip of the end heirop, mot be knawin. For as a theologe I profes me to be nane, nor zit of the nummir of the hie leirnit; sua nocht to confes me a faithfull Christiane, specialie quhen be baneising fra my tender freindis I am almaist compellit thairto, I am effrayt in the presence of God, and eschameit afore angell and man. And as it is knawin nocht to be the Kirk-rentis, nor roytous lyfe thairby, that moveis me to profes my name in this debait and tentatioun, sen of the Kirk-rentis I had nevir my leving, quhilk now I micht haif abundantlie, gif I preferrit my belly to guid conscience; sua I wald it war to nane unknawin, me evir to be an humil son of the haly Kirk Universal. For as fra vitious leving, abuse, superstitioun and idolatrie, I (to God be gloir) aluterlie dois abhorre; sua nevir fra my barne-aige [childhood] intendit I to sik proud arrogance as to be a schismatik, nor zit to sik obstinat wilfulness as to be an heretik. And sa I hoip that the greit guidnes of that Lord maist blissit, quha of His mere merey gave me the former mynd, sall corroborat and strenthe also my present intentioun; quhilk is, nocht to be sa feble and fleit, for na tribble of tyme, nor tyrannie of man, that I be a temperizar in Godis cause contrar my conscience, and fer les heirfor a plane rebell thairto. The samin gift wishe I to the benevo-

lent reidar, that of cheritie, and for thy awin salvatioun, thow wald assist till us, as a faithfull and constant Christiane, in the manifest veritie ; and that without respect of perrel, in feir of that Lord quha only knawis and sall juge, zea the secretis of the conscience of man : Quha mot mak the, with us, and all professing the name of his only Sone our Lord Jesus, of ane mynd, and of ane spirit, humill and obedient sones to all treuth and auctoritie, in His haly Catholik Kirk. Amen. Of Lovane, the vii day of October M.D.LXIII.

*The Faythfull Sones of the Haly Catholik Kirk in Scotland, of the inferiour order of Clergy and Laytmen, humill subditis to thair Soverane Lady Marie, and obedient to thair lauchfull Bischopes and Pastouris, deposit of thair Offices, incarcerat, exilit, or violentlie ejectit fra thair just possessionis and native Citeis, for nocht assenting to the pretendit Reformatioun at this present in Religioun, to Johne Knox and his complices, pretending and allegeing thame to haif the lauchfull auctoritie and ordinationn of trew Bischopes, and utheris Pastouris of the Kirk, within the said Realme ; wisshis helth and illuminatioun of the Haly Gaist.*

WE perseveand zour fervent diligence to alluir all men to the embraissing of zour pretendit religioun, and zour sever punishment also, and rigorus indignatioun aganis thame quha ressaves nocht the samin ; and consydering siklyke, and also firmlie beleving that thair is bot ane fayth of Christis deir-belovit spous His haly Kirk, out of the quhilk, thair is na salvatioun nor remissioun of sinnis ; the quhilk, suppose be tribulit, sall nocht decay aluterlie, conforme to our Salvouris promitt, all the dayis of this warlde : Hes had consideratioun partlie of zour prechingis, and partlie of the jugement of the aunciant Doctouris and Martyris of the primitive Kirk, declarand sumtymes incidentlie the Scripturis and ordour in the materis of controversie now being in religioun, to the intent we mot be instructit in the trewth thair of, and to abhorre and fle, be Godis grace, fra all kynd of idolatrie, superstitioun, schisme and heresie, and to be at ane also in godlie unitie with all thais quha professis syncerlie the trew doctrine of Christe Jesus. Expendig the mater sua, and considering siklyke quhat perrell it is to be cariit about with every wind of doctrine, we ar, be the grace of God (to

quhome be all gloir) persuadit to that constancie, that for na feir of tribble, with help of the Hieast, we will affirm in dissimulatioun, that thing to be trew in religioun afoir man, quhilk the Haly Gaist hes nocht persuadit us to be trew afoir God: And that specialie, becaus we haif in remembrance that all thing quhilk is nocht of fayth, is sin; and that quha thinkis schame of the veritie (quhilk is Christe) afoir man, the Sone of God salbe eschamit of him afoir the Angelis of His fader in hevin. Seing also that the Bischoipis and utheris Pastouris of this Realme, for the maist part, hes nocht as zit that spirit of fortitude to confes and affirm bauldelie on athir syde without feir, that thing quhilk thair conscience and fayth inwartlie dytis thame to be trew, we can nocht, contrare the Word of God, detrect thame, nor railze dispitfullie contrare thame, bot committis the amendiment thairof to the mercy of the Hieast: For we ar certfiit by Haly Scripturis, that hypocritis and wikit persones (bot of vices we accuis nane at this present), als weill of the Ecclesiasticall State as of the Civill Magistrates (to quhome nochttheles we aucht dew obedience with reverence in all thingis nocht repugnand to the will of God), hes sumtymes reull abone the peple for thair iniquitie; of the quhilk we knaw our selfis nocht giltles nor innocent. Zit, sen every man sall beir his awin burden at the leist, and sall geve compt of his awin doingis, and that without fayth it is impossible to pleis God, neid is till us to labour for the safeguarde of the trew fayth for our awin part. Heirfor we desyre zow of zour humanitie, gif ze wald that we war junit in religioun with zow, to answer till us in writt zour opinioun and auctoritie thairfor, concerning the artielis subsequent; in the quhilkis maist cheiffie ze appere to hef segregat zour selfis fra us, insafer as we zit understand of zour doctrine in thame: For in word, or preching only, we can nocht sa firmlie juge thairin, tweeing zour said doctrine, that we dar bauldlie, without prik of conscience, embrase the samin as the indoutit veritie. And zit desyris maist ferventlie, as we hef schawin afoir, and as God knawis, all contentioun and discord being trampit down, all errour and abuse being cuttit away, to leve at quietnes, sa fer as is in us, in all godlie unitie with all thais quha unfenzetlie luvis Christe Jesus, His eternall Word, haly law, and immutable will, and covatis

to dwell in His grete Houss, quhilk is His haly Kirk, in ane godly band of lue, without stryfe and contentioun. Thir thingis following we demand zow, as God knawis, of na malice, contentioun, or ostentatioun of ony science that is in us, quhilk we misknaw nocht to be verray small, in respect of mony utheris; bot specialie for depressioun of errour, illustratioun and magnifying of the veritie, libertie of our conscience according to Godis Will; and that the waik and infirm be nocht sclanderit be our ungodly silence in tyme of persecutioun. And secundlie for twa caussis, of the quhilkis ane is, Forsamekle as we are sa tribulit be zow, and (as we understand) injustlie persuitit with sa grete rigour, as we war heretikis or apostatis, unworthy the cumpanie of trew Christianis, and that only for nocht assenting generalie to zour pretendit reformatioun, quhilk contrare our conscience, led (as we ar persuadit) be na wilfull ignorance, bot be the trew understanding of Godis Word, we dar nawayis attempt; feiring, gif we sua do, the offence of the Lord our God, and thairthrow our just damnatioun. The uther is, That ze sa bauldlie exhortis all men to impugne zour doctrine planelie, gif thai may justlie; or uthirwayis, in sa fer as thai ar doutsum, to desyre ressoning with zow, in word or writt, in ony controversie affirmit be zow quharewith thai be offendit; promitting zow to undertak thai panis glaidly, and plesandly to satisfie thame, according to zour doctrine, of the expres Word of God, gif thai be desyrus of the trewth thairof; of the quhilk we confes us maist desyrus. Of this samin promis cheiflie we ingere us bauldlie, nocht suspectand zour offence thairby, to propone thir questionis following; testifying to zou afoir God, that we aluterlie of conscience abhorris fra the understanding thairof, according to zour doctrine, in sa fer as we zit understand it: Desyring heirfor effectuouslie, and requiring zour anssuer thairof in writt, conforme to zour said promis; and that synceirly, without sophistical contentioun of wordis, as ze will geif compt to Him quha misknawis nane of all our thochtis; Desyring siklyke, and also maist hertlie and humbly praying the Nobilis, and utheris of zour congregatioun, to consider attentlie, and trewlie juge our former caussis to proceid of na hatrent, nor intent to move diabolical seditioun (quhilk we speik unfenzetlie in Godis pre-

sence), bot only of the trew fontane of syncere lue, that God and His eternal veritie mot be trewlie acknawlegeit; and we, and all professing the name of our Salviour Christe, bot specialie our Nobilis, and utheris our countrey men (to quhome, besydis the professioun of Christe, we ar in mony greis of lue naturalie conjunit) mot be in uniforme ordour of religioun, of ane spirit, of ane mynd, and ane in all godlines in the samin Christe Jesus, our only Salviour and Mediatour. To the end heirfor that we may sa be, we exhort zour modestie, gif ony thing in this tractate be objectit to zow, of the quhilk ze sall peradventure pleis to schaw zour selfis innocent, that ze purge zow thair of, without cavillatioun in ane word, and impute that to the imbecillitie of our judgement, nocht throughlie understanding zour doctrine; or (gif ze pleis) to our ignorance. For we had levir be callit be zow our countrey men ignorantis, nor wit zou to be estemit be all faythful Nationes, in grete schame of our Natioun, wilfull and erroneous; certefeing zow of our conscience, and also geving, be thir presentis, to zow our *juramentum* (as thai call it) *calumniæ*, that we oppone nathing to zow heir, except only that apperis till us manifest errour, or ellis curious, new, indistinct, and confusit doctrine, of the quhilk manifest errour and presumptioun uprissis; or quhare misordour and maneris are ungodlie be zow approvin, eftir our judgement; or that quhilk ze calumniuslie (as we think), in dissimulatioun ascrivis to the name of Papistrie, nochtwithstanding the samin be in deid (as we dout nocht zour selfis the samin thing nocht to misknaw) othir the evident consent in doctrine of the Primitive Kirk, expressit till us be the writtingis of the Doctouris within four hundreth zeris till Christe, or determinationis establissit be General Counselis according to the haly Scripturis. We suspect nathing of zour prudence to putt in dout quhat part of every questioun is objectit to zow as erroneous, and quhat part siklyke thair of is belevit and apprevit be us as the trewth. Forsamekle as it may chanse that sum of our questionis may appere to zour judgement mair proloxit than becumis, eftir the common consuetude, to sik materis: Beleve heirfor us to hef tane willinglie the mair labouris on us at this present, corroboring our judgement with sufficient defensis, and sumtyme ansuering to zour maist strang objectionis, to the intent that eftir this

mair easlie without stryfe, we mot togidder embrase the knawin veritie. Ferther, the Spirit of Christe promottit and gevin to the Apostolis to teche and persuade thame all veritie, mot convoy and confirm zow and us in the perfyte beleve and syncere knowledge of Godis Will, and continual obedience to the samin. Amen.

#### THE FIRST QUESTIOUN OR ARTICLE.

##### 1. *Of the trew understanding of the Kirk, and be quhome specialie expressit.*

SEN the haly Catholik Kirk is, without controversie, to all professing the Scripturis of God, the pillar and firmament (or establisging) of veritie, indoutitlic haifand the trew understanding of the syncere Word of God, be the inspiratioun of the Haly Gaist, conforme to our Salviouris promitt: Quhidder beleve ze the jugement of this said haly Kirk, mair trewlie set furth and expressit till us, tueching the trew understanding forsaid, and specialie in materis of controversie being at this present, be the Martyris and utheris aunciant Doctouris of the primitive Kirk, as, Dionysius, Clement, Martialis, Ignatius, Fustinus, Tertulliane, Cypriane, Irenæus and Origene; and efter be Hierome, his Maister Nezianze, Ambrose, Augustine, Athanasius, Basill, Hilarius, Chrysostome, and Cyrillus, with mony utheris in thair dayis, about elevin hundreth zeris passit at the leist; togiddir with General Counselis, writand in ane consent and unitie of doctrine, specialie quhare thai tueche incidentlie ony mater of religioun now controvertit: Or be Johne Calvin and his complices in thir our dayis? And to quhilk of thair consentis and jugementis dar ze maist bauldlie assist in zour conscience afoir God? <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [The Divines of the Church of England refer to the same Fathers, and the four first General Councils (Preface to the Prayer-Book) with more confidence and consistency than the Romanists do; (see this subject well handled in Bishop Jebb's "Peculiar Character of the Church of England," annexed to his Sermons); for while those Fathers and Councils sanction much that is common to Rome and to us, they furnish no ground whatever for such abuses as these,—the supremacy, infallibility, and exclusive claims of the Bishop of Rome and his Church—the worship of the blessed Virgin and Saints—indulgences and the sale of them—purgatory—celibacy of the Clergy—denial of the cup to the laity—and transubstantiation. If Romanists and Sectarians would agree to abide by the decisions of the

## 2. *Of the calumnious allegeing of Papistrie.*

GIF ze prefer in zour conscience, afoir God, the jugementis of the saidis aunciant Fatheris and Counselis, to Calvin and his forenemmit (quhilk we beleve ze dar nocht planelie deny afoir man, except ze wald be jugeit schameles), quhy depres ze in dissimulance, and obscuris in zour doctrine, be the name of Papistrie, as be ane terme to mony maist odious, the saidis Fatheris and Counselis uniforme consent in sindry controversiis being at this tyme; and followis in zour techement the privat opinioun of Calvin and his complices rather than thame?

## 3. *That the Catholikis defendis na new Doctrine.*

SEN all heresie that evir hes bene in the Kirk (except sum in few countreis knawin) had sum cheif archiheretik inventour thairof, of quhome that heresie and the defendaris of the samin maist specialie had the name, as of Marcion, Arrius, Manes, and Pelagius: Gif ze heirfor haldis us Catholikis to be heretikis, quhy schaw ze nocht quhois heresie we follow? For we (to the intent we may haif godly unitie) makis our purgatioun to zow, and also oblissing that we sall nocht adhere to ane jot in religioun, except we schaw the samin expressit in Scriptuir, apprevit be General Counselis, or be the best leirnit Fatheris, Greik and Latin, writtand in ane consent abone ane thousand zeris passit. Heirfor, gif we sua do (as we do in deid), quhy condemne ze nocht thai Scriptuiris, aunciant Doctouris and Counselis, quhois jugement in ane consent, as deducit or aggreing with the Scriptuir of God, we follow, and nocht us, efter the religioun establissit sa mony zeris?

## 4. *Of certane Articlis of our Belief, and first of that, “ He descendit to the Hellis.”*

QUHY diminiss ze, or takis away at the leist, the trew and propir sentence fra us of this part of our Catholik beleif;

early Fathers, as supplementary to, and explanatory of, the New Testament, and even by the faith and practice of Rome herself during the first centuries, our disputes with both would speedily be terminated. Most of Winzet's lxxxiii Articles are well and justly aimed at the Scots Reformers, and their followers to this day, but have scarcely any application to the Reformed Episcopal Church.—E.]

to wit, that Christ descendit to the Hellis; and makis in that part ane idoll of Calvin, adherand to his privat opinioun, but ony apperand Scriptuiris or consent of the Kirk afoir zow, bot platt contrare bayth, quhen ze affirme be thai wordis to be signifiit the dolour and anguis quhilk Christe sufferit? Will ze that our Salviour sufferit panis efter that He was deid and buriit?

### 5. *Of the Haly Catholik Kirk.*

QUHY spulze and denude ze us of this part of our Catholik beleif, to wit, the haly Catholik Kirk, the Communioun of Sanctis? Quhilk ze do, quhen ze abstract us fra the uniforme consent of all Kirkis, in all cuntreis and aiges, sen the dayis of the Apostolis, and bindis and astrictis us only to the doctrine and ordour laitlie set furth at Geneva; and lital estemis, or erar despiseis the communioun of doctrine and ordour in religioun of all the sanctis of God sen Christis ascensioun.

### 6. *Gif our new Precheouris and thair Scoleris be the Catholik Kirk.*

QUHIDDIR affirme ze zour selfis only, with zour scoleris, to be the said haly Catholik Kirk, and zour determinationis in controversiis, nevir afoir this determinat according to zour doctrine (bot erar be the best leirnit declarit in zour contrare), to haif the strenthe of the decreis of a General Counsell, or nocht? Gif ze sua do (as ze appere till us) ze schaw zour arrogance only but mair confutatioun, to be lachin and gestit at. Gif ze do nocht, quhy determinat ze sa proudly in heich materis weill obscur in Scriptuir; as the glorius Virgine the Mothir to haif bene pollutit, nocht only with original, bot als actual sin? Sen the samin Virgine wes preservit (as we may godly but arrogance sua understand) be the merciful Providence of God, as apperis till us be the Scripturis, Genes. iii. afoir Eva for hir sin wes be God accursit; and be this also writtin, that the Lord hes sanctifiit His Tabernacle, and that in hir lyfe scho wes pronunceit be the Angel to hef bene full of grace, sua that na place culd be left to sin; sen S. Augustine also speikand of sinnaris, dar nocht move questioun thairin of the said blissit Virgine, for the honour of Jesus our Lord, hir Sone;

We speik this mair largelie, becaus we heir sum of zour scoleris affirme, that eftir His blissit birthe scho turnit to the common effairis of marriage; “et alia magis absurda, quæ clariùs promere nobis religio est.” And siklyke, quhare ze newlie conclud in zour doctrine of Baptim, the infantis to be saifit [saved] but the samin; the said S. Augustine inhibitit to promit salvatioun in that case to thame, the quhilk the Scriptuir of God (sayis he) to all manly inginis to be preferrit, promittit nocht. We mein siklyke, that ze affirme the saulis of the faythfull to hef passit to hevinlie gloir afoir Christis ascensioun: That the persones separat for fornicatioun may mary agane with utheris persones, athir of the partiis being on lyfe, by the practise nocht only of the Catholikis, bot also of Ingland, Denmark, Saxone, and mony utheris cuntreis (as we are informit), pretending reformatioun: That sum men and women professing Monastik lyfe, and vowing Virginitie, may efter mary but brik of conscience; with mony utheris thingis, as eftir sall follow. To the quhilkis zour determinatioun ze wald astrict our conscience, as to the expres Word of God, and trew understanding thair of, pronounceit till us be a General Counsell; sen we man othir embraiss zour doctrine, or be banissit. Gif we beleif suirlie the articulis of our common fayth, togiddir with the Scriptoris of God, to be trew; may we nocht in sober simplicitie misknaw mony thingis of obscur and dirk places in Scriptuir, albeit trewlie declarit be particular men, but perrell of our salvatioun; committand the jugement thair of to the haly Catholik Kirk? And contrarie, may we fuleschelic embrais and profes ony new interpreta-tioun in the Scriptoris, albeit nocht erroneous, bot to us alwayis doutsum, pronounceit be zow, (zea suppose ze war lauchful Ministeris, of the quhilk we ar nocht zit assuirit,) except we incurre the samin perrell?

*7. Gif Fayth may be in a Man but Cheritie; and of the Perrell of that general Doctrine.*

EFTIR sa lang disputatioun of fayth, quhy conclud ze that fayth can nawayis be in a man but cheritie? Sen S. Paull planelie distinctis the office and presence also of the ane fra the uthir to be possible (we mein nocht that cheritie may be separatit fra fayth), sayand, “gif I hald all fayth and nocht

cheritie, I am maid lyke soundand metell, or ane tincland cimball?" And in ane uthir place schawis himself, albeit prechand to utheris (quhilk he culd nocht do but fayth) to feir and be solist, "that be the inlake of cheritie throw disobedience, he suld be maid reprobat." Mairover oure Saviour schawis that He sall misknaw and repell fra Him at the latter day all wirkaris of iniquitie, evin thame quha had propheciit, wrocht wonderis, and cassin out devilis in His name; quhilkis thingis thai culd nocht do without fayth. S. James corroboratis the samin sentence; and S. Petir affirmis that the jugement sall begin at the hous of God, quhilk is the faythful. Albeit we misknaw nocht, that the perfyte quik fayth, be the quhilk we apprehend the grace of God, conquest till us be Jesus Christe, throw exercise of His Sacramentis and utheris His ordinance, be the quhilk we are justifiit, can nawayis be separat fra cheritie; for quha ar moveit be Christis spirit ar the sones of God, and quhare is cheritie thair is God: Zit, be quhat resssoun can ze affirme generalie, fayth nawayis to be in ony but cheritie. Persuade ze nocht be this zour new determinatioun, manifest presumptioun, and ungodlie securitie of conscience to the wickit, to think it sufficient to bable thair beleif, and to haif na regaird quhow thai leve? Or will ze that quhow oft a man sinnis, sa oft he be denudit and spulzeit of all fayth; sen quha evir offendis God and his nichtbour injustlie, throw sin, wantis cheritie?

### 8. *Of the Distinction of Actual Sin.*

QUHY mak ze na distinctioun nor difference of actual sinnis? Sen S. James distinctis the samin, sayand, "Concupiscence quhen it consavis, generis sin; and sin, quhen it is consummat, perfytit, or endit, generis deid:" Distinctand the sin quhilk standis with grace, callit be Theologis veniall; and the uthir, quhilk separatis us fra God, callit mortall: Sen "the just man sinnis sevin tymes on the day, and ryssis agane;" and as S. Johne writtis, "name of us ar but sin" Will ze haif us be this kynd of sin evir in the state of damnatioun? and na difference of the lycht imperfectioun callit sin, zea in the regenerat be Godis spirit, and the sin of the wickit? Sen the former kynd of sinnaris ar manifestlie callit just, as wes Job, Zacharias, and Elizabeth; and maist

trew it is, that “na damnatioun is to thame quha ar in Christe Jesu, and walkis nocht eftir the flesche:” Ar we nocht commandit nocht to be desavit, bot beleve that the rychteous man is rychteous, as Christe his Heid is rychteous? Bot of the uthir kynd it is writtin, “Quha ar nocht just, ar nocht of God.” Quha ar nocht moveit of Christis spirit, ar nocht His. “Depart from me (sall Christe say to the vane bragaris of fayth) all ze wirkaris of iniquitie.” Persuade ze nocht, for nocht distincting this generalitie of sin (as we said afoir of fayth), the wickit to presumptioun?

9. *Of calumnious allegeing of Papistrie, and lesum Simplicitie.*

QUHY saw ze sa planelie manifest seditioun in Godis Kirk, evir clockand zour apperand malice and perversitie be the name of Papistrie, nocht only ascriving in mony controversis the uniforme doctrine of the Martyris and utheris Fatheris, aggreing with Godis Word, to the said Papistrie; bot also allegeing impudentlie and calumniouslie that thing to thame quhome ze call Papists, quhilk nevir ane of thame (sa fer as we can collect) thocht anis in mynd? as, that our Salviour descendit to the hellis in His body: That men ar saift be thair workis, and nocht be fayth in Christe; and utheris siklyke. And also imputing to the universal consent of Godis Kirk, callit be zou Papistis, that thing quhilk every man in his privat opinioun hes writtin within thir few zeris; sen we addict our selfis to the doctrine of na man, of quhatevir leirning and auctoritie he be, except in sa fer as it manifestlie aggreis with the catholik doctrine, planelie declarit till us be the maist aunciant writtaris, abone ane thousand zeris passit, to hef bene belevit and observit afore thame, fra the Apostolis dayis, and keipit in dayly practyse to this present, in Godis Kirk. Mairover, as we know that our Salviour and his Apostolis did and spak mony thingis quhilkis ar nocht expreslie writtin, and thairfor of na necessitie injunit us to beleve, except thai be of the traditionis universalie belevit and observit: Zit, sen mony thingis ar writtin in Historiis, and keipit fra tyme to tyme in the memorie of man, aggreing with the Scripturis, and apperand to be trew, as that knycht quha peirsit our Lordis syde with the speir, to hef bene callit Longinus, and to hef obtenit at that tyme nocht only the cleir sycht of his cor-

poral, bot also of his inwart eis, and to hef bene saifit throw the plentuesnes of mercy with the theif that hang on the rycht hand. This grossis exemple we propone apperand trew, and to the gloir of Christis grete mercy schawin to His inimeis, bot amangis us of na existimatioun, in the rebuk of cheif arrogantis, intending be this and utheris siklyke, to saw and nureis discord amang the membris of Christe Jesu, be the name of Papistrie. Siklyke, that the croce and pillar quhareat our Salviour sufferit, wyth his cote, and siklyke to be keipit zit amangis Christianis: That the Apostolis and Martyris bodyis be zit lyand in sik places as sum men affirmis thame to be. Qnhat perell or errour is it to beleve, in simplicitie of mynd, thir thingis, and siklyke, sua thai be nocht abusit in idolatrie nor superstitioun, bot in ane moderat reverence, nor zit injunit to ony man to beleve the samin as necessar to his salvatioun? Gif ze think na perell thairin, quhilk ze behuis to do on the maner for-said, except ze be maist mad, and unkynd to Christe; quhy attempt ze sik divisioun thairthrow, cryand, Papistis! Papistis! makand the semple and humill membris of Christis body as ane gestingstok, ane fable or bable to lach [laugh] at, and that be the name of Papistis? Gif ze, for our simplicitie in godlines, humill jugement, and submissioun of our selfis to the jugement of the haly Catholik Kirk in all controversiis, keipand suirlye the articulis of our beleif, and leveand as we may be Godis grace (quhilk we intend) in the feir and lue of our God and nyctbour, quhilk thing is the end of all the law; haif we na mair just caus to reiose to be callit Papistis (be the quhilk name we understand Catholikus, sones of the haly Catholik Kirk), than ze haif in the name of Protestantis or Calvinianis? For siklyke with us rejosit the haly Prophet David, to be callit the son of Godis damicell [damsel or hand-maid], quhilk is the haly Kirk, sayand, "I Lord, I thi servand, and the sone of thi damicell;" and in an uthir place, "Lord saif thi servand, and the sone of thi damicell."

10. *Of the first four General Counselis eftir the Apostolis.*

SEN na heretik that evir wes in thir our lattir dayis, or afoir, denyit the first four General Counselis eftir the Apostolis (we mein of Nicænum, Ephesinum, Constanti-

nopolitanum and Chalchedonense), except thai heretikis or thair scoleris, contrare the quhilkis tha Counselis wes haldin, tweching the cheif articulis of our beleif, to wit, the Haly Trinitie and Incarnatioun of our Salviour; quhy hef ze left out in zour Confessioun, laitlie set furth at Geneva, in Inglis, the Counsel of Constantinople, confessing zou to condemne all heresiis condemnit in the uthir thre, makand na mentioun of it? Will ze nocht grant with the said Counsel, contrare the heretik Macedonius condemnit thair, that the Haly Gaist is verray God? And gif ze confess the samin, as we dout nocht bot ze will do; quhy geif ze just occasioun to the infirme to be in that part sclanderit be zow? Or quhat uthir thing appreis that Counsel that ze dar impreve?

11. *Of the terme Sacrament, and Numbre thairrof.*

SEN ze admitt na thing in religioun except thai thingis quhilkis ar expreslie contenit in Scriptuir, quhy mak ze sik brag, tumult, and divisioun for the terme Sacrament, cryand sa oft to be twa Sacramentis in Christis Kirk, and na ma? Quhilk terme is nocht peculiarlie appropriat in Scriptuir to ony of thai sevin, callit be the Kirk Sacramentis, except to Matrimonie allane, quhilk ze, contrare the Scriptuir, denyis to be a Sacrament? Quhy use ze nocht the samin sevin be sik names as thai ar expressit in Scriptuir but ferthair contentioun, as Baptim; the Lordis Supper; the Impositioun of Handis, in Confirmatioun and Ordinatioun of Ministeris; the Keis for Absolutioun to the penitent; Matrimonie; the Prayer on the Seik with uncting of oill? Or quhy call ze nocht the samin Mysteriis, conforme to the Evangell, but mair brag? And suppose ze contemne the terme Sacrament to all the sevin sua haldin, quhy contemne ze the use and exercise, in zour congregatioun, of ane grete part of the saidis sevin, contrare the expres Scriptuir? Quhy use ze this terme Communioun for the Lordis Supper, nocht contenit in Scriptuir in that significatioun, and samikle abhorris fra the terme Missa, expreslie contenit in the Hebrew text for ane oblatioun; sen na Christiane of the former aige, and few of the Protestantis at this present in Allemannie and utheris cuntreis, denyis the rycht use and practise of the Lordis Supper to be callit ane Sacrifice or Oblatioun?

12. *Of the Twa Sacramentis, and na ma.*

QUHAT haif ze for zou, that in Christis Kirk thai ar bot twa Sacramentis, and na ma ; specialie sen zour grote Maister Calvine denyis nocht to be thre, Melanchton and utheris four, utheris five, and sum sex ? For Scriptuir haif ze nane, nor zit, as we ar informit, aunciant Fatheris, nor General Counselis, nor zit (that suld move zou mair) uniforme consent of zour awin writtaris.

13. *Gif the Sacramentis be signis only of Salvatioun.*

QUHY mak thir twa Sacramentis signs only of Salvatioun, quharby we suld be assuirit (as ze teche) of Godis grace ? and nocht erar meanis of efficacitie, quharby God workis His grace in us ? Sen it is writtin, that God makis us saif be the lawar of regeneratioun. And S. Petir hes thir wordis, that baptim on lyke maner makis us saif. And S. James hes, that the prayar of fayth sall saif the patient. S. Paull writtis, that Timothe had grace be impositioun of his handis.

14. *Gif the Infantis be saifit but Baptim.*

QUHAT haif ze for zou, that the infantis of the faythful ar saifit alrady but Baptim ? Sen the Scriptuir techis, that “ We ar borne the sones of wrayth ; ” and, “ Except we be borne agane of the watter and the spirit, we sall nocht entir in the kingdome of hevin.” And S. Augustine affirmis this his sayngis in mony utheris places. “ Trow nocht, say nocht, nor teche nocht, (sayis he) gif thow wale be a Catholik, that the infantis or thai be baptizit cumis to remissioun of sinnis, gif thai be preventit be deth but baptim.” But quhow can the promis maid to Abraham and his seid preve zour intent in this mater ? Sen efter the promis maid to Abraham in that samin place, it followis that the mail barne nocht circumcidit the auchtin day, suld peris fra his peple. Bot ze affirme Circumcisioun and Baptim to be of ane strenth and efficacitie. Or zit quhow may that place of S. Paull allegit be zow confirme zour sentence, “ Uthirwayis zour sones war unelene, but now thai ar haly ? ” except that ze wald an indurat Jow and an unfaythful Ethnik, be the fayth of an uthir, to be saifit.

15. *Of the Contempt of Baptim to the Ministeris perrell.*

GIF ze affirme with Calvin, Baptim to be sa necessar, that it sald nocht be contemnit, gif occasioun and tyme serve thairto (as we grant also that the guidnes of God astrictis nocht utherwayis in the persones of adult aige His grace to the Sacramentis), quhy refuse ze to baptize the barnis quhen thai ar brocht to zou, except it be zour appoinetit day thairto? And quhy allege ze it to be na perrell to zour selfis alwayis, contrare zour doctrine, (to wit, that the Sacramentis suld nocht be contemnit,) gif the barnis deceis but Baptim throw zour neeligence, or erar contempt and lichtliing of Godis ordinance? Or quhy refuse ze to baptize the barne presentit to zou be faythful men, for the iniquitie of the father, sen it is writtin that the sone sall nocht beir the fatheris iniquitie; and sen a Christiane is nocht faythles, albeit he be fallin utherwayis in sin? In sa fer as ze wald punis sin, we dissent nocht fra zow; bot gif ze lat the barne peris, quhow sall we nocht dissent fra zow? Or quhow can ze excuis zour crueltie thairin?

16. *Of the Ceremoneis at Baptim.*

SEN the maist aunciant Martyris and Doctouris of the primitive Kirk, as Justinus, Cypriane, Tertulliane, Origenè, Basil, Augustine, and utheris, witnessis mekle ordour to be observit at Baptim, nocht expresslie writtin in Scriptuiris; and also mony of thai ceremoneis useit be the Kirk of God in thir our dayis at Baptim, to hef bene traditionis universalie observit, and throw that caus nocht to be neelectit nor contemnit; quhilkis ar specialie exorcizatioun, the signe of the croce, with the rycht hand on the forret, to be maid, to renunce the Devil and all his werkis, the uncting with oyll and chrisme; the baptizit to be coverit with a quhyte clayth callit the cuid, to be thryis dippit in the wattir: Quhy accuis ze us of idolatrie, superstitioun, or Papistrie, as ze call it, for the useing thairof? and will nocht condemne planelie, as ze think (quhilk thocht esalie may be considerit) the saidis Martyris, Doctouris, and all Kirkis of Christe afore thir our dayis, as an idolatricall and superstitius Kirk, pollutit with the saidis filthy vices?

17. *Of Godis Kirk.*

GIF ze condemne the said Kirk of the Martyris (quhome the rest hes evir followit to our dayis in that part) of superstitioun and idolatrie ; quhare sall ze find this Kirk of God promittit in the Evangel, quhois fayth suld nocht failze ?

18. *Of the Ceremoneis amang the new Reformaris.*

GIF ze will admitt in zour Kirk na ceremonie, except expreslie commandit in Scriptuir, quhy will ze nocht baptize the barne, except the father thair of hald it in his armis afoir zour pulpet : And nocht content with utheris gentlemen, except thai bring thair bairnis throw the stretis in thair awin airmis ? And quhy baptize ze in the Kirk, and in ony prophane basin, and nocht in the plane feildis, and in the revar or fluid, as did S. Johne the Baptist, Philip, and the rest of the Apostolis ? Quhy haif ze god-fatheris and god-motheris, sen the haill congregatioun thair present may be witnes ? Quhy hald ze god-motheris in the beginning, and now repellis the samin ? Quhy baptize ze nocht, except ze geif every barne ane name at that tyme ? Of the quhilk, albeit ze haif exemple of S. Johne the Baptist at his Circumcisioun, and of our Salviour, zit quhat expres command haif ze thairto ? Quhy cover ze zour table with a quhyte clayth at zour Communioun ? Quhy caus ze utheris than the Minister partlie to distribut zour breid and wyne at zour Communioun, sen our Salviour (quhois place the lauchful Minister occupiis) gaif His Sacrament Himself to His disciplis, commanding thame, as His lauchful Ministeris, to do the samin ? Quhy mak ze zour Communioun afoir denar, sen our Salviour institutit His haly Sacrament efter suppare ? Quhy use ze at zour Communioun now four, now thre coupis, and mony breidis ; nothir keipand the ceremonie expressit in the Evangel, nor confessing the trewth of the mysterie with us, sen our Salviour useit ane breid and ane coup ? Gif ze nothir affirme Christe realie thair present (quhilk ane individit trew hevinly breid till us promittit, eviry Christane of us at our haly Communion most assuritie throw Christis omnipotent word resavis), nor zit keipis the ceremonie in the using of ane breid and ane coup ; quhow undirstand ze that is

writtin be S. Paull, "We ar mony ane breid and ane body, all that ar partakaris of ane breid and ane coup?" And quhy will ze nocht solemnize zour band of matrimonie, except thai be proclaimit thre bannis afoir? Quhy caus ze at mariage the persones than mariit to tak utheris be the hand, and in sum places a ring to be gevin? Thir thingis we speir nocht that we repreve thame all, bot to know quhow ze estabilis zour doctrine, to the quhilk ze will that we astrict our selfis; sen ze teche na thing to be useit at the Sacramentis, or in Religiou, except thai be expreslie commandit in Scriptuiris, albeit ze use the contrare zour selfis.

19. *Gif all the Sacramentis of Auld and New Testamentis ar of alyke strenthe and efficacie.*

SEN the Sacramentis of the Evangell exhibitis in deid and veritie thai graces figurat only and hoipit for in the Auld Testament, as largelie exponis the Doctouris, as Ambrose writtand on the lxxiii Psalm, "The Sacramentis," says he, "of the Auld and New Testament ar nocht alyke, for the ane promittis the Salvour, and the utheris wirkis salvatioun." Quhy teche ze that thai ar all indifferentlie of ane efficacie and actual strenthe? Say ze that manna in the desert wes the samin thing in effect that the Sacrament of Christis body, sen the ane wes the figure, and the uthir the veritie? Or hald ze manna of greitar excellencie than the uthir, quhilk ze do, gif ze confes breid and wyne allanerlie thair present, sen manna descendit frome the hevin be miracle, and breid and wyne ascendis frome the erd be nature: quhiddir affirm ze heirfor the figure and the veritie to be ane thing, or nocht; or the figure and the schaddow of mair excellencie than the uthir, or nocht?

20. *Of the Real Presence of Christis Body in the Sacrament, be power of the wordis of Christe Omnipotent.*

QUHAT haif ze for zour defence to affirm in the Sacrament of our Lordis Body to remane breid and wyne with (I wate nocht quhat) sum spiritual imaginatioun? And mair erroneuslie also, contrare the Lutheranis, and all Kirkis afoir zow, that thair is nocht thair bot breid and wyne only? sen the wordis of our Salvour (quha is verray God, omnipotent

in power) ar sa expreslie spokin, “ This is my Body : This is my Bluid.” And S. Paull exponing the samin, writtis, that the man “ quha eitis thairof unworthelie, eitis his damnatioun, nocht decerning,” says he, “ the Lordis Body.” And siklyke all the aunciant Fatheris and Counsellis, nocht allanerlie that hes bein laitlie, but quha hes writtin fra the beginning, quhare thai tweche that mater, writtis contrare zour doctrine ; as ane sufficient testimonie thairof may be the first Counsel haldin at Ephesus, to the quhilk ze astrict zow in zour beleif, set out in zour Confessioun at Geneva. Bot gif ze allege that sum of thame callis that Sacrament a figure, we ar certifiēt, be evident demonstrationis of thair writtingis, that quhare thai call it anis a figure, thai call it an hundreth tymes Christis verray Body and Bluid ; quhareby thai schaw thameselfis planelie, that thai call the sensible signis of that Sacrament a figure or signe of the thingis present invisibilie, and nocht absent, that nane suld haif that carnal and gross jugement of the Capernaitis.

21. *Of certane Argumentis tweching the Premissis.*

ZE, takand zour argument contrare the real presence of Christis body in the Sacrament, useis to ressoun of the natural propirteis of manis verray body, to the quhilk the body of our Salviour wes alyke (bot zit nocht equall) in all thingis tweching an verray man, except sin and ignorance, as ze godly in that case consentis with us. Bot we demand, gif our Salviour in this lyfe enduit nocht His mortall and impassible body with the propirteis and giftis of an immortall and impassible body ? Gif ze say na, ze deny the Scriptuiris ? as quhen He passit upon the see, quhen He transfigurat His body afor His Passioun, quhen He passit throw the middis of the thik peple to evade thair furie ; and siklyke eftir His Resurrectioun, by the propirteis of a body glorifit, and than immortall, eit with His discipulis the fuid of mortalitie ; and als by the propirteis of a verray body, enterit in, the duiris being closit, zea, as Godis Kirk declaris till us, throw the closit duiris. We demand zow heirfor, gif ze beleve that our Salviour did thir thingis veralie and in deid, or be ane certane jouglarie craft ? Gif ze grant with us (as we hoip ze sall) that He did thir thingis trewlie and in deid, becaus it is sa writtin, albeit agains all naturall jugement,

and by the propirteis of a verray body, quhy beleve ze nocht the uthir alsua? Sen zour grete maister, Calvin, confessis this Sacrament to be a mysterie mair hie than he can schaw be toung, think in mynd, or onyways can descend in his hert, and an uthir mater than to trow only: And sen Chrysostome maist earnestlie forbidis to attend to our natural sensis and manlie ressoun in that mater, bot to geve credit to the expres Word of God, albeit it appere contrare our wittis and sensis; bot sen Christe hes spoken, says he, "This is my Body," lat us geif credit, and repugne nocht to God? Ze misknaw nocht sindry of zour maist leirnit precheouris within thir twa zeiris and ane half, to hef affirmit with us planelie, and zit hes schawin na expres Scriptuir in the contrare: Quhy wald ze heirfor thral us, as ze war the Catholik Kirk, the Pillar of Veritie, that can nocht erre? Quhare ze allege that Christe ascendit to the hevin, and sittis at the rycht hand of the Father, ze will nocht haif Him sa bund in hevin that He may naways be in erd: For eftir His Ascensioun He apperit to S. Paull in the way, be the quhilk S. Paull provis his verray Resurreccioun, 1 Cor. xv. And to sit at the rycht hand of the Father, confirmis mair our purpose, sen be that is signifiit His omnipotent power.

*22. Gif the dew Celebratioun of the said Sacrament be a Sacrifice.*

QUHY abhorre ze to affirm and call the rycht use always of the celebratioun and sanctifying of the said Sacrament of our Lordis Body, ane Sacrifice or Oblatioun, sen our Salviour maid sacrifice at His Last Supper, eftir the ordour of Melchisedech, quhilk samin self thing He commandit to be done in remembrance of Him; and sen the last of the twelf Prophetis, Malachias, to quhome aggreis David, forespak expreslie of the abolitioun of the auld Sacrifices and Oblationis, and upsetting of ane elene new Oblatioun, to be offerit in the new law to the name of God in all places, mening of the unbluidy sacrifice of the Kirk in the Body and Bluid of Christe, as witnessis haly Martialis, S. Petiris disciple, Justinus, Irenæus, with Augustine, Eusebius, and utheris Doctouris? Bot sen ze esteme Augustine gretumlie (and nocht without cause, amangis the reste of the Doctouris),

intend nocht in this cause to thraw him (as sum of zour new writtaris dois) to mein in this mater of ane uthir sacrifice of loving allanerly. For we advertis zow, as tender freindis, that ze wil be eschamit thairin, he is sa plane in sa mony places in zour contrare.

23. *Of the number of the Communicantis, and utheris Ceremoneis.*

As we grant it lauchful and godly, that mony wald cum daylie to the Mess, and resave the Haly Sacrament of the Altar (we speik on this maneir with Augustine) togidder with the Preist; sua can we nocht understand zour scrupulositie and vane ceremonie, quhilk is, that ane faythful man, haveand na uthir impediment bot wantand cumpanie to Communicat with him sacramentalie, may nocht resave that Sacrament him allane, without errour or idolatrie. Quhow can he be alane, sa lang as he is a membre of Christis Kirk? Heirfor we demand zow, gif our Salviour, at the institutioun of this Sacrament, prescrivit ane law till us of all the ceremoneis useit at that tyme; as of the place, quhilk wes ane hall; of the tyme, quhilk wes eftir suppare; of the numbre of the Communicantis, of the quhilkis we reid only twelf? Gif ze affirm that He did sua, ze failzie zour selfis, quhilkis keipis nocht ane jot of all thre. And quhy wald ze heirfor thral us to ane ceremonie nocht expreslie commandit, contrare zour awin doctrine in utheris places?

24. *Quhy this Sacrament is nocht useit to be ministrat to the Seik.*

QUHY neelect ze to ministrat this Haly Sacrament to the seik, afoir thair departing out of this lyfe, by the laudable use and canounis of the Primitive Kirk in tyme of the glorious Martyris? Gif ze say that ze may nocht delivir it to ane allane, quhy nocht now, als weil as the tyme of the Martyris, be the exemple of the haly penitent man Serapion, quha, in the tyme of the resaving thairof, wes illuminat be the Spirit of Prophetie? Gif ze excuis zow be thir wordis of our Salviour, sayand, "Drink ze all of this," and thairthrow ane man can nocht resave it him allane, gif the Minister or utheris be nocht rady to Communicat, quhow can that preve zour intent, sen all Christianis at ane

tyme and ane place can nocht keip that commande, and ze interpret it sua?

25. *Of the Wordis of Sanctificatioun.*

ZE, confessing oftymes trewlie with us, eftir the techement of S. Augustine, that a Sacrament in Christis Kirk consistis nocht only of a signe, bot of the Word of God junit thairto, at His command; quhy teche ze, and settis furth in zour Catechis, that the wordis of sanctificatioun of the Sacrament of our Lordis Body and Bluid ar nocht to be pronunceit, to the end that thair suld be ony transubstantiatioun thairby, or be the intent of the sacrificear, bot to advertise the peple Communicant quhow thai suld behaif thame in the mein tyme? Quhow can ze appropriat thir wordis, "This is My Body: this is My Bluid;" to teche the peple quhow thai suld behaif thame, except only to the intent that thai suld beleve the samin to be trew that is spokin be God, and commandit to be spokin be the Minister in His name, quho may nocht lie? Or be quhat temeritie and fuilhardines dar ze ministrat a Sacrament, nocht pronounceand the wordis of Christe, to the intent that it suld be a Sacrament; sen ze teche in utheris places rycht trewlie, that without the wordis of God commandand and promittand grace thairto, na Sacrament can be maid? Or quhow suld the Minister nocht haif intent to performe and perfyte that thiug that he wirkis in the name and at the command of God?

26. *Of the names Sacrifice, Preist, and Altar.*

ALBEIT to us Christianis be properlie ane God allane, ane King and ane Lord, quha only be nature and essential substance is guid, ryhteous, trew, and merciful; zit the inexplicable benignitie of the samin our God distributis and appropriatis in His Scriptuir the samin names to his rewarlaris, and utheris membris of Christis mystical body in erd, calling thame Godis, Kingis, Lordis, just, guid, &c. And siklyke our Salviour Christe Jesus being only our Hie Preist, and only that Sacrifice quhilk, fra the Fall of Adam to the Day of Jugement, takis away the sinnis of the warld; and only siklyke that altar upon the quhilk the prayaris of all acceptit and hard be our hevinly Father ar offerit: Zit ze misknaw nocht that the samin names war appropriat to the

Preistis, Sacrifice, and Altar, in the Law of Moyses, prefiguring only Christe Jesus than to cum. The quhilk names, Preist, Sacrifice, and Altar, the Kirk of God hes useit sen the Apostolis days; for the Minister offering, at Christis command, the unbluidy sacrifice of the Body and Bluid of Christe, upon the table of the Lord, quhilk thing ze misknaw nocht, albeit ze wink at the samin, applauding to the tyme. Albeit we may bring intellable testimoneis thair of, zit for schortnes we will adduce bot a certane to your memorie.

“Dum altaria dæmonum in pulverem redigerentur, aram ignoti Dei ad consecrationem reservari jussimus, &c. Sacrificium Deo creatori in ara offertur, non homini, nec angelo.” (Martialis D. Petri discipulus ad Burdegalen. cap. 3.)

“Ego omni die sacrifico, non thuris fenum, &c. sed immaculatum agnum quotidie, in altare crucis sacrifico.” (Philal. de B. And. in ejus vita.)

“Ecclesiæ oblatio, quam docuit Dominus offerri in universo mundo, purum sacrificium reputatum est illi.” (Irenæus, lib. 4, cap. 34.)

“Novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam Ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens, in universo mundo jam offert Deo.” (Irenæus, cap. 32.)

“Nam si Iesus Christus Dominus et Deus noster, ipse est summus Sacerdos Dei Patris, et sacrificium Deo Patri ipse primus obtulit, et hoc fieri in sui commemorationem præcepit. Utique Sacerdos ille vice Christi verè fungitur si id quod Christus fecit imitatur. Et sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert (Sacerdos) in Ecclesia Deo Patri, si sic incipiat offerre, secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse.” (Cyprianus, lib. 2, Epist. 3.)

“Christus de corpore et sanguine suo instituit sacrificium secundum ordinem Melchisedech.” (Aug. in Psal. 33.)

“Voventer omnia quæ offeruntur Deo, maximè sancta altaris oblatio.” (Aug. Epist. 59.)

“Cum Melchisedech Abrahæ benediceret, ibi primum apparuit sacrificium: quod nunc à Christianis offertur Deo, toto terrarum orbe.” (Aug. de civ. Dei, lib. 16, c. 22.)

“Sacerdos ad altare Dei stans, exhortatur populum orare pro incredulis.” (Aug. Epist. 107.)

“In altari constituitur panis et calix.” (Ambrose, lib. 5, c. 1, de sacr.)

“Sacerdos altari assistens pro universo orbe terrarum, pro absentibus, &c. sacrificio illo proposito, gratias Deo jubet offerre.” (Chrysost. in Mat. hom. 26.)

Siklykewe dout nocht that ze misknaw the samin Fatheris, and all the rest maist aunciant, commonlie to hef useit the samin termes in all aiges, as the Kirk dois at this present ; and the Apostolis siklyke to hef abstenit commonlie in thair writtingis fra thir termes in this significatioun, for the abolitioun of the Preistheid, Sacrifice, and Altar, in the auld Law, and distincting the samin in the Law of Grace, fra the uthir.

As the using of the samin names in all aiges sen thair days, in uniforme consent, manifestlie to us persuadis ; quhy call ze us heirfor, for the using of the samin, Papistis, and sparis in that part the hail Kirk afoir us ?

27. *Of the Ornamentis of the Altaris, and the Preistis.*

GIF the law of natuir, ingraftit in our hertis, rejoss in all cumlie and decent ordour, and the samin nocht being abolissit, bot confirmit be the Evangel, and sen S. Paull also commandis all thingis to be done honestlie and eftir ordour in the Kirk of God ; quhat haif ze for zow to affirm all the vestimentis and ornamentis in the hous of God, specialie on the Altaris and Ministeris in tyme of the divine offices, to be superstitious and idolatrical, specialie sen we may preve in the Primitive Kirk siklyke ornamentis to hef bene useit, nocht commandit in the New Testament ? Solomon also commanding us naways to dinit the law of our mother, quhilk is the Kirk (sen be it na thing is promulgat bot aggreing with Godis Word, and proffetable to the out-setting of the samin), na mair than we suld nocht heir the preceptis of our fathir, quhilk is God.

28. *Gif it be lesum to use ony prophane coupis at this Sacrament.*

SEN the veschelis and ornamentis appropriat to the service of God suld nocht be prophanit in uthir commoun useis, as the feirfull exemple of Balthazar previs maist planelie ; quhy hef ze wappit down all the affixit tabellis of the Lord, be all aunciant Fatheris afoir our days callit altaris, togidder with the font of Baptim, and useis zour tabellis, baissinis, and

coupis furth of ony prophane taveroun? Will ze haif the Sacramentis of grace in the new law of les dignitie and honour than thais war in the auld, for the abusing of the veschelis of the quhilkis the grete King Balthazar wes sa seveirlye punissit?

29. *Eviry guid Christiane man is a King and a Preist, and quhat is meanit thairby.*

ALBEIT we acknawlege, be the Scriptuir of God, that a just man in the Kirk of God, quha subdewis his concupiscence and lustis to the divine law, is a victorius King and Preist also spiritualie: Nochtheles we demand zow, gif be that titill eviry man (albeit he haif wit and pissance thairto) may justlie be a King to ministrat justice? Gif ze say, Na; quhy allow ze, and provokis also, the Provestis and Ballies of eviry burgh (quhome we can nocht call Magistratis propirlye, as ze do, sen thai ar nocht principalis in a fre citie, as wes Rome, to mak lawis, bot suld be subditis to our Soverane Lady) to baneis Christianis and trew Scottismen fra thair rowmes and possessiones, confisk thair guidis, put thame to the horne, and condemne thame to the dethe, for breking only of thair Actis and Decreis, unknowin to our Soverane Lady, or hir Majesties predecessouris! sen thai haif only power to punis thair awin comburgessis in ane viij schilling unlaw, or siklyke.

30. *Gif the Subditis may violentlie compel thair Princes to Religioun.*

GIF the peple of Israel, under the idolatrical Kingis in Babylone, wes nocht commandit be God to resist the saidis idolatouris, or be ony violence to remuif thame fra thair error, bot to obey thame, suffer thame, pray for thame, and serve God in thair awin religioun; and David being unetit King of Israel, wald do na violence to King Saull, than being repellit and reprobate of God, and persuitand the said David injustlie to the deth, bot sufferit him to rage in his furie, fleing onlie fra his violence, for the honour that he wes a King; also we reid nocht that the Apostolis, or ony of the Catholik religioun, evir punissit in body or geris the infidelis quha had nocht ressavit the religioun of Christe, albeit thai chastisit the apostatis relapsit fra the trew fayth anis

ressavit ; but quhow the trew Christianis wer scharpelie persuitit, and injustlie punissit and oppressit be the Arrianis and utheris heretikis and apostatis, the exemplis ar over patent : Quhat auctoritie heirfor haif ze for zow to comptrol our Soverane Lady, and compel hir Majestie to ressave zour privat opinioun of materis in religioun unknowin to the haill Christiane Kirk afoir thir days, and as zit nocht ressavit be ony Christiane King at this present ? For zour selfis knawis Ingland, Denmark, and Alemannie, except sum Calvinistis and utheris strange sectis pretending reformation alsua by the Roman Kirk, to dissent in mony heidis fra zour doctrine.

### 31. *Of Obedience to our Native Soverane Marie.*

THINK ze nocht our maist noble, humane, and gentil Soverane hes schawin himself mair than King Davidis trew dochtir, quha in that case, dissenting fra the counsel of maist Christiane Princis, wald fle all occasioun of tribble to be done be violence of men of weir and strangeris ; nocht to a King quha sumtymes wes hir maister, as wes Saull to David, bot to hir awin subjectis, usurping (as Christiane Princis, hir Gracis nerrest freindis thocht,) hir Hienes auctoritie, in pretending sa to reforme religioun in hir absence, wald adventure hir Hienes awin persoun, by counsel and exhortatioun of maist noble Princis, hir Gracis neir cousingis and undoutit freindis, in the stormie seis, throw evident perellis of unfreindis, and present himself to this Realme maist humblye, nocht as a Soverane, bot as a subject, or erar hartlie mother haifand compassioun of hir troublit sones ; objecting hir Majestie to maist extreme perellis, to the intent that hir sones maist deirbelovit suld haif bene deliverit frome all perel, albeit thai had maist fuleschellie, in ane furius rage, objectit thame to the samin ; and in the mein tyme nocht intendand to the punisment of ony cryme with the rigour committit be zouris in hir Hienes absence, bot labouris maist diligentlie for godlie concord in the Realme, and dew obedience to the auctorite, but the quhilk the uthir may nocht stand ; committand also libertie of conscience to zouris in religioun, (quhilk only in the beginning of the tumult thai desyrit,) and that by the consuetude of all Christiane Princis useit to thair subditis, quhill ordour

be tane thairin be the Thre Estatis of the Realme : Think ze nocht that this grete humilitie, gentrice, and singular humanitie, junit with wisdume of sik excellent zour native Soverane, suld mollifie to humill obedience the hert of ane trew Scot, albeit it war forgeit of irne or steill ? Gif ze think sua with us, (as is zour dewtie but dout to do,) quhy exhort ze the subjectis sa ferventlie to rebelloun agains hir Grace, except sche leve the ordour and Catholik opinioun in the Sacramentis of Christe Jesus universalie ressavit, and mak a monstrous idoll of zour Maister Calvin, adheirand only to his privat opinioun, unknowin to the warld afoir this present ? Gif ze can nocht preve zour doctrine in the controversiis now present amangis us to be universalie ressavit, quhow can ze, but schame, bable in zour beleif, “ the haly Kirk Universal ? ” Or quhat profettis zow that part of zour beleif, sen ze ar as bund slavis addictit to zour awin privat opinionis [and] judgement, contrare the mynd and auctorite of the samin Kirk ?

32. *Gif in the Mess be ony Idolatrie.*

AND gif it sall ples our maist excellent Soverane, to the intent to saif zouris fra uter ruine, (as thair is na dout of hir Gracis guid mynd thairto,) to permit zow safer, as Godis eternall Word sufferis in the Mess, aganis the quhilk ze schaw zour selfis sa conjurit inimeis ; as for exemple, that thai be na Preist nor Minister admittit thairto, bot sic that may instruct the peple be hale and syncer doctrine, and gude exemple of haly lyfe, and that thai be daylie mony to Communicat with the Preist sacramentlie, gif thai be had, and that undir bayth the kyndes, gif it sall pleis the Univer-sall Kirk to keip that uniformitie ; sua ze condemne nocht of superstitioun or idolatrie, a Christiane man, Minister, or uthir, quhen he haif na Communicantis with him to ressave the samin Sacrament him allane, be exemple of Serapion in the tyme of the Martyris, and the haill Kirk in our days. Quhat haif ze for zow to hald the Mess idolatrie, or thairin ony superstitioun ? Gif ze deny Christis humanitie, be resoun of the inseparable conjunctioun thairof with his divinitie, to be adurnit [adorned or adored], ze ar alrady confundit be the exemple of the thre Kingis quha adurnit him in the crib, and be exemple of utheris also in the Evangel.

Gif ze deny the Real Presence of Christis Body, maist blissit, in the Sacrament, ze dissent fra the Scripturis and haly Kirk Universall, and als fra the segregatioun of all heretiks afoir zow and zour maisteris, to wit, Oecolampadius, Zuingleius and Calvin, except Berangarius and his, as ze knaw presentlie the Lutheranis in that part to be zour manifest adversaris. Gif ze deny Christe to be adurnit in the Sacrament (sen we adurne na visible nor sensible signe thair of), quhy condemne ze nocht S. Augustine for an heretik, and Chrysostome siklyke, with utheris of thair aige, quha earnestlie accusis us of sin, gif we adurn nocht Christis maist haly Body in the Sacrament?

33. *Gif Johne Knox be lauchful Minister.*

SEN we reid that nane suld tak the honour of ministratioun of Godis Word and Sacramentis on him, except he be lauchfullie callit thairto, othir be God immediatlie, or be man haifand power to promot him thairto: And sen we reid nane callit be God onlie, except sik as schew thair power gevin thame be power of the Spirit, or in signis and wonderis. Heirfor give zow, Johne Knox, we say, be callit immediatlie be God, quhair ar zour mervellis wrocht be the Haly Spirit? For the mervellis of woltring of Realnes to ungodlie seditioun and discord, we adumbre nocht to be of His giftis: Bot gif ze be callit be man, ze most schaw thame to haif lauchful power thairto; as the Apostolis ordanit S. Paull and Barnabas, albeit chosin be God afore; and tha siklyke utheris, in the xiv of the Actis: And as S. Paull ordinatit Timothe and Tite, gevand thame power and command to ordour utheris; quharein apperis the lauchful Ordinatioun of Ministeris. Zour lauchful Ordinatioun be ane of thir twa wayis, we desyre zow to schaw; sen ze renunce and estemis that Ordinatioun null, or erar wikit, be the quhilk sumtyme ze war callit Schir Johne.

34. *Gif Johne Knox be not lauchful Bischope, quhow can thai be lauchful ordinatit be him.*

GIF he can nocht schaw himself a lauchful ordinat Bischope, (nocht onlie a Preist or inferiour Minister) quhow can ze Superintenditis, or uthir inferiour Preehouris electit and

ordinat be him, nocht haifand power thairto, juge zour selfis to be lauchful Ministeris in the Kirk of God? <sup>1</sup>

35. *Quhy ar not the Lordis, and utheris, [as] lauchful Ministeris as Johne Knox and his complices.*

GIF Johne Knox and ze affirmis zour selfis lauchful, be ressoun of zour science; and that ze ar permittit always, gif ze be not admittit be thais Kirkis quhome ze serve: Quhy haif ze prechit manifestlie a grete errour and schisme in zour congregatioun, contending with tuith and naill (as is the proverb) sum lordis and gentilmen to hef gretumlie failzeit, ministrand zour Communioun in tymes bypast to thair awin houshald servandis and tenentis; sen the lordis and gentilmen being men of science, be thair awin jugement, in that case wes permittit be thair saidis servandis to that office, quha affirmis themselfis to be a Kirk of God?

36. *Gif the Ordinatioun of Ministeris be a Sacrament.*

QUHY deny ze the Ordinatioun of Ministeris to be a Sacrament in Christis Kirk, sen zour grete maister, Calvin, grantis in zour contrare, with mony utheris new writtaris in Ale-mannie? Quhidder hes it the visible signe, viz. the Impositioun of Handes, the Promissis of God, with the Command (quhilkis thre only ze think necessare to a Sacrament) expressit in Scriptuir or nocht?

37. *Of Unqualifeit Ministeris.*

ZE allegeand zour selfis to reduce the ordour in religioun according to the puritie of the writtin Word, and nocht mis-knawing also that the grete decay of the syncere religioun is the electioun and admissioun of the unqualifeit and unable Ministeris, as we confes with zow, that this lang tyme the maist part to hef bene admittit mair throw avarice, ambitioun, or uthir carnal affectioun (and that in punishment of the peple that God sa sufferit), nor for godly leirning, or utheris guid propirteis requirit in a Minister; and thairthrow specialie all misordour or abuse that justlie can be allegeit maist cheiflie to hef sprung. Quhy admitt ze to be zour Precheouris and Ministeris in sindry places zounge child-

<sup>1</sup> [Here Winzet is in error; for Knox was so far from ordaining any one, that he abolished the form of ordination altogether.—E.]

ring, of na eruditoun, except the reiding of Inglis and small entressis in grammar, of na experience, nor zit haifand pre-eminence by utheris of godly leving; except ze call that godly, to covet a fair wyfe and ane fatt pensiun, by [against] the lawis of the monastik lyfe, quhilk sindry of thame hes professit: Sen S. Paull techis that men in this vocation, by mony uthir godly propirteis, suld nocht be zoung of leirning and godly exercise always, bot potent to exhort and teche in helthful doctrine, and potent to repreve and convict the gainsayaris of the samin.

### 38. *Of a new Ordour of Eldaris.*

SIKLYKE, sen be the name of Eldaris in the New Testament, expreslie is meanit Bischoipis and Preistis, quhilkis last names<sup>1</sup> the Apostolis useit nocht (apperantlie to the intent that thai suld nocht be estemit of thai sort of Preistis and Bischoipis of the auld law) quhois office is expres to preche and ministrat the Sacramentis; quhy invent ze in zour Kirk a new ordour of Eldaris, quhome ze discharge to use ony of the offices forsaidis? Siklyke, quhy committ ze to the saidis Eldaris that office, of the quhilk ze haif na power; to wit, the office of a civill magistrat, quhilk pertenis only to an Emperour or King, or lyke public persones, or to quhome thai cheis, conforme to our Salviouris sayngis, “Geve to Cesar that pertenis to Cesar;” and siklyke, saying to Pylat, “Zow wald haif na power over me, except it war gevin the frome abuif;” quho hald his power of the Emperour. Quhy sua tak ze fra the Eldaris quhilk is thair dewtie and office, and gevis thame quhilk pertenis nocht to thame, nor zit ze haif power to geve thame?

### 39. *Of the Pape, and gif a Superiour suld be amangis the Bischopes.*

SEN naturalie, be Godis providence amangis fowlis, fischeis,

<sup>1</sup> The author appoints the following correction to be read here, viz.—“Reid, *quhilk last name*, that it may referre to the terme *Preist* only; and gif Johne Knox gat *quhilkis names* in his copie, let him understand it of the termes *Sacerdos* and *Pontifex*; and the wordis *useit nocht*, that thai callit nocht thameselfis be thai names.” [An Elder among Presbyterians is confessedly a layman; whereas in the New Testament it means an Episcopally ordained *Priest*—this word being contracted from *Presbyter*, through the old French *Prester*.—E.]

and beistis, in every cumpanie is ane principal, as it war superiour; and siklyke amangis men in every Realme is nocht only ane King or Quene, to quhome all obeys, bot also in every province, schyre, citie, and hous, is ane principal or superiour, as thair is in eviry craft almaist ane Decane: Quhy suld it nocht be sua in the Ecclesiastical State, amangis the Bischopes, utheris Pastouris and Ministeris; sen in the Law of Moyses, God providit ane Hie Bischope, quhois sentence in controversie of religioun the peple suld follow, under the pane of dethe? We can nocht be assuirit of na Scriptuir that ze allege, bot S. Petir had the samin power gevin singularlie and severalie to him by the rest, and above the rest of the Apostolis, as we ar at this present persuadit be thir wordis of our Salviour, "Simon Iona diligis me plus his? &c. Pasce oves meas," &c. And that all the rest of the Apostolis wes numerat amang the samin oves, it apperis till us in thir wordis, "Omnes vos scandalum patiemini in me in nocte ista: quia scriptum est, percutiam pastorem, et dispergentur oves gregis." And in an uthir place Petiris auctorite above thame, "Ego rogavi pro te, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua: Tu vero conversus confirma fratres tuos." Quhilk power he apperis planelie to hef exercit amang the Apostolis, takand the speche on him specialie in all conventionis, albeit he sufferit S. James Bischope of Hierusalem to pronounce a sentence at his awin Kirk in his presence. And gif ony be superiour, quhy suld nocht the successour of Petir? Knew ze nocht that all the aunciant Fatheris attributis mekle to the Kirk of Rome by utheris Kirkis, and also the General Counselis, quhilk ze appreve? As for exemple, ze know that S. Augustine (Epist. 165) confirmis his doctrine specialie contrare the Donatistis, that nevir ane of the Bischopes of Rome till his days (citand thair names to the numbre above xxxvi,) trowit uthirways nor he did, contrare the saidis heretikis. Gif ze affirm the Pape to be the Antichriste, will ze nocht schaw of quhat Pape ze mein, gif ze speik of the Romane Pape? Or quhiddel understand ze be the Pape all Bischopes? for be that name we reid ony [every] Bischope to hef bene decorit; as S. Hierome writtis to S. Augustine Bischope, "Hieronymus Presbyter beatissimo Papæ Augustino S." Gif it be for ony doctrine contrare Christe, schaw it in special (we pray zow), that we may fle frome it.

#### 40. *Of the Sacrament of Pennance.*

QUHY deny ze the Sacrament of Pennance? And quhy neclect ze to use, at the leist, the absolutioun of the Minister afoir zour Communioun always; sen the Apostolis wes institut be our Salviour with sik solennitie in that part of thair office, that eftir his Resurrectioun he blew in thame, sayand, “Resave the Haly Gaist. Quhois sinnis ze forgeve, thai ar forgevin; and quhois sinnis ze retene, thai ar retenit?” And quhy dissent ze frome the maist part of Alemannie in that part?

#### 41. *Of Contritioun, Confessioun, and Satisfacioun.*

QUHY affirm ze that Contritioun, Confessioun, and Satisfacioun ar Papistical inventionis, and callis us Papistis for the useing thair of; and callis nocht Cypriane, and the Kirk sen his days Papistis, quhois doctrine in that case we follow, as collectit and evidentlie deducit of Scripturis?

#### 42. *Of Confessioun.*

GIF ze condemne Confessioun to be maid to the Preist of special faltis, quhow can he absolve, conforme to the Word of God, sum of thair sinnis, and retene uthir nocht absolvit, gif he sall misknaw the sin? Or quhy call ze it Papistrie, sen the said Martyr, Cypriane, witnessis it to haif bene in the Kirk of God in his days, and utheris siklyke aunciant Fatheris eftir him?

#### 43. *Of Contritioun.*

OR quhy call ze Contritioun Papistrie, sen na man can haif forgeveance of his sinnis, except he repent, with intention of amendiment of lyfe, as our Salviour techeis, “Except ze do repentance, ze sall all periss”?

#### 44. *Of Satisfacioun to God.*

QUHY hald ze Satisfacioun Papistrie, sen Cypriane, with mony aunciant Doctouris, oft inculcatis this terme in thair writtingis, to the sentence useit and resavit at this present in the Kirk? Misknew thai, trew ze, the satisfacioun and redemptioun conquest till us be Jesus Christe, as the full ransom to the Father for the sinnis of all the world? Bot

this we think ze will nocht say ; for misknawand that thing only, quhow culd thai be Martyris of Christe, that is witnessis of the veritie ? And zit thai speik, and that be evident Scriptuiris, of a satisfacioun requirit of our obedience, as to turn to God in murning, fasting, prayar, and almus deid, with siklyke worthy fruitis of pennance, sa oft inculcat be our Salviour and the Apostolis to the Jowis, with sik dolour and havines quharof S. Paull speikis, 2 Cor. vii. Gif ze admit nocht satisfacioun on this maner to be maid to God, and nocht to man only, quhow understand ze thir Scriptuiris, “ Cheritie coveris the multitude of sinnis : ” “ Turn to me in all zour hert in fasting, sobing, and greting : ” “ Geve almis, and all salbe elene to zow : ” And that Daniel says to Nabuchodonosor, “ Redeme thi sinnis with almus deid ” ? With mony siklyke places.

#### 45. *Of Satisfacioun to Men.*

WE desyre zow to schaw, gif ze think it necessar to a penitent, to the end he get remissioun of his sinnis fra God, that he mak satisfacioun to his brother at the leist, insafer as he hes offendit, and rubbit him of his geris or honouris, gif it be in his power ? Gif ze dissent fra us, sayand, na ; the Scriptuiris ar full of testimoneis in zour contrare, as thir, “ Quha luvis nocht, remanis in dethe. Quha is nocht just, is nocht of God. Departe fra me all ze wirkaris of iniquitie. Quhen thow offeris thi gift at the altar, and remembris that thi brother hes ocht aganis the, leif thi gift afoir the altar, and pas and be reconcilit with thi brother, and syne cum and offir thi gift. Quha luvis nocht his brother quhome he seis, quhow sall he luvve God quhome he seis nocht ? ” Can a man luvve his brother, sa layng as he nocht only nocht helpis him in his mistar, bot contrarie, oppressis him be violence and fraud ; quhilkis all to our purpose S. Augustine concludis in thir wordis, “ Sin is nocht forgevin (says he) except it quhilk is tane away be instorit ? ” Gif ze grant with us that it is necessare, quhy ministrat ze zour Communioun to sik persones quhome ze knew perfytlie to hef intromittit violentlie with utheris mennis possessionis, and als rubberie of the Kirk gudis ; nocht only of Monasteriis, quhilkis ze imaginat to hef bene idolatrical, bot also of Bischopis Saitis and Paroche Kirkis, but ony repentance, satisfacioun, or inten-

tioun of amendiment? Quhilk thing ze man othir grant to be intromissioun with idolatrical geris, and sua thame and it to be burnt togidder, be the law of God, as eftir sall follow; or ellis to be sacrilege, war than commoun thift. Of the quhilkis it followis consequentlie, that thai hef failzeit havelie, cumand to the Communion but restitutioun of wrangous geris, or intentioun to that ilk; and ze fer haviar, quha ministrat the Sacrament (gif we may sua call it with zow) to the unworthy, knawand thame in that estate.

46. *Of twa partis of Pennance newlie set furth.*

THAIR being sa many thingis requirit to trew Pennance or Repentance, as sobing, mourning, and teris, walking, fasting, prayair, and almus deid; with abstinence for a tyme fra many thingis uthirwayis lesum, havy dolour for the foremer offensis, with firm intent of renewing of lyfe thaireftir, with utheris worthy fruitis of Pennance, and specialie satisfacioun to all men quhome we hef offendit: Quhy hef ze set furth the said Pennance sa obscurlie, appunting thairto twa partis only, quhilkis ar fayth and renewing of lyfe, callit be zow resipicentia; sen fayth is na mair a part of Pennance than it is of ony uthir vertew, it being the grund of all vertew; and be the uthir name the foresaidis propirteis of Pennance ar ovir obscurlie declarit? Persuade ze nocht heirby to mony, ungodlie proud presumptioun, and unsuir securitie of conscience?

47. *Gif presumptioun upspringis of the premissis, or nocht.*

WE desyre zow to maturelie consider, and anssuer till us, quhidder it cumis of zour licentious doctrine in neclecting and contemning thir thre partis of Pennance abone specifit, (as it apperis planelie till us to cum) or uthirways, that sindry at this present, ar descendit to sik beistlie ruidnes, and presumptuous securitie of conscience, and schamelis presumptioun, that thai ar nocht eschameit nocht to satisfie thair inferiouris or brethir in thair dewitie, of dettis or siklyke, bot to mak mony maist large promissis and oblis-singis, knit with word, writt, walx and seil, als weill to superiour poweris (quhare thai dar) as to equall and inferiouris, and nowthir keipis nor intendis to keip the samin; by the noble and faythfull constancie of our noble progeni-

touris, to the blasphemie of Godis law, and to maist vile schame of our countre. Think ze nocht that this maist barber ruidnes, and maist beistlie impietie of unfaythfulnes to man, wald be spittit at be a Jow or an Ethnik, zea, be the starkast theif in Riddisdale? Or think ze sik persones to be of Godis elect, quho aucht to persuade thameselfis be certitude of fayth (as ze teche necessar to beleve) to be of the predestinat sones of God?

48. *Gif Concupiscence in the regenerat be damnable sin.*

SEN it is writtin that quha ar borne of God or regenerat, sinnis nocht; and that we ar weschin fra our sinnis, sanctifiit and justifiit; and also that Christe clengeis His Kirk (of the quhilk we ar membris) be the lawar of regeneratioun in the Word of Lyfe: Quhy teche ze that the concupiscence left in us eftir regeneratioun, for our humiliatioun and exercise, is damnable sin?

49. *Of Confirmatioun.*

SEN ze see the Sacrament of Confirmatioun sa expreslie useit be the Apostolis, and affirmit be Hierome and utheris Doctouris, that it suld be ministrat be the Bischopis only; Quhy esteme ze it a thing of na importance, and bot a Papistical superstitioun?

50. *Of Extreme Unctioun.*

SEN that the Preistis of the Kirk suld cum to the seik, unct thame with oill, and pray for thame, as our Salviour techis to be His godly will be the mouth of S. James; Quhy put ze it out of the use of Christianis, and nocht only deprivis it of the name of a Sacrament?

51. *Of Matrimonie.*

QUHY put ze Matrimonie furth of the numbre of Sacramentis, sen it is callit in the Scriptuir a Sacrament? Will ze hald the commoun translation fals, because the Greik text hes *μυστήριον*? Will ze nocht grant that thai twa Sacramentis quhilkis ze sua call, ar *μυστήρια*? Mairover, is nocht *Sacramentum* in the Latin text of als large significatioun as the uthir is in the Greik? And alsua, quhidder gif Matri-

monie hes tha thre propirteis requirit be zou to a Sacrament, or nocht? <sup>1</sup>

52. *Gif the persones separat for Fornicatioun may Mary utheris persones agane, the athir being on lyve.*

QUHAT haif ze for zow, that a mariit man or woman levand the uthir for caus of fornicatioun, conforme to the Scripturis, may mary an uthir persoun, the first party being on lyve, sen S. Paull techis that a woman is subdewit to the law sa lang as hir husband levis; and also he gevis an expres command to the innocent woman dimittand hir husband, to remane unmariit, or to be reconcilit to hir husband? <sup>2</sup>

53. *Gif the Harlotis, for quhais caus Matrimonie is violatit or adnullit, may mary utheris.*

ZE knawand haly matrimonie being sa earnestlie commandit indissolublie to be keipit, except for caus of fornicatioun, quhat apperand ressoun haif ze for zow (we appele to zour conscience) to admitt it a godly law to suffir an harlot in his wyfe's tyme lyand with an uthir harlot, or a Preist, or unmariit man, lyand with an uthir manis wyfe; for that caus the matrimonie to be dissolvit, and the twa harlotis to be zokit up in a pretendit band of matrimonie maist honorable, as it is practisiit be zow of sum of our rennigatt Preistis and utheris, as ze knaw?

54. *Of twa contrare Lawis twecking Mariage.*

MAIROVER, quhow deliver ze zour selfis of the perplexitie of thir twa contrarious lawis? to wit, That an adulterar separat fra his wyfe for fornicatioun, hes na power, be Godis law, to mary agane, his former wyfe being on lyfe? And, on the uther syde, ze permitt a man or woman that may nocht leif chast, to mary? Also, quhiddir gif a man or woman, being lang absent fra thair party, or haifand thair party impotent throw seiknes, or throw obstinat mynd

<sup>1</sup> [There can be no doubt that Marriage, Holy Orders, and Confirmation, are as much Sacraments as Baptism and the Lord's Supper, if we take the word *Sacrament* in its etymological meaning, as denoting a solemn vow or obligation.—E.]

<sup>2</sup> [I do not think the decisions of the General Assemblies of the Kirk will bear out the Author in this accusation.—E.]

nocht social, and zit may nocht, as ze teche, leif chast, may mary an uthir in the mein tyme? Gif ze say na, be ressoun of thair former promise and luv to thair party, quhy will nocht ze Chanounis, Munkis, Freris, Preistis, Nunnis, keip the samin reull, for the luv of Christe zour spous, and promis maid to Him?

*55. Gif Preistis may mary eftir thair Promotioun.*

WE [are] nocht ignorant in that part of the Scriptuiris and Historiis, that in the Primitive Kirk, of honorable men haifand ane wyfe, wes oftymes promotit to be Bischopes, Preistis, and Diaconis; of the quhilkis mony thaireftir turnit thair wyfes in thair sisteris: And heirfor think we the samin lesun as zit, with an uniforme consent. Bot quhare reid ze evir in the Primitive Kirk that men wantand wyfes the tyme of thair promotioun to thai offices, and eftir mariit but repreif and punisment of the Kirk? Schaw an exemple, gif ze can.

*56. Gif the Preistis in the New Law suld be als beutiful as thai in the Auld.*

AND siklyke S. Paull counselit the layt man and woman to abstene fra that use of thair bodyis, till utheris requirit in matrimonie, for a tyme, that thai mot waik on prayar: Quhat tyme is it, we pray zow, that a guid Bischope, or uthir Pastour, suld nocht waik on prayar, studie, or preching, and that he suld nocht be rady to ministrat the Sacramentis? And gif the Preistis in the Law of Moyses (quha in that tyme behuifit to haif wyfes, for continuatioun of thair tribe of Levi, quha only of thair Natioun wes appointit to be Preistis) abstenit fra thair wyfes all the tyme of thair observance in the Temple, and certane days afoir; will ze than that the Preistis and Ministeris of Christis Evangel, and Sacramentis thair of, quharein is ministrat realie thai graces prefigurat in the Auld Law, quha continualie and dayly suld waik upone thair ministratioun, to be les beutiful, and of les cleinnes of lyfe, than wes the utheris? And know ze nocht that Ambrose, Origene, and utheris, pronounces planelie upone this similitude and conference, that the Preistis in the law of Grace suld leve in continual chastitie, sen thai suld waik continualie upone thair prayar, ministra-

tioun of the Sacramentis, and siklyke? Ze knaw that Achimelech wald nocht geve the schew-breid to David and his servandis, quhill he knew that thai war elene fra all women thre days afoir. Gif sik honour wes hald to the figuir, quhat suld be hald to the veritie, quhilk is Christis Body and Bluid, daylie to be resavit, or ministrat in the Sacrament be godly Pastouris?

*57. Of the Vow of Chastitie.*

QUHIDER gif it be lesum or nocht, that men of perfite aige, haifand na lauchful impediment, to vow chastitie; and that vow being complete, gif it be lesum thaireftir to mary, conforme to the law of God, or nocht? Gif ze think that thai may, quhow understand ze that place of S. Paull, speikand of the zoung wedowis quha had vowit continence, that thai had thair damnatioun for only willing to mary, becaus thai brak thair former promis? And this being trew of women, quhow can ze, religious men abone specifit, mary, and eschew also the samin sentence? Gif ze allege that ze vowit nocht, of quhat mynd enterit ze in zour religioun? Or quhow sall ze defend zour selfis nocht to be hypocritis, gif ze astrictit nocht zour selfis afoir God to that thing quhilk mony ways ze professit afoir man?

*58. Of the Saulis departit afoir Christis Ascensioun, and sensyne.*

SEN sum of zour religioun affirmis the saulis of the Fatheris quha deceissit in fayth afoir Christis Ascensioun, to hef enterit than to the gloir eternal, as the Martyris, and utheris just hes done sensyne; and utheris of zow techeis, that nothir afoir nor sensyne, quhill the day of the generall Resurrectioun of thair bodyis, sall ascend thair: Quhy cry ze nocht out the ane syde contrare the uthir, or convenis amangis zour selfis on the ane syde, and schawis zour determinatioun in the mater, corroborat be evident Scripturis? For of manly conjecturis, or Scripturis throwin by the resavit understanding thairof, to nothir of zour partis may we decline.

*59. Of Princis and Nobilis Sepulturis.*

SEN the Prophetis and Patriarkis in the Auld Testament had sik cuir for thair honorable sepulturis, and commandit

that eftir thair deth thair banis to be cariit furth of the cuntre of strangearis; and in the New Testament sik-lyke we reid nocht onlie of our Salvouris maist honorable and magnifik buriing, bot also of S. Johne the Baptist, and S. Stevin, with utheris; and all this wes done, we ar assur-it, for the honor of the bodyis, in hoip of the Resurrectioun: We will nocht speir, in adventuir ze be crabit, gif ze beleve firmlie the Resurrectioun with us? Bot sen ze aggre with us in that beleif, quhy hef ze dishonorit sua the bodyis and sepulturis of the Princis of Scotland, aud utheris our noble progenitouris, and wappit thair banis schamefullie furth of thair sepulturis, and maid also a filthy stable of beistis to strangearis upone our maist excellent Kingis body quha last decessit? Gif ze allege ony occasioun of idolatrie at the saidis sepulturis, that trifle is na excuis to zow, except ze grant zour selfis mair ruid and barber than evir wes Natioun under Hevin, to tak occasioun of idolatrie quhare nane is.<sup>1</sup>

60. *Gif the Kirk geris wes Idolatrical, and of the intromission thairwith.*

WE effectuouslie demand zow, gif the vestimentis, chalissis, and utheris ornamentis in the Kirkis of Scotland wes idolatrical, or nocht? Gif thai war nocht, quhy techit ze thame sua to be, and burnt sum of thame in testimonie of zour doctrine? Gif thai war pollutit in idolarie, quhy reservit ze the best part thairof unburnt? Quhow can ze excuse zow nocht to be punissit with Saull, quha sparit Agag, with certane of his best guidis, contrare Godis command? Quhow will ze defend certane of the Nobilis and Gentlemen in Scotland, quha intromittit with the saidis idolatrical guidis, nocht to be tane with the samin geris, togiddir with thair sones, dochtiris, horss, cattell, and all thair insprayth [furniture], and to be burnt in puldre, be exemple of Achan, quha com-

<sup>1</sup> [The destruction here alluded to of the royal tombs at Dunfermline, Scone, Melrose, and Holyrood, was truly disgraceful, and reminds one of the savage atrocities of the French Revolution, more than of the doings of men calling themselves Christians and Reformers. The evil complained of in the next article, as to the plunder of the sacred utensils, was scarcely less iniquitous, and more inconsistent, inasmuch as the plunderers professed to regard them as polluted by idolatry. See Deut. vii.—E.]

mittit only the samin cryme (gif the saidis geris wes idolatri-cal, and suld hef bene burnt, as ze hef techit) and that mair lychtlie than thai, sen he committit his cryme quietlie? Bot God forbid, gif it be His plesour that ze be the caus of sa seveir jugement aganis our Nobilis. Quhow deliver ze zow heirfor of this perplexitie, bot othir ze man confes zour ignorance and errour, or sik severitie to be exerceit, as said is?

61. *Of the best geris tane away and sauld, and the werst reservit.*

THE said Achan being sa punissit for the best geris intro-mittit be him, quhy juge ze the goldin and silvir chalissis, and utheris thingis of gold and silvir; velvot, silkis, and utheris fyne clathis; bellis, sepulturis of brace, leid, and siklyke that gevis money, to hef bene pollutit with idolatrie, and thairfor to be destroyt; and nocht the auld and revin ornamentis, sklate, thak, and gros stanis, rottin tymmir and siklyke? Gif ze allege the intromissioun and dispositioun of the saidis guidis to hef bene contrare zour will, quhy techit ze nocht unfentzetlie contrare sik manifest sacrilege and impietie? Or quhy admittit ze sic oppin sinnaris, without repentance and satisfactioun, to zour Com-munioun?

62. *Gif thingis dedicat to God suld be prophanit in utheris useis.*

GIF thingis anis dedicat and sanctifiit to God, suld nocht be translatit and appropriat in utheris prophane useis, as the forsaid historie of Balthazar previs; bot gif thai be dedicat ungodly to God, aucht to be sanctifiit in a mair godly use, be exemple of the incensuris of Dathan and Abiron: Quhiddel cumis it be zour exhortatioun or nocht, that mony desyris the Kirk landis, anis dedicat to God, for sustentatioun of godly Ministeris, puir Studentis, and feble and waik indigentis, to be appropriat to the Crown, or to the first fundatouris posteritie? Gif ze exhort thame nocht thairto, quhy cry ze nocht out upone thair wickit consait, and als manifest sacrilege of utheris; and advertissis that the Prophet incallis the wrayth of God on thame, quha says, "Lat us posseid be heretage the Sanctuarie of God"?

63. *Of Traditionis unwrittin, and first exemple of certane Solemnit Days.*

SEN the Apostill S. Paull commandit in sindry places his traditionis to be keipit, als weill the writtin as the unwritten; and S. Augustine siklike affirmis that to dispute of thai thingis universalie observit, gif thai suld be keipit or nocht, to be maist insolent madnes; exemple he gevis of the zerlie celebratioun of the Pasche-day, of our Salviouris Ascensioun, and down cuming of the Haly Gaist, on lyke maner zerlie to be celebratit: Quhy abolise ze the solenniteis of the saidis days, with siklyke, and all uthir ordour of that sort universalie observit, as Zuil-day, Circumcisioun, Epiphanie, Lentren?

64. *Of the mixing of the Lordis Coup with Wattir and Wyne afoir the Sanctificatioun.*

ZE knawand that our Salviour sched wattir and bluid in the mysterie of our Redemptioun, and that the Lordis coup, with wattir and wyne to be sanctifiit in the Sacrament, is prefigurat in the Auld Testament in mony places, as Cypriane previs maist largelie and earnestlie, quho affirmis also that the Lord commandit us to mix the samin: Quhy detrect ze, and rebukis us Catholikis for the observatioun thairof, and will nocht blaw out zour indignatioun upone the Martyris, Cypriane, Irenæus, Fabiane, Euaristus, Alexander, Augustine, and mony utheris Doctouris, quhome, as witnessis of the veritie, we follow in this parte? Bot sen ze do nocht sa, appere ze nocht to schuit out zour malice contrare us, and nocht contrare that quhilk ze had an errour? Andarze nocht contrare the Scriptuir, acceptouris of persones?

65. *Of the Sounday.*

GIF ze admit na traditioun unwritten, quhy ar ze sa bauld, contrare zour doctrine, and manifest Scriptuiris apperinglie also, to celebrat zour Sabbaoth-day with us Catholikis on the Sounday, and nocht with the Jowis on the Saturday?

66. *Of the Names, Persones, and Trinitie.*

MAIROVER, gif ze will appreve na thing bot expreslie writtin, quhow will ze anssuer contrare ane heretik, denyand wickitlie

the Father, the Sone, and the Haly Gaist, to be callit godly and dewly thre persones and the Haly Trinitie? Alsua, quhidder admitt ze and apprevis the samin names, or nocht? And gif ze appreve thame, quhow establishe ze zour doctrine sen the names ar nocht writtin expreslie in Scriptuiris?

67. *Of the forme, “Gloir to the Father,” &c. in the end of every Psalm.*

QUHY use ze to sing with us Catholikus at the end of every Psalm, “Gloir to the Father, to the Sone, and to the Haly Gaist. As it wes in,” &c. sen that godly forme wes only commandit to be soung in that place, be the Pape Damasus, in the rebuke of heretikis?

68. *That Infantis suld be Baptizit, contrare the Anabaptistis.*

SIKLYKE, quhat hef ze for zow expreslie writtin, to convict the Anabaptistis errour, denying that bairnis in thair infancie suld be baptizit? For Origene, Augustine, and also the Lutheranis, lenis in this matter rycht wechty to the Apostolik traditioun and universal observatioun of the haly Catholik Kirk.

69. *Of sa mony Evangelis, Epistolis, &c. in the New Testament.*

ALSUA, quhat Scriptuir hef ze for zow to resave sa mony Evangelis and Epistolis in the New Testament as ze do, and nane ma? Gif ze allege the universall consent of all aiges sen Christe, and the auctorite of Godis Kirk, to appreve the veritie thairof, as S. Augustine dois plainlie in the samin mater: Quhy resave ze nocht the universal interpretatioun of the said Kirk, sen Christis Ascensioun, in all materis of controversie and ordour, to be observit in unitie and peace?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [In these four foregoing articles there is much deserving the serious attention of modern Sectarians. For if the change of day from the Seventh to the First day of the week—the use of the name “Holy Trinity”—the Baptism of Infants—and, above all, the settlement of the New Testament Canon, rest on the authority of the Fathers (as they unquestionably do), are we not bound to follow the same authority in regard to the Episcopal constitution of the Christian Church?—E.]

70. My copie heir wantis ane Questioun in this place anentis the Sign of the Croce, <sup>1</sup> quhilk the reidar may haif in the writtin copiis at hem.

71. *Of quhat Traditionis we speik.*

WE, speikand of traditionis, meanis nocht to compell ony man to resave ony thing contrare the Scriptuiris, not zit thai ritis useit in diveris Kirkis, albeit aggreing with the Scriptuir; fer les heirfor superstitioun, or ony abuissis onyways croppin in religioun; Bot meanis be traditioun, the trew understanding of the Word of God, and thai thingis universalie taucht and observit be all Catholikis sen the days of the Apostolis. Bot give ze appreve nocht the samin with us, bot inventis a new sense thereof contrare the former mynd of our Fatheris, and studiis siklyke to abrogat and abolise the uniforme ordour in religioun, als weill of the Sacramentis as of uthir godly ritis, albeit maist cleirly aggreing with the haly Scriptuiris, and specialie thais universalie observit be all Catholikis, to this our aige: Quhow can ze excuis zour selfis of the impietie of schisme and divisioun, and fra manifest defectioun fra the Kirk of God, and nocht to be the verray sones of the Antichriste, sawand schisme and divisioun in Godis Kirk; and contrare the manifest Scriptuir and promis of our Salvour, denyand evir to hef bene an haly Kirk afoir zow? And gif ze prefer zour awin witt and jugement to all utheris (quhilk God forbid), seik-and thairby a glorious titill, by the gloir of God, quha promittit to send His Prophetis, Doctouris and Evangelistis, to the consummation of His Sanctis: Quhow sall ze nocht justlie be reputit (quhilk gracious God in zow mot stay) the childering of arrogance, and the verray sones of Belial?

72. *Of the Invisible Kirk.*

GIF ze appreve na Kirk, to the quhilk ze may assent, except an imaginat invisibil Kirk (quhilk ze hef begit fra Luther), quhilk wantis eris to heir; quhow sall ze schaw zour complaint to the Kirk, conforme to our Salvouris command?

<sup>1</sup> There is a correction appointed by the Author to be taken in somewhere following the Note pertaining to the margin of question 65; but because the particular place is not distinctly marked, it was thought proper to insert it here, viz:—"For, fra the comfortable Signe of the Croce contenit in the vj Questioun following, thai abhorre na les than dois the auld Serpent, and his poysonit kenling Juliane the Apostate did."

And gif it wantis toungis to speik, and handis to writt (as it man want of necessitie, gif it be invisible) quhow can it be, as S. Paull techis it to be, the Pillar and Firmament of Veritie? Albeit the Elect of God ar knawin to Him only, zit how can thai be invisible to men, sen it behuifis thame to be techit be men, resave the Sacramentis be men? or uthirways, quhow can thai be of Godis Kirk? Quhy invent ze sik a terme as invisible, nothir expressit in Scriptuir, nor resavit be aunciant Fatheris, and settis the samin furth as an article of zour beleif? Will ze nocht confes that in the Kirk of God ar bayth guid and evill, expressit in the Evangel be the similitude of quheit and fitchis [wheat and tares], guid fischis and evill in ane nett; sua that the guid in the battell throw tentatioun may fall, and the evill throw trew pennance may ryse agane to grace? Or quhidder imaginat ze zour Kirk to be invisible, to mair esalie persuade thairthrow an unities in all godlines? Or (as mony supponis) to the end that ze and zour privat opinioun be nocht jugeit be men of superiour poweris? Gif ze persuade ony godlines or unities thairby, be quhat meanis or maner we pray zow? And quhow can ze thairthrow onyways eschew nocht to be jugeit of superiouris of the Kirk, sen ze neid obey thame in all godlines, albeit thai in thameselfis be wickit, sen “na power is bot of God?” Ferther, gif God providit amongis the Jowis an undoutit ordinance, that all dout and controversie in religioun amangis thame mot be decidit; hes He les cuir of us, quhome He hes bocht alrady with the precious Bluid of His only Sone, sa ferventlie commendand us peace and concord, than of thame; that it may be lesum to every ane of us to adhere to his awin imaginatioun and phantasie, but ony judgement or punisment of our superioris?

*73. Gif a Woman may beir Superioritie of a Realme,  
Province, &c.*

ZE nocht misknawand that we all ar maist strytlie comandit in the Scriptuiris to be submittit and obedient to the hie poweris, of the quhilkis we beleve our lauchful King or Quene to be principal in the Civill Estate, as the Chief Bischope in the Ecclesiasticall Government: Quhy assent ze to the furthsetting of certane seditious buikis, quharein is

denyit that a woman may beir auctorite of ony realme, province, or citie; sen we reid maist godly women to hef had sik auctorite, as the Prophetise Debora? We reid the Quene of the South be our Salviour gretumlie commendit, for the visiing of Salomon. We reid siklyke of the Quene of Candace, quhois eunuch wes baptizit be Philip. Quharefor slew the wickit Quene Athalia the Kingis posteritie, and it had nocht bene the law that a woman micht beir aucto-rite, as scho regnit sevin zeris? Gif ze affirm that a woman may nocht succed to hir fatheris heretable landis, Moyses pronunceis planelie in zour contrare, admittand and comandand alsua the dochtiris of Salphaad to enjose [enjoy] but impediment thair fatheris heretage in Judea. And quhat is ony realme or province in Christianitie bot as a part of Judea, be the quhilk is signifiit the haill Kirk of God, professing trewlie Christe Jesus, subdewit to ane God, ane King, ane Lord, and ane Law? Quhare mentioun is maid in the Scriptuir that a woman may nocht haif domi-nioun above man, is nocht that meanit only of a mariit woman and hir husband, except ze will eviry lady in the land to be subdewit to hir awin cuik or horsboy? Gif ze deny zow to assent to the saidis prophane buikis, quhy cry ze nocht out in zour prechingis aganis sa manifest impietie, tressonable seditioun, quhilk alrady intendis extreme destruc-tioun of this Realme?

74. *Quhat cumis of the misknawing of the Soverane and the Bischopis.*

GIF ze can nothir assuir us of zour lauchful Bischopis and utheris Ministeris, nor zit knawis zour lauchful Soverane, quhome ze aucht, nixt God, maist humelie obey; quhow can ze affirm zow to haif a Kirk, or defend zour Conventiculis fra a Babilonical confusioun and diabolical misordour, fore-spokin be the Prophetis to the wickit peple, reprobato of God, on this manieir, “Sedebunt multos dies sine Rege, sine Lege, sine Principe, sine Sacerdote et Doctore, sine Sacrificio et Altari,” &c.

75. *Gif the Bodyis salbe all alyke glorifiit.*

IT being sa expreslie schawin to us in Scriptuiris that eviry man sall resave rewarde of God conforme to his wirking in

his body heir ; quhy teche ze that eviry body of the just in the Resurrectioun salbe alyke beutifull and glorifiit, sen the guidnes of God sall rewarde the haille man in body and saull, and nocht in saull onlie ? The difference of the rewarde is mair expressit than we neid to preve the samin ; as, “ quha sawis scairslie [he that soweth little, &c. 2 Cor. ix.] sall scheir scairslie ” : And “ as a sterne differis fra ane uthir sterne in brychtnes, sua salbe,” says S. Paull, “ the resurrectioun of the deid.”

76. *Gif all kynd of Images and Similitudes be forbidden be the Secund Command.*

GIF ze understand be the Secund Precept, as ze distinct thame, na image nor similitude of ony thing to be maid absolutlie ; quhy permit ze, but repreif, the Nobilis and Gentlemen of zour Congregatioun to haif images or figuris of beistis and siklyke, in thair armis ? And quhy beir ze zour selfis gold and silvir in zour purssis, quhareupon ar images and figuris ? And gif ze allege siklyke to be lesun, bot nocht to be put up in the Temple of God ; quhow understand ze that part of the Scriptuir quhare Salomon is gretumlie commendit for the bigging of the Temple of Jerusalem, quharein he gart mak sindry images and similitudis, as of the angelis, cherubin, of lyonis, oxin, and utheris thingis ? Will ze haif the haille Kirk of God of les auctorite than wes Salomon him allane, qua bayth set up images in the Temple of God, without the expres writtin Word of God ? Gif ze anssuer heirin tweching the abuissis, quhilkis we wald glaidlie war put away, be exemple of the brazen serpent cassin down be Ezechias ; quhow can zour anssuer be of strenthe or to purpose ? Or quhow can ze, be ressoun, condemne of idolatrie all our elderis [ancestors] for the upsetting of images of Christe crucifiit, of his Martyris, and of the rest, mair than Salomon ; sen nother of bayth intendit ony abus eftir to cum thair of ? And gif ze abolise all thing that is abusit, quhat thing sall ze leve nocht abolissit ? Nocht the Haly Scriptuiris self, quhilk heretikis hes evir abusit, thraving the samin in defence of thair fals opinionis, as did the Devil and the Jowis contrare Christe.

77. *Gif we may incal the Sanctis to pray for us but Idolatrie.*

ZE confessing with us, as we ar informit, that all the mem-

bris of Christis mystical Body, quhilk is His haly Kirk, ar desyrous and glaid also of the helthe and prosperitie of utheris; and prayis to our Hevinly Father for the samin to the indigent thair of, als weill the Angelis and Sanctis in Hevin for us on erd in this battell, as the godly on lyfe for utheris; bot ze deny that we may incal the Angelis and Sanctis in Hevin to that effect but the cryme of idolatrie, and pronunceis us manifest idolatouris gif we sua do: Quhy condemne ze nocht of idolatrie siklyke, Origene, Chrysostome, Hierome, Augustine, Basil, with mony utheris, quhome ze knaw to hef incallit the Sanctis afoir thame departit, as we do at this present? And gif ze allege that the Sanctis heiris us nocht, be quhat Scriptuir preve ze zour allegiance? Knaw ze nocht that the Angelis ar blythe for the weifair of man in erthe? And knaw ze nocht that our Saviour pronounces panielie that the Sanctis departit heifra salbe alyke and equal to the Angelis? Or quhow may ze affirm the Angelis and Sanctis to be of les knowlege than the Devilis, quhome ze grant to knaw our doings? <sup>1</sup>

78. *Gif ony Temporall Pane remanis to a Penitent resavit to Mercy, and of Prayar for thame departit.*

MAIROVER, quhat Scriptuir haif ze for zow to affirm sa bauldlie that quhow soone as a sinnar is resavit in the favour of God to mercy, that all temporall pane is also dimittit to him; for the quhilk caus the saulis of the Christianis, say ze, that ar departit in grace, neidis nane of our prayaris, or uthir support: For othir thai depart in grace, and sua immediatlie to the Hevin, or ellis in the wrayth of God, and sua (as we grant with zow in that case) passis to the Hell? But quhow understand ze it that is writtin, Num. xiv. "I haif forgevin thame, according to Thi Word," says God to Moses, prayand for the peple; nochttheless it followis of the grete punisment temporall, that nane of the peple that passit furth of Egipt abone xx zeris auld, suld entir in the Land of Promissioun, except Josue and Caleb? Quhow understand ze the grete tribulation and scourge that cum to David and his hous for his sinnis, eftir he wes

<sup>1</sup> [We are surely not justified in ascribing the Divine attribute of Omniscience to angels and saints; or in praying to them, even if we knew that they possessed it.—E.]

ressavit to mercy? Quhat meanis the sorrowfull punisment of the hous of Manasses, to the fourt generatioun, for his offences, aftir he wes ressavit to mercy, nocht only in tyme of his wickit offspring, bot also in the days of the maist godly King Josias his oy [grandson], it is writtin, that the Lord wes nocht turnit fra His wrayth and indignatioun contrare Juda, for the sinnis of Manasses? Ze grantand also, that in baptim all sinnis ar forgevin, confes ze nocht that the miserie and the dethe siklyke that followis eftir to the infant afoir ony actuall sin, is the temporall punisment for sin; sen S. Paull techis that “the reward of sin is dethe”? Gif we heirfor assuirit be Godis Word that He “chastissis all sones quhome he ressavis,” limitatis nor determinatis nocht the wisdum of God be our phantasie, quhen, quhare, or quhowmekle, heir or eftir this, as it plessis His godly Fatherheid justlie to puneis us temporalie, bot with Hierome, Ambrose, and Augustine, with the rest of Godis Kirk, prays, and delis almus deid for the saulis of the faythfull departit: Quhy call ze us heirfor Papistis, specialie sen it is writtin, that it is a haly and helthfull thing to pray for thame departit, that thai be saifit fra thair sinnis.<sup>1</sup>

### 79. *Of Fasting at certane tymes.*

FASTING in all aiges, sa gretumlie commendit be God, as it is patent of Moyses, Helias, the Ninivitis, and also be S. Johne Baptist and his disciplis, practisit also be our Salviour self, (quhois doingis till us suld be a reull of leving, sa fer as we may follow,) be Quhome it wes forespokin that His disciplis suld fast in thai days quhen thair Spous, quhilk wes Himself, suld be tane fra thame: Quhidder, gif the Kirk of God heirfor observing zerlie abstinence fourty days in the Lentrene, and oukly on the Fryday quhen He sufferit,

<sup>1</sup> [It is not improbable that the faithful departed are benefited by our prayers in their behalf; such at least was the belief of the early Church. The doctrine is not without foundation in Scripture (1 Tim. i. 18), and the Church of England has not only not condemned it, but has given it a sanction in more than one of her Offices. But this is a very different thing from the Papal abuse of “indulging” men, by exempting them and their friends from the pains of Purgatory on their performance of certain conditions—a doctrine which has no foundation whatever in Scripture or antiquity, but is purely a middle age fiction, invented from no praiseworthy motive.—E.]

and on Wodinsday generalie in the Orient Kirk, quhen He wes sauld, as maist commonly on the Saterdag in the Occident, wes gilty of idolatrie or superstitioun thairthrow? Quhiddir gif the Primitive Kirk observit the samin voluntarie, sen tha war maist ferventlie gevin at that tyme to all godly exercise, or be command of thair Bischopis? Trewth it is that thai fastit the samin maist strictlie, nocht only, as it apperis, fra flesche, bot fra wynis, and all weill nurissing meitis and drinkis; of the quhilk fasting remanis now only the memorial thairof, to abstene fra flesche. Heirfor, gif the peple now being bent and prone to all licentious leving, contemnis bayth the les and the mair; quhy exhort ze thame to brek that small memorie of abstinence fra flesche the tymes forsaid, and nocht erar spurris thame to the strict abstinence, maist godly, of the Primitive Kirk; nocht only for cause of the commoun weill, as ze call it, bot for godly exercise, as the Kirk useit the samin befor? Siklyke, sen the peple suld obey thair superiour in all lesum thingis, quhy cause ze disobedience to thame in this mater; sen Josaphat, King Saull, the King of the Ninivitis, with mony utheris, commandit siklyke fasting, and nane durst disobey; insamekle that Saull wald hef slane his mast deirbelovit sone Jonathas for breking the samin command, nocht wilinglie nor wittinglie, bot in ignorance? Quhy obeyt ze nocht zour selfis, the last Lentrene tyme, zour Magistratis commandand, at zour devise and counsel, abstinence fra flesche certane days? Gif ze allege in this mater, contrare the fasting of the Kirk, the sayngis of S. Paull, “All thingis ar elene to the elene;” and quhare he propheciiis of the heretikis that suld forbid mariage and eiting of certane meteis: We think that absurditie neidis na confutatioun bot the exemplis abone specifiit, sen thai heritikis ar alrady cummin in the Primitive Kirk.

### 80. *Of the Monastik Lyfe.*

NA man of mein reiding doutand the monastik lyfe in the Primitive Kirk to hef bene in grete existimatioun, as sindry werkis of Hierome, Augustine, Chrysostome, Basil, and utheris, in commendatioun thairof, may be sufficient witnessing: Quhy reject ze and dispyssis the samin indifferentlie, as superstitious or idolatrical, sen it hes the grund

and deip ruites in the Scriptuir, be exemple of Helias, Heliseus, S. Johne the Baptist, and thair disciplis; be exemple also of mony disciplis of Christe, quha sauld thair geris and landis at His counsel, that thai mot be perfyte and follow Him, and kaist the prices thair of at the disciplis feit; for the defrauding of the quhilkis, Ananias and Saphira wes strukin be ane word of Petir to the dethe. Feir ze nocht siklyke punisment heir, or hyne tocum, on tha religious persones quha now gredelie embraissis the warld agane, be libertie of zour doctrine, quhilk afoir, be Christis counsel, thai had refusit? And that damnatioun also tocum on thame, (quhilk God avert throw His Spirit to repentance,) quhilk S. Paull pronunceit upone the zoung wedowis, quha eftir thair vow wald only hef mariit; sen the speciall pray that mony of thame huntis for is an huir (as we zit understand), elokit be the name of a wyfe? Ze misknaw nocht the monastik lyfe to hef stand specialie in the renuncing of the warld and pleasures of the body, nocht only fra unlesum huirdum, bot fra marriage, sumtyme to thame lesome; to the entent that thai mycht thairby mair esalie waik on prayar and godly study; nocht refusing honest corporal exercise, be exemple of S. Paull, to sustentatioun of thair bodyis: Zit nochtwithstanding, in our days the samin wes abusit amang mony in idilnes and welthy lyfe, and cloikit with glistering ceremoneis of germountis and siklyke, mair than in trew religioun. Quhy hef ze schorne away in this mater the quheit togidder with the fitchis? Quhy hef ze wappit down the Monasteriis and principal policie of this Realme, and counselis the rentis thair of unjustlie to be appropriat to utheris? Of the quhilkis Monasteriis every ane, be a godly reformatioun, besydes a cumpanie to waik on prayar, micht haif bene a College of godly leirning, to the support of pur studentis, and that to the grete and necessar commoditie of this Realme; quhare now apperis schortlie to cum extreme ignorance, and thairby be reiding of erroneous Inglis bukis but ferthir knowlege, confusioun of all errouris. Gif ze allege the saidis Monasteriis to hef bene pollutit with idolatrie, and thairfor suld haif bene destroyit; quhy hef ze nocht destroyit also to the ground (as ze hef done in a part) all Paroche Kirkis and Bischopes Saitis, in the quhilkis the samin thingis wes useit, haldin be zow idolatrie? And

quhat power haif ze to dispence mair in the ane nor in the uthir ?

81. *Of Prayar at Prescrivit Tymes in the Kirk.*

EFTIR that we ar be our Salviour and His Apostolis maist earnestlie commandit to walk continualie but intermissioun in prayar and thankisgeving, and be exemple of our grete Lordforsaid, techit nocht only afoir and eftir mete to thankisgeving, bot to the fervencie of prayar, knowing Him to hef prayt thryse the samin prayar the nycht He wes betrasit ; and be Daniel also captive in Babilone, turnand him to Jerusalem and adurnand the leveand God thre tymes eviry day ; and techit siklyke be the haly Prophet David, nocht only eviry day, bot at midnycht to rise, and eviry day sevin tymes to lueve the samyn Lord our God. Siklyke, in the Apostolis days, we reid that certane houris wes appointit, as quhen Petir and Johne ascendit to the Temple at the nynte hour of prayar : We reid siklyke of the magnifik ordour and multitude of sindry Ministeris in the Temple of God appointit be David. Heirfor, albeit eviry man suld pray willinglie, think ze nocht that the Kirk of God institutit godly, that prayaris and loving suld be soung or red dayly sevin tymes, be able Ministeris elect thairto ? quhilk thing, as we understand, ze can nocht be ressoun deny. Quharefor hef ze, pretending bettir ordour in the Kirk than wes afoir, distroyt the formair ordour, and prays only be ane persoun, in zour best reformit Kirkis, anis only eviry day ? and in mony places thryse in the oulk ? and in fer ma nocht anis in the moneth ? we mean of the Kirkis pertening to the Reformaris. Gif ze allege in the formair ordour abuse or superstitioun, throw ignorance, to hef aboundit (quhilk thing we excuis nocht), quhy trampit ze nocht thai abuseis under fuit, and set up that godly ordour to the awin syncere puritie, bot hes brocht that mater, as fasting and monastik lyfe, to the mair licentious libertie than afoir ?

82. *Of Fre Will.*

QUHY hald ze the Catholik doctrine of the Fre Will of man a Papisticall inventioun, sen all the auld aunciant Writtaris, bayth Greik and Latin, affirmis the samin to be collectit maist evidentlie of the Scriptuir ; and nocht only thai, bot

also zour awin Writtaris, as Bullinger and Melanthon, apprevise the samin? Will ze heirfoir a man to be as a stane, horss, or mule? Or mak ze God the wirkar of all iniquitie, and to hef gevin His haly Commandis to the intent that man suld be damnit thairby, gif ze allege all thingis to cum of necessitie? Gif man, preventit be the grace of God, hes nocht that fredome of will to assent or dissent thairfra, quhow understand ze thir Scriptuiris, and siklyke, “Quhow oft wald I hef gadderit the (says our Salvieur to Jerusalem) and thow wald nocht?” And syklyke as S. Stevin says to the Jowis, “Ze haif ay gainstand the Haly Spirit”? Gif man hes na fredome, as said is, to quhat effect gaif God His Commandis to man, gevand him terrouris of panis, gif he transgressit the samin, and sa mony large promissis for the observing of the samin? Was thair evir ony of us, quhome ze call Papistis, that affirmit with the Pelagianis that man, eftir the Fall of Adam mycht, of the power of his Fre Will, do ony guid plesand to God without His special grace and help? Nochtheles man we nocht grant with S. Paull, that Will is adjacent till us?

### 83 *Of the Name Papistis.*

QUHIDDER call ze us of the haly Catholik Kirk Papistis, be ressoun of the Bischopes of Rome in the Primitive Kirk, of the quhilkis thai war twentie and ma, maist constant Martyris of the veritie, quhilk is Christe? Or be ressoun of the Bischopes of Rome quha hes bene laitlie? Gif ze call us Papistis for caus of ony new doctrine unknowin to the Primitive Kirk, bot set up laitlie be the Bischopes of Rome, or utheris: We, to the intent that we may cum to an unitie in all godlines, will, with Godis help, condescend unto zow, sa fer as we may but manifest errour, and in na point adhere to ony doctrine in religioun, or ordour in the Kirk, set furth be Papes, Bischopes, or Kingis, thir thousand zeris last bipast; except it evidentlie aggre with the expres Word of God, the true understanding thairof universalie set furth afoir thai days, declarit till us be the uniforme consent of the maist aunciant Doctouris, discussit and determinat be Generall Counsellis, or universalie observit and practisit in Godis Kirk. Nor zit allege Doctour, Greik nor Latin, quha hes writtin within thir thousand zeris for the defence of ony

thing now in controversie, except in sa fer as thai manifestlie consent with the doctrine of the former aige. Gif ze dissent fra the doctrine approvin universalie, and ordour set furth in the said former Kirk, sen the Kirk of God most be perpetuall, and in na aige evir mair syncere in religioun, fulfillit and exornatit in godly leirning and integritie of lyfe than in thai days: Haif we nocht just caus to imploir the grace of God, and help of all Christiane Princis, to be deliverit fra zour furious tyrannie, maist Ethnik and arrogant impietie?

*An Exhortatioun to Mature and Godly Deliberatioun in the Premises.*

WE being diligentlie, and also stryitlie commandit be our Salviour and His haly Apostolis, to be war of fals Prophetis, to eschew the cumpanie of heritikis, to fle fra all schisme and divisioun, to walk in unitie of spirit, in the band of peace; And to the end that we mot mair esalie sua do, to keip that uniformitie of doctrine, of preceptis and traditionis gevin till us, als weil be word and preching as be writt; maist faithfullie promittis to zow to consent, and assist alsua, nocht onlie to the tramping down of idolatrie, superstitioun, and abuissis in religioun, insafer thai be till us cleirly notifit, bot also to the cutting away of the apperand occasioun thairof, croipin in the Kirk onyways, be warldly wickit men, be the spirit of avarice, ambitioun, or carnal affectioun. Gif ze schuit only at this samin mark, as ze allege zow to do (quhilk to intend unfenzetlie we pray the Almychty maist merciful to illuminat zour myndis) we exhort zow, in the bowellis of Jesus Christe, to descend into zour selfis, and to hef consideratioun that as ze allege zow to be men of leirning and witt, that sua zour fatheris afoir zow hes bein men haifand indoutitlie the samin giftis; and as ze juge the samin our Fatheris (we mein specialie of the Martyris and maist aunciant Doctouris, about four hundreth zeris to Christes Ascensioun) to hef bene men, and sa mycht hef errit, sua zour selfis nocht to be as zit in that angelicall perfectioun that ze may nocht erre. And zit, as we grant it possible that ony of thame, adherand to his awin jugement, mycht hef sliddin in sum pointis; sua we affirm it to be impossible, and

a thing blasphemous to Christe, to think that thai all writtand of ane mater, and in ane mynd, evir to hef errit. We exhort zow alsua, as ze know science to be the gift of God, sua we wald remembir it to be indifferent to guid or evil; sua that naturalie, without the heit of cheritie, it makis men bowldin and heicht. Bot sen ze misknaw nocht that godly wisdum may nocht dwell in the boydis of thame quha ar subdewit to sin (quhilk we say nocht to accuis zow presentlie), we beseik zow to haif inspection inteirly of zour awin lyves, and thaireftir juge and confer the samin with the lyves of the haly Martyris, and utheris aunciant Fatheris. Quhilk thing being done, we appele to zour conscience to declare gif ze think we fail to lein erar to the jugement and uniforme consent of thai Eldaris (quhois lyfe and leirning ar notifiit to the hail world) to the grete glore and prayse of the maist mereifull Lord, thair undoutit gydear; or to zour privat opinioun in thir our days: Zea, albeit ze hald the hail world, at this present alyve (except a few numbere of us), on zour syde, dissenting fra all aiges of men professing Christe in all the world sen His Ascensioun, afoir this our maist wrechit aige. Mairover, forsamekle as ze ar offendit and gretumlie displeit, that we embrase nocht generalie zour new interpretationis on sindry places of the Scriptuir, zour determinationis and ordour in the hie Mysteriis and Sacramentis of our Christiane and Catholik religioun; and thairfor callis us indurat Papistis, affirming zow to reduce all to the puritie and syncere doctrine of Godis Word as it wes trewlie understandit in the Primitive Kirk, with the uniforme ordour keipit than. We heirfor effectuouslie desyris zow, and all Christianis quho heiris of our controversie, to pance [think], wey, and consider gif ze haif just occasioun thairto; and to that effect, to know and remembir the constancie of the Primitive Kirk in theleist ceremonie in religioun resavit fra thair Eldaris: And for exemple, to haif in vigilant memorie the tumult and controversie that hapnit in the tyme of the aunciant Martyr Irenæus, neirby fourtein hundreth zeris passit, betwix the Kirk of Asia (quhilk as principal Bischope in thai partis than reulit Polycrates) and the Kirk of Rome, with the utheris Kirkis, about the celebratioun of the Pasche-day: Nocht that other of the sydis denyit the zerlie

celebratioun thair of, nor intendit, as ze do at this present (of quhat spirit we refer to Godis Kirk to juge), to abolise the zerlie celebratioun thair of, bot only that the Kirk of Asia celebratit the samin solennitie zerlie nocht on the samin Sunday as the Romane Kirk and all utheris did than, and now dois, keipand in the mene tyme the fasting of the Lentren precedand thair day of the moneth; quha being exhortit maist ferventlie be Victor, than Bischope of Rome, to change that ceremonie, and aggre thairin with the rest of Christis Kirkis, dissentit aluterlie fra his desyre, and thairfor wes be him excommunicatit as schismatikus, nocht keipand ane uniformitie with the rest. Zit, nochtwithstanding the said excommunicatioun, thai perseverit stifie in thair purpose, affirming it naways lesum to thame to change sa litle a thing in thair religioun fra the ordour eftir the traditioun quhilk thai had resavit (as thai allegeit fra thair Eldaris the Apostolis and utheris Bischoipis in Asia), and that with sa grete perseverance on bayth the sydis, that nocht without grete labouris the said haly Martyr Irenæus cumand furth of it, now callit France, to Rome, and causand the for-nemmit Polycrates to cum thare at his requeist furth of Asia, for the reconciling and aggreing all Kirkis in the premissis, aggreit with grete difficultie the mater sua, That the Kirk of Asia suld be absolvit fra the former censuris, and permittit to use that ceremonie of thair accustomed day as thai useit it afor, sen it wes nocht disaggreing in effect fra the ordour of utheris Kirkis.<sup>1</sup> Haif we nocht, judge ze, be this historie and exemple controvertit in the tyme abone specifiit, just cause and grete occasioun to pance diligentlie, observe, and consider with avisement (gif ze wald we war saifit be our awin fayth erar than be zouris) gif zour doctrine in sa many novationis be suirle foundit and bigit on Godis Word trewlie understand or nocht; sen ze nocht

<sup>1</sup> [There can be no doubt that Winzet has completely the advantage of his opponents in most things that he charges them with; but he involves himself in an inconsistency when he *identifies* "the Holy Church Universal" with the Church of Rome; for it is evident, from the very fact of Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, being called in to mediate between the Churches of Asia and Rome, and from his persuading the latter to withdraw her excommunication of the former, that there was no difference between them, at the close of the second century, in respect to supremacy or catholicity.—E.]

only differis fra us, as the Asianis did fra utheris Kirkis, tweching the said day of the moneth, bot aluterlie, with mekle mair, abolissis as idolatrical or papistical, as ze call it, the said solennitie of Pasch, and also of the Ascensioun, Pentecoste, the Nativitie of our Saviour, and Circumcisioun, the Epiphanie, the Fasting of the Lentrene, zerlie celebratit and observit be all Kirkis sen Christis Ascensioun. Heirfor, tweching the trew understanding of the articulis preceding, quharein maist specialie ze hef segregat zour selfis fra us, (insafer as we zit understand of zour doctrine,) we earnestlie desyris zow to schaw till us in writ, conforme to zour promis, as we twechit in the beginning, zour doctrine and confirmatioun thairof, provin be the Word of God. As to our parte, to the intent that ze may be preservit fra all damage and appearand confusioun, and leve with us in a godly unitie, we promitt to zou maist faythfullie to play the trew parte of the haly peace-maker Irenæus abone specifit; that is, to beir safer with zow in all thingis as we may, but manifest errorr and deteetioun fra Godis Kirk. This we promitt maist frelie, nocht doutand bot the godly mynde, the fervent zele, and trew luvè of our Soverane Lady towart zow, hir Grace's subjectis, is maist bent to the samin end; and siklyke, nocht doutand bot our Bischoipsis and utheris Pastouris quha ar of leirning, able to thair offices, sall reforme thair lyfes to the plesour of all godly men, and trewlie leve heireftir conforme to thair vocatioun, and glaidly sall assent to this our mynd; hoipand also that utheris unable, salbe moveit be Godis Spirit to dimit willinglie thair places to the mair qualifeit; or uthirways, be a godly Counseill, that ordour salbe put thairto. Bot gif ze intend to estabilis amangis us a new forme of religioun, tweching the interpretatioun of Scripturis, the furthsetting of Sacramentis, and ordour in the Kirk, unknowin to all aiges of men quhill this present, and will adhere to the jugement of na aige of Christianis in the materis controvertit betwix us, sen the days of the Apostolis, bot interpret the Scriptur, and sett a pretendit ordour, conforme to zour phantasie, imaginatioun, and privat opinioun; we will ze persuadit and certifiit, that be the help of the Omnipotent, maist merciful, quha, conforme to His promitt, hes bein, is, and salbe with His faythfull to the end of the warld, geveand

thame at all aiges the diveris giftis of his Haly Spirit : For na feir of zour multitude, albeit ze war ten thousand contrare ten of us, that we will nocht only nocht join with zow generalie in religioun, as ze maist severlie hes intendit to thrall us, nor beir with zow in mutuall finzeit societie, in dissimulatioun, contrar the law of our God, bot aluterlie fle zour cumpanie, as of Ethnikis and Rennigatis, nocht heirand Godis Kirk nother present nor bypast, keipand uniformitie sa mony zeris. Zit hoipand in the ineffable mercy of God till zow and us, we sall nocht desist day nor nycht to pray with maist humil myndis our hevinly Father (quha makis all His servandis of ane godly concord in His hous) that for the meritis of Jesus Christe our only Salviour, He wald sua illuminat zour hertis with the spirit of humilitie, sobirnes and trewth : that ze nothir think afoir God, nor anssuer till us in the premissis larrogantlie, in stryfe and dissentioun, bot only as afoir God, and of God, and in Christe, and according to His gloir and immutable will, to the godly peace and unities of all thame quha unfenzetlie luvis JESUS, to Quhome, with the Father and Haly Gaist be all glore, power, vertew, and impire for evir. Amen. “Ad quod pervenimus, idem sentiamus, in eadem permaneamus regula. Philip. iii.”

¶ *To Johne Knox, writtin 27 October, 1563.*

It apperis to me, Brother, that ze haif sum grete impediment quhareby ze ar stoppit to keip promise twecheing zour anssuering to this our Tractate, eftir sa lang advisement. Gif ze persave zour fall, “Quid tardas converti ad Dominum?” Bot gif my hand-writt peradventuir hes nocht been sa legible as ze wald, pleis resave fra this beirar the samin mater now mair legible. Gif ze, throw curiositie of novationis hes forzet our auld plane Scottis quhilk zour mother lerit zow, in tymes cuming I sall write to zow my mynd in Latin, for I am nocht acqyntit with zour Southeroun. The cause that moveis me at this tyme to eik this mekle to zow in all haist, is this beirar N, quha wald fane be haldin a pissant [puissant, powerful] patrour of zour cause, obliassing him to bring me zour anssuer in ony thing I wald propone to zow. Bot sen I se that ze can find na outgait in the materis ellis [already] to zow proponit, I will burding zow with na new thingis (hoiping

in God to heir schortlie of zour conversioun), except only with a new errour quhilk this beirar, zour disciple, affirmis bauldly, "That sen Christe sufferit for man," says he, "nevir man passit to hell:" Quhome quhen I culd nocht dissuade to think the contrare, and haveand commiseratioun of the man, I said this, and now to move zow to repentance, repetis the samyn; gif all Johne Knoxis doctrine, say I, be trew, to wit, that all thing quhilk he condemnis be the name of Papistrie be damnable, all thing idolatrie and superstitioun quhilk he sa callis; than all the Martyris of Christe, with the maist aunciant Doctouris quha wrait afore a thousand zeris passit, togidder with all our Eldaris in Scotland, ar alrady in hell: My propositioun I preve be this syllogisme; all man defendand a damnable opinioun agains the trew Catholik Fayth, and deand without repentance, togidder with all idolatouris deing on lyke maner, but stop gois to hell: The Martyris and principall Doctouris of the Primitive Kirk, quhais doctrine defendit evir our forefatheris in Scotland without repentance, wes (gif ze teche trewlie) the samin men; *ergo*, &c. I refer the consequence be the blasphemous mouthis to be pronounceit. The major (as thai terme it) I think that be zow, nor zouris sall nocht be denyit.<sup>1</sup> The minor, as I understand, is in this Tractate, be mony heidis, sufficientlie provin. Quharefor to zour schame is my propositioun necessarilie inferrit. And because ze hef biggit up zour Tour of Babel sa that nane understands utheris, zour toungis being alrady confoundit, I thoecht I wald zit anis agane bid zow hald zour hand. Observe my cause; first, ze zour self, brother, of zour magnificence and liberal hand, hes oppinit the zettis of hevin to the faythful Fatheris, afore our Salviour, be His Dethe, Resurrectioun, and glorious Ascensioun, had preparit thairto this way to man; and utheris zour scholeris, ze knaw, mair cruellie hes in thare imaginatioun cloisit up, slotit, and neidnalit [barred and nailed] the samin zettis of our heretage (albeit now alrady oppinit to the just) quhill the latter day of all: And

<sup>1</sup> The author appoints to be read here, "For we schaw thare ane of his at the leist to deny the mater quhareof we thare speik." *Nota*,—The few corrections which are printed in this Treatise are marked by the author among the *errata*.

now this zour disciple hes maist mercifullie fast steikit the zettis of hell, that the justice of God, do quhat ze list, sall haif na place. Quhat sall we collect of this zour confusit bauldnes, bot that a parte of zow nixt sall lay a scharpear seige to hevin, and an uthir parte to hell, and deny that othir thair is a God in the ane, or a Devil in the uthir. For the Apostolis sentence is maist trew, "*Mali homines et seductores proficient in pejus*," &c. and this apperis to be neir the nixt step. Quharefor, my freind, hald zit zour hand, and luke a litle upon zour werkmanship: To the quhilk the Almightie mot illuminate zour eis. Amen. At Antwerp, the 27 of October, 1563.

NINIANUS WINZETUS, Presbyter.

To these three foregoing pieces I should willingly have added Mr Knox's disputation against the Abbot of Crosraguel, if I could have obtained any where a copy of it; but after all the enquiry, I have not been able to hear but of one imperfect copy. As for the same person's disputation (if it may be so termed) against Mr James Tyrie the Jesuite, I have the same lying by me; but the book is too prolix to be inserted, considering what is already printed here of this kind: It was published at Paris by Mr Tyrie in the year 1573, in octavo, with a small type, and consists of sixty-three leaves, and contains that Jesuite's letter to his own brother, labouring to reduce him to the ancient form; next, Mr Knox's observations on that letter; and last of all, Mr Tyrie's remarks on these observations. Mr Knox makes some good and solid observations, from which, in my opinion, the Jesuite has not handsomely extricated himself.

Mr Knox having told that the Papists at the Pasch 1563, had in divers parts of the Realm erected the Idol of the Mass, adds, "besydes the first Proclamatioun, there had letters past in the contrare, with certificatioun of death to the contraveiner." This author is here in the right; for besides the Proclamation emitted on the last day of May 1562, and inserted by us, p. 510, [iii. 50,] there is another almost in the same words, given out by the Queen at St Andrews, the 17th of March 1562-3, and which it is

probable Mr Knox had here in view. The only material difference of this last Proclamation from the other in the month of May preceding, runs thus, “Nochttheles, sum forzetand thair dewitie, it is murmurit that thay have contravenit, and intendis purposlie to contravene the samyn, be innovating,” &c. Which expression seems indeed strongly to point at and support the truth of Mr Knox’s affirmation above related. But I suppose the work was too hasty, which the same writer immediately informs us of, in these following words:—“The brethren, universally offendit, and espying that the Quene, by hir Proclamatioun, did bot mock thame, determined to put to thair awn hands, and to punische, for example of uthers: And so some Priestes in the West-land wer apprehendit; intimatioun maid unto uthers, as unto the Abbot of Croceraguell, the Parsone of Sanquhair, and sick, that they sould neyther complene to Quein nor Counsaill, bot sould execute the punischment that God hes appoynted to idolaters in His law, by sick meanes as they mycht, quhairever they sould be apprehendit.” This last Proclamation carries also the words “privatlie or opinlie,” in place of “privatlie or quietlie,” which is in the former one, by the fault I reckon of the Clerk.

*Apud Halirudhous, penultimo Junij, Anno 1563.*

THE Quenis Majestie ordanis the Kepar of hir Hienesses Signet, to pass letteris of the dait heiroyf, according to the Ordinance maid be hir Grace at Sanctandrois the xvij day of Marche, the zeir of God 1562 zeirs, tuiching the materis of religioun and the keping of civill societie amangs hir subjectis in all poynts and clausis thairyf; nawayis eikand nor diminishand the samyn in ony conditioun, kepan this present Act for his warrand, as he will answer to hir Majestie thairupoun.

*N. B.*—In the end of the Register of Privy-Council, where the above Proclamation at St Andrews is inserted, and the Order at Holyrood-house; there is likewise to be seen the Queen’s Proclamation of 25th August 1561, a copy whereof we had taken from Mr Knox (*vide* p. 504,) [iii. 40,] as not finding the same in the true place of the Register.

Allowance being made for some few words, which Mr Knox has put into a better shape, the draught of the Proclamation is precisely alike, the word *same* in l. 18, p. 505 [iii. 41,] excepted, which ought to be *form*.

In p. 555, [iii. 133,] it is to be suspected that Mr Petrie has only put a wrong date to his Act of Council, since it is visibly the same with the Act in p. 561. [iii. 143.]

*Item*, in p. 181, [iii. 372,] *Appendix*, the Abbey of Tungland was annexed by the Popes to the Bishoprick of Galloway, Epist. Reg. Scot. Vol. ii, p. 115, 117. And from the same book it appears that the Bishops of Galloway were, by the same authority, Perpetual Deans of the Chapel Royal in Stirline. It would seem the low revenue of this Bishoprick has wanted these annexations.

*Item*, p. 185, [iii. 379, 380,] &c. It appears that the Abbays of Kelso and Kilwinning were both of the Benedictine order; *vide* Epist. Reg. Scot. Vol. ii, p. 116 and 133. And that Saulseat was of the Premonstratensian order; *ibid.* p. 252.

*Item*, p. 185, [iii. 378,] *note*. [?] The Minister of Failford was Provincial of the Trinity order in Scotland; Regist. Privy Seal ad Ann. 1543. And Robert, the Minister thereof, whom we find in the Parliament 1560, was a natural son of the Earl of Glencarne; *ibid.* and Epist. Reg. Scot. Vol. ii. p. 86. The dignity of a seat in Parliament has flowed from being head of the Order.

¶ Besides the Parsonages on p. 192, [iii. 391,] these following are likewise in the Collector's Books, viz:—In Orkney; Lady-Kirk, Stronzay. Fife; Dysert. Merse; Fowlden. Peebles; Eddilstane, Stobo. Stirling; Monyabrock. And by running over the Books of Privy-Seal from the year 1530 to 1567, I have met with these more, viz:—In the Diocese of Argile; Kilblane in Kintyre, Kilmuden, Kilsynnit, Kilcomkil, Ilanmun, Knodeort. Dioc. Isles; Benewal in Uist, Kilquhomen in Yla, Kildaltan, *ibid.* St Colm in Beandmoyl, Kilconan, Kilmaro, Kilmalnogh in

Sky, Nahayis in Lewes, Kilencomen, Harage, and Durinchas. Dioc. Orkney; Hoy. Dioc. Ross; Quittan. Dioc. Glasgow; Kirkben, Penpont, Ranauch. Dioc. Galloway; Penningham. Fife; St Michael, near Coupar. Lothian; Pincarton, Belton. Merse; Polworth. And it is to be observed in the same books, that after the Queen was deprived of the government, a great many more Parsonages come to be mentioned, by reason, I suppose, that some of the Churches which had been formerly annexed to the Bishopricks or their Chapters (which last went under the name of Common Kirks) to Abbays, Priories, or Provostries, and their Prebendaries, were now no longer considered as pertaining to these Bishopricks, &c. and so were brought under the denomination of Parsonages. I am enabled to adduce one sure example of this in the Church of Fothergil, which in the Register is called a Parsonage, and is expresly said to have been one of the Common Kirks of Dunkeld: So that by this list it will come to be known which are ancient Parsonages, and which are not.

§ For a further satisfaction in these Ecclesiastical matters, I give here likewise a list of the Provostries in Scotland, together with their rents, as they stand in the Collector's Books:—

Orkney, L.100. Tayne, L.20. Cullen, L.20. Guthry, L.46, 13s. 4d. Kirkhill, beside St Andrews, L.333, 6s. 8d. Crail, L.100. Methven, L.117, 6s. 8d., bear, 10 c. meal, 20 c. Abernethy, L.13, 13s. 4d., bear, 2 c. 9 b. 1 f. 1 p., meal, 5 c. 2 b. 3 f. Inverpaffry, L.40. Bothwell, L.222. Dumbarton, L.233, 6s. 8d., meal, 5 c. Mayboil, L.20. Lincludin, with its Prebendaries, L.483, 7s. 3d., meal, 3 c. Dunglas, L.82. Corstorphin, L.122, 13s. 4d. Kirk-o-field, beside Edinburgh, L.16. Dalkeith, L.26, 13s. 4d. Trinity-College, beside Edinburgh, L.160. Seton, L.40. Creichton, L.133, 6s. 6d.; Bothans, L.100. Dirleton, L.20. To these may be added the Deanry of Restalrig, L.93, 6s. 8d., wheat, 3 c. 5 b. 2 f. 1 p. and a half, bear, 6 c. 12 b., oats, 23 c. 5 b. 3 f. 3 p., rye, 12 b. 3 f. 1 p. and a half. Arch-priestry of Dunbar, L.80.

There are likewise in the Books of Privy-Seal, the Provostries of Houston, Virgin Mary in St Andrews,<sup>1</sup> and Kilmun; an Arch-priestry also of Argile. And the Appendix to Abp. Spottiswood's History contains likewise these following, Carnwath, Fowlis, Rosline,<sup>2</sup> Stirline, Sempil, Kilmawres, Hamilton, Tillibardin. And I have heard of a College near Kelso.

<sup>1</sup> [I may observe here, that this is the very same foundation as "Kirkhill" mentioned above.—E.]

<sup>2</sup> This College was founded in the year 1440 by William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, and it has the good fortune to stand almost entire as yet, and is certainly one of the most curious pieces in Europe of the Gothic kind. The most curious part of the building is the Vault of the Quire, and that which is called the Prince's Pillar. Here ly interr'd Alexander Earl of Sutherland, great grandchild to King Robert Bruce, George Earl of Cathness, at the time of the Reformation, and three Earls of Orkney; besides the Lairds of Rosline. It is four miles south from Edinburgh; and it were a pity if it should be suffered to perish through the injuries of weather. [The greatest possible care is taken of this beautiful relic of the Middle Ages.—E.]

FINIS.



## GENERAL INDEX.

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### A

**ABERDEEN**, destruction of the Cathedral of, i. 265; refuses the call of the General Assembly, and makes excuse, iii. 175.  
**Acts of Parliament and Council**—Acts concerning heresy, i. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 96; reading the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, i. 89, 91; Wishart, i. 102; besieging St Andrews Castle, 127, 129; destroying the Abbeys, 144, iii. 37; giving the Dauphin the Crown-Matrimonial, 173; abolishing the Mass, 322; renouncing the Pope's authority, &c. 323, 324, 325, 326; making peace on the Borders, ii. 104, 106, 468, 610, 611; the Earl of Huntly and his son, 161, 164, 165, Note, 166, 167; Act of Oblivion, 200; concerning due administration of justice, 222; the continuation of a Parliament, 325; Proclamation for assembling the subjects for the Queen's defence, 340, 352, 354; concerning the Earl of Moray, &c. 351, 352, 353, 357, 358, 359, 361, 363; a safe conduct to Mr Randolph, 373; the Earl of Argyll, 380; sundries, 381, 382, iii. 97; the Queen's health, 425; a taxing, 484; her Majesty's rents, 535; twenty-four Acts on various matters, 556-561; the makers and upsetters of bills and placards, 561; counterfeit money, 590; religion, 591, iii. 40, 237, 244; certain hurtful rumours, ii. 612; the murderers of the King, 652; the Queen's abdication, 714; the Coronation of James VI., &c. 719, 728; the Earl of Huntly's lieutenantship, 727; arresting the Earl of Bothwell, 729, 767; the Regency of the Earl of Moray, 750, 752, 769; several gentlemen in the Merse, &c. 763-765; John, Commendator of Arbroath, 783; the Book of Discipline, iii. 24; protection of the Queen's religion, 40; Kirk lands and fens, 43, 50, 68, 70; repairing of churches, 77; small benefices, 143-145; sustentation of Burgh Ministers, 160; Protestants, 162; Black Acts, ii. 1, 780, iii. 317; concerning the Kirk, iii. 185; for exporting lead, 218; refraining from eating flesh during Lent, 219, 357; assurance toward the state of religion, 237, 244; summons to come to Edinburgh, 238; against Argyll and Moray, 239; assurance to Moray, 240; charging the lieges to be ready, 246; in favour of the heirs of such as should be slain in the expedition against the rebels, 247; a bond made in Fife, 248; and other places, 249; for various things regarding the expedition, 252-257; new coinage, 257, 315; Proclamation and Acts consequent on Rizzio's murder, 278-284; Act of Edinburgh, 312; charge to present the seals for destruction, 316; for allotting the Church revenues, 361-368, 388-390; the rental of the different Bishoprics, religious houses, &c. to be given in in consequence of these Acts, 369-383.

- Aitchison, John, Master Cunzier, ii. 194; his bond, iii. 218.
- Albert, Archbishop of Mentz, i. 9.
- Albon, Jacques d', Marshal of France, i. 238.
- Ambassadors to France, list of, i. 166; what happened to them, 170, 171, 172.
- Ancrum Moor, Battle of, i. 118.
- Anderson, Alexander, Professor of Theology, publicly disputes with Knox, &c. in Edinburgh, iii. 32.
- William, a heretic, burnt, i. 98.
- Angus, Earl of, see Douglas.
- Anstruther, Church of, destroyed by Knox and his mob, i. 204.
- Aqua composita, or whisky, ii. 403.
- Archibald, Thomas, Chamberlain to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Letter of, iii. 7.
- Argyll, Archibald, fourth Earl of, attends the funeral of James V., i. 55; named one of Cardinal Beaton's Counsellors, 64; appointed one of the Governor's Council, 70, 80; averse to a match with England, 76; appointed by Parliament to treat with the French Ambassadors, 84; assists the Governor in suppressing heresy, 98, 148; in collecting an army, &c. 116, 117; attends the Queen-Dowager at Stirling, 140; subscribes a bond for Reformation, 154; keeps a Protestant chaplain, 152, 155; refuses to recant at the request of the Archbishop of St Andrews, 156; sent by the Queen-mother to suppress troubles in the West Highlands, 161; nominated as an Ambassador to France, 175; his death, 193.
- Archibald, fifth Earl of, called to assist the Queen-Regent, i. 193; sent to inquire the cause of the convocation of the Congregation at Perth, 198; accused by Knox, 200; subscribes a bond for Reformation, 202; refuses to obey the Queen-Regent, 203; besieges the City of Perth, 205; encourages his party to destroy the religious houses, 211; detained by the Congregation from waiting on the Queen-Regent, 217; but sent on a commission to her, *ibid*; goes to the West, 224; writes to the Queen-Regent, 228; subscribes the deprivation of the Queen-Regent, 235, 237; is appointed to reduce the North of Ireland to obedience, 260; is a leader of the army of the Congregation, 267; subscribes the ratification of the Treaty of Berwick, 277; waits on the Queen-Regent before her death, 278; is present in the Parliament, August 1560, 312, 326; signs a Petition to Queen Elizabeth of England in favour of Arran, ii. 8; is made one of Queen Mary's Privy-Council, 78; makes a riot in the Chapel-Royal during Divine Service, 85; goes north with the Queen, 161; is with her at Aberdeen, 163, 166; is reported to have intended the seizure of the Queen, 303; writes to the Queen of England, 330; is apprized of Moray's being declared rebel, 353; attends a rebellious meeting at Ayr, 358; assists the rebels, 359, 361; is denounced rebel, 368, iii. 239, 256; is present at the birth of James VI., ii. 432; his protestation touching the murder of the King, 510, iii. 290; Moray's answer to it, iii. 294; sits as Lord High Justice on the Earl of Bothwell's trial, ii. 540; signs a bond in favour of the Earl of Bothwell's marrying the Queen, 562, 565; joins the faction against her, 607; but deserts them and returns to his allegiance, 616; taketh advice of some neighbouring gentlemen as to how he should act, 698; goes with others to Hamilton, 716; thence to Dumbarton, 718; when there signs a bond in favour of the Queen, 719; seeks to be divorced from his lady, 746;

goes to Edinburgh to meet Moray, 775; hastens to Queen Mary on her escape, 798; signs another bond in her defence, &c. 809; is Commander of her army at the Battle of Langside, 811, 814; in which he is defeated, *ibid*; is said to have been attacked suddenly with a fit of apoplexy, 811, 815; subscribes the Book of Discipline, iii. 24; is appointed to demolish Churches, &c. 37; sits in trial on Archbishop Hamilton, 69. His name occurs in Sederunts of Council, *passim*. See Sederunts.

Arran, Earl of, i. 14, 26, 51, 63, 64; appointed tutor to the Queen, 64, 68; calls a Council, 67; his Council, 70, 80; receives the English Ambassador kindly, 71; liberates the Cardinal, 74; is indifferent in the treaty of Henry VIII. of England proposing a marriage between Prince Edward and Queen Mary, *ibid*; but afterwards signs the treaty, 75, 76; the Earl of Lennox appears in arms against him, 75; goes to St Andrews, and denounces Cardinal Beaton rebel, 77; the Cardinal and he become friends again, *ibid*; approves of the Act allowing the Bible to be read in the vulgar tongue, 89, 92; emits the proclamation for the same, 91; entertains two Protestant preachers in his family, *ibid*; receives Sir Robert Richardson, an English priest, courteously, 95; recants, and receives absolution from the Cardinal, *ibid*; and dismisses his chaplains, *ibid*; denounces heresy, &c. 96, 97; raises an army to repel the English, 116; sends to King Henry VIII. demanding a truce, 117; defeats the English at Ancrum Moor, 118; prevails against the Queen-Dowager and her faction, 120; presses for assistance from France, 123; lays siege to St Andrews Castle, 126, 129; is defeated by the English at Pinkie, 132; holds a Parliament, 133; sends the young Queen to France, 134; is created Duke of Chastelherault, 136, 141; goes, accompanied by the Queen-Dowager, to the north, holding Justice Courts, 139; demits his office of Governor, to the Queen-Dowager, 142; leads an army against England, 165; treaty in which he is concerned, 167; protests in Parliament in defence of his own rights, 174; is called to assist the Queen-Regent, 193; holds a conference with the rebels holding Perth, 199; signs a truce with the Lords of the Congregation, 207; is rivetted to the Queen-Regent's interest, 216; meets some of the Lords of the Congregation at Preston, 217; signs the terms of accommodation on the Links of Leith, 223; is required by the Queen-Regent to convene an army, 226; is commonly called 'The Duke,' 228; is gained over to the Congregation, *ibid*; clears himself from a charge of wishing to usurp the government, 231; subscribes the Queen-Regent's deprivation, 235, 237, 238; loses courage in the cause of the Congregation, 242; goes to Glasgow and destroys the religious houses, 245; commands, by proclamation, all the Clergy to join the Congregation, 246; draws up the treaty of Berwick, 258; ratifies and signs it, 277; is leader of the Congregation, 267; waits on the Queen-Regent before her death, 278; reinstated in his lands, &c. in France, 305; is in the Parliament 1560, 311, 326; threatens his brother, the Archbishop of St Andrews, with death, 322; his letter to King Henry VIII., 347; signs a petition to Queen Elizabeth in behalf of his son, ii. 8; is elected one of Queen Mary's Privy-Council, 78; fortifies Dumbarton Castle, 82; present at the admission of a Superintendent, 87; is on bad terms with the Earl of Bothwell, 125; surrenders Dumbarton Castle to the Queen, 141; asks for Lord Gordon's pardon, 181; deprived of his Dukedom by the French, 210; a differ-

ence between him and the Earl of Lennox, 241 ; is in doubt whether he should leave the country, 247 ; is in favour of the Queen's marrying the Earl of Leicester, 260 ; is opposed to Lord Darnley's party, 272 ; is under the Queen's displeasure, 273 ; is in fear of Lord Darnley, 274 ; goes home discontented, 286 ; turns rebel, 329, 330 ; continues in his rebellious practices, 321, 340, 348, 353, 358, 365 ; is pardoned, 379 ; goes to France, *ibid* ; protests by proxy in favour of his rights at the coronation of James VI., 720 ; wishes a passport to return from abroad, 745 ; accuses the Archbishop of Glasgow of spreading evil reports, iii. 10 ; subscribes the Book of Discipline, 24 ; is appointed to demolish churches, &c. 37. *Sederunts, passim.*

Arthur, Prince, born, and died, i. 62.

Assemblies of the Kirk, — 1st Assembly, iii. 25-31 ; 2d, 33-36 ; 3d, 45-50 ; petition the Queen, 48 ; 4th, 51-58 ; complaint of small stipends, 55 ; supplicate the Queen, 58-59 ; 5th, 61-68 ; 6th, 71-77 ; 7th, 79-89 ; 8th, 89-96 ; Articles presented by this Assembly to the Lords of Secret Council, 91 ; 9th, 97-105 ; Articles presented, &c., 99 ; 10th, 105-113, Articles, &c. 107, 113 ; 11th, 118-133 ; strange excuses urged by some for not visiting their Congregations, 119 ; the Queen's answer to their Articles, 121 ; their answer to her's, 123 ; make supplication for increase of stipend, 126, 133, 134 ; opinions on Baptism, Marriage, &c., 130, 132 ; 12th, 136-142 ; ask the Queen to baptize the Prince after the Protestant form, 136 ; Questions and Answers on various points of doctrine, 140 ; complaint of stipends, 142 ; receive Commissioners from some of the reformed Churches on the Continent, 142 ; their superstition in regard to holidays, *ibid* ; 13th, 146-159, letter to the Bishops of the Church of England, 149-152 ; are angry at some acts of justice done to Archbishop Hamilton, 154 ; supplication thereon, 154-157 ; questions on doctrine, 157, 158 ; remonstrate with some gentlemen of Kyle, 159 ; 14th, 164-171, letters-missive to summon the Earls, &c., 165 ; commissions, &c. 167 ; questions of doctrine, 169 ; appoint a fast on a Sunday, 171 ; 15th, 172-184, excuse by some Noblemen for not attending to the call of the Assembly, 172, 174, 175 ; distribution of stipend, 178 ; Articles of agreement, 179-183 ; 16th, 186-198, Act for restoring the Bishop of Orkney, 189-392 ; Mr Craig makes purgation for proclaiming the banns of Queen Mary, 192, 393 ; collecting of stipends, 193 ; write to Willock to return, 195 ; reflection on the Ecclesiastical matters, 201-205.

Atholl, Earl of, attends the Queen-Dowager at Stirling, i. 140 ; sent to suppress the insolence of the Highlanders, 161 ; called to assist the Queen-Regent, 193 ; is in the Parliament 1560, 312, 321, 326 ; signs a petition to Queen Elizabeth in favour of the Earl of Arran, ii. 8 ; makes offer of his duty to the Queen, 13 ; is of her Privy-Council, 78 ; is with her at Aberdeen, 166 ; is constituted Lieutenant of the north, 359 ; intends to invade Argyllshire, 360 ; is present at the birth of James VI., 432 ; assists at his baptism, 486 ; turns rebel, 607 ; takes part with them, 623, 628, 643, 646, 652, 659, 662, 665, 677, 685, 696, 714 ; is at the Prince's coronation, 719, 720 ; is one of his Council, 727 ; visits the Queen at Lochleven, 736, 738 ; is present at the appointing of Moray Regent, 750 ; wishes to make a present to Mr Throgmorton, 760 ; votes against the new Confession of Faith, iii. 4. *Sederunts, passim.*

Athens, Archbishop of, see Alex. Gordon.

- Aubespine, Claude de l', a French Plenipotentiary, i. 239.  
 Audley, Sir Thomas, an English Commissioner, i. 37 ; deals with the prisoners taken at Solway Moss, 64 ; meets the Scots Commissioners, 72.  
 Augennes, Mons. Jacques d', a French Ambassador, ii. 390.  
 Augustine, St, Canons regular of, i. 17.  
 Aumale, Duke d', uncle to Queen Mary, accompanies her from France, ii. 63 ; returns to France, 83.

## B

- BACON, Sir Nicholas, ii. 226, 227.  
 Balfour, Sir James, Clerk Register, ii. 418 ; is Deputy-Governor of Edinburgh Castle under the Earl of Bothwell, 618, 619 ; is false to his trust, 620, 664 ; charged as being concerned in Darnley's murder, 519 ; of which he was the deviser, 373, Note ; delivers up the Castle on conditions, 755 ; is in arms against Queen Mary at Langside, 816.  
 ——— Mr John, Keeper of Holyrood, i. 221.  
 Balnaves, Mr Henry, Secretary of State, an Ambassador to England, i. 69 ; is with the murderers of Cardinal Beaton, in St Andrews Castle, 143 ; introduces Mr Melville to the Lord James Stewart, 223 ; attends the Lords of the Congregation at Glasgow, 245 ; is chosen a Commissioner to England, 257 ; is one of them who draw up the treaty of Berwick, 258, 262 ; a letter of his to Mr Croft, 403 ; is not much liked by Mary, ii. 30 ; sits on the trial of Earl Bothwell, as an assessor of the Earl of Argyll, ii. 541.  
 Barlow, William, Bishop of St David's, sent into Scotland by King Henry VIII. with some books to James V., i. 40, 41.  
 Beaton, Cardinal David, succeeds his uncle in the see of St Andrews, i. 19 ; immediately takes steps to check heresy, 20, 21, 27 ; a short view of his life, 43, Note ; is hated by King Henry VIII., 43 ; dissuades King James from meeting his uncle the King of England, 47 ; is in consternation at the rout of the Scots at Solway Moss, 53 ; is charged with forging a will in the name of King James V., 63 ; acts upon this will, 64 ; is imprisoned in Blackness Castle, 67 ; not allowed to be carried to England, 72 ; is liberated, 73, 74 ; acts with the Queen Mother, 75 ; holds a convocation of his Clergy, *ibid* ; assists in raising an army, and carries off the Queen, 76 ; is denounced rebel in St Andrews, 77 ; but immediately after is reconciled to the Earl of Arran, *ibid* ; is one of the Governor's Council, 79, 80 ; resigns the keeping of the Privy-Seal to John Hamilton, the Governor's brother, 82 ; is made Lord High Chancellor, 85 ; manages a cessation for Arran, 86 ; has a conference with a reformed English priest, 95 ; receives Arran back to the Catholic Church, by drawing him off from the new doctrines, *ibid* ; visits his diocese, 97 ; sets an example against heresy, 98 ; calls a meeting of the Clergy at Edinburgh, 100 ; gets an order to seize Mr Wishart, 101 ; marries his daughter to the Master of Crawford, 107 ; is butchered in his own Palace, 108 ; his history and character, 110, 111, 112, 113 ; a list of his murderers, 124, Note ; who all died violent deaths, 113, 143 ; some of them pardoned, 162 ; an Act empowering him to treat with the French Ambassador, 345 ; Appendix VII.  
 ——— James, Archbishop of St Andrews, condemns Mr Patrick Hamilton for heresy, i. 14 ; his death, 19 ; and character, *ibid*.

- Beaton, James, Archbishop of Glasgow, sent to witness the Queen's Marriage to the Dauphin, i. 166 ; his fidelity, 173, 349 ; Appendix X. recovers his castle from the Duke of Chastellherault, 246 ; retires to France and is made Ambassador, 323, 324 ; leaves the records of the See of Glasgow and all his papers, &c. to the Scots College in Paris, *ibid* ; acting as Queen Mary's Ambassador in France, ii. 243, 256, 411, 448 ; the letter of the Council of Scotland to him, iii. 284 ; letter from La Croc, 285 ; from Bishop Leslie, 286.
- John, instrumental in Queen Mary's escape from Lochleven, ii. 797 ; sent by her to England and France to give notice of her escape, 800.
- Mary, one of Queen Mary's attendants, i. 134.
- Beaumont, Mons. de, Ambassador from France to Queen Mary, ii. 793, 794.
- Beckwith, Leonard, an English Commissioner, i. 139.
- Bedford, Earl of, see Russell.
- Bellenden, Sir John, concludes a peace with England, i. 160 ; ii. 209 ; is Justice-Clerk of the Kingdom, i. 208 ; ii. 69 ; is one of the Queen's Messengers to the Lords of the Congregation, i. 217 ; appointed one of the Queen's Privy-Council, ii. 78 ; asks instruments in the name of the Estates at the Prince's Coronation, 723 ; Sederunts, *passim*.
- Berwick, Treaty of, i. 258-262 ; ratified, 276, 277.
- Beveridge,—burnt for heresy, i. 16.
- Beza, Theodore, ii. 196.
- Bible, allowed to be read in the vulgar tongue, i. 91.
- Bishop, Thomas, a Commissioner of Lennox and Glencairn to England, i. 86, 87.
- Bishops of Scotland, prevent King James V. from meeting his uncle King Henry VIII., i. 45 ; appointed to take information of such as disobeyed Church laws, 181 ; disgusted with the so-called Reformation, 250 ; not allowed to speak in Council, 321, 322 ; Bishoprics and their revenues, iii. 370-374.
- Black, John, a Dominican, publicly disputes with Willock, iii. 33.
- Blackadder, John, apprehended as one of the murderers of Darnley, ii. 652 ; is tortured, 659.
- Captain William, ii. 652.
- Blackness Castle, i. 67.
- Bonot, a Frenchman, made Governor of the Orkney Islands by the Queen-Regent, i. 160.
- Borthwick, Lord, accompanies the Cardinal on a visitation of his diocese, i. 98 ; signs the ratification of the treaty of Berwick, 277 ; dissents from the proceedings of the Congregation Parliament, 321 ; is on the Queen's side at Carberry Hill, ii. 629 ; endeavours her escape, 647 ; repairs to her on her escape from captivity, 798 ; signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809 ; and is in arms for her at the battle of Langside, 816.
- Mr David, one of Bothwell's advocates on his trial, ii. 542.
- Sir John, sentenced, and burnt in effigy for heresy, i. 21 ; Act or Process against him, 335, App. IV.
- Bothwell, Patrick, third Earl of, active in Cardinal Beaton's liberation, i. 68 ; is one of the Governor's Council, 70, 80 ; averse to a union with England, 76 ; seizes Mr Wishart, 102 ; assists in raising an army to repel the English, 116 ; receives a pension from England, 143.

Bothwell, James, fourth Earl of, takes a supply of money coming from Berwick, i. 243 ; goes to France to pay his duty to the Queen, ii. 24 ; is one of her Privy-Council, 78 ; gives certain lands to Lord Robert Stewart, 99 ; sends an assurance to the Duke of Chastellherault, 125 ; is engaged in some riotous conduct in Edinburgh, 129, 130, iii. 48 ; difference between him and Arran, ii. 139 ; by whom he is accused, 218 ; is released from confinement, 200 ; his poverty, *ibid* ; goes abroad, and is shipwrecked, 218 ; sues for liberty to return home, 265 ; is allowed to return, 352 ; was with the Queen when Rizzio was murdered, 418 ; aids her at Dunbar, 420 ; instrumental in procuring a pardon for Rizzio's assassins, 423 ; is reconciled with the Earl of Moray, 427 ; present at the birth of James VI., 432 ; hurt in a skirmish with the Elliots, on the Borders, 461, 463 ; is suspected and reported to have contrived and executed Darnley's murder, 510, 519, 530 ; is tried on a charge of it, 532, 541 ; and acquitted, 546 ; though guilty, 549, 550 ; bears the Sceptre to the Parliament-House, 553 ; a ratification of certain lands to him, 558 ; is appointed Keeper of Edinburgh Castle, *ibid* ; a bond drawn up and subscribed by several of the Nobility in his favour, 562 ; is said to have compelled them, 566 ; seizes the person of Queen Mary, 570, 571 ; by her consent, *ibid* ; sues for a divorce from his Lady, 572, 573 ; obtains it, 575 ; is created Duke of Orkney, 580 ; and married to the Queen, 581 ; whom he treats harshly, 587 ; wishes to have the Prince in his keeping, 606 ; refuses the combat with Grange and Tullibardine, 633 ; leaves the Queen on Carberry-hill, and is allowed to escape, 634 ; charge emitted for apprehending him, 659, 729 ; supposed to go off with consent of the Nobles, 659 ; is seized in Norway, 762 ; extracts from letters concerning him, iii. 300-306. *Sederunts, passim.*

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Adam, Bishop of Orkney, turns Protestant, i. 251, iii. 71 ; marries the Queen to the Earl of Bothwell, ii. 581, iii. 189 ; heavy charges against him, iii. 187 ; Act of the General Assembly restoring him, 392.

Bowes, Sir Robert, an English Commissioner, i. 87, 139, 160.

Boyd, Lord, accompanies the Earl of Glencairn to Perth, i. 199 ; signs a league for mutual defence, 202 ; is one of the deputies of the Congregation, 217 ; is appointed to meet Argyll and others in Glasgow, 224 ; writes to the Queen-Regent, 228 ; takes part in her deprivation, 236, 238 ; goes to the West, 245 ; joins the English army, 267 ; signs a confirmation of the Treaty of Berwick, 277 ; is in the Parliament 1560, 312, 326 ; signs a petition to Queen Elizabeth in favour of the Earl of Arran, ii. 8 ; is present at Willock's admission to be a Superintendent, 87 ; is with the Duke and others at Ayr, 358 ; is in Edinburgh, 365 ; sits on Earl Bothwell's trial, 545 ; signs a bond in favour of Bothwell's pretensions to marry the Queen, 562, 565, 569 ; is one of those associated for the Prince, 607 ; is firm to her Majesty, and offers to assist in defending Edinburgh, 619 ; corresponds with the English ambassador, 745 ; goes with the Earl of Argyll to the Regent, 775 ; enters into a bond for the Queen's defence, &c. 809 ; is in arms for her at Langside, 812, 816 ; subscribes the Book of Discipline, iii. 24 ; refuses the call of the Assembly to desert the Queen, 174 ; tenor of his excuse, *ibid* ; a charge issued against him and the Earl of Argyll, 256. *Sederunts, passim.*

- Brand, John, iii. 21.
- Brantome, Mons., ii. 61, Note.
- Brechin, Town of, i. 248.
- Breze, Mons. de, carries Queen Mary from Dumbarton to France, i. 134.
- Brosse, Jacques de la, one of the French King's Ambassadors, i. 84 ; offers that King's assistance for defence of the young Queen, *ibid* ; comes again to Scotland, 228 ; is in Leith, 269 ; is one of the Commissioners for composing differences in Scotland, 286 ; leaves Scotland in the English ships, 309, ii. 21 ; the order sent with him, i. 390.
- Broughty Castle, i. 230.
- Brown, Sir Anthony, an English Commissioner, i. 49.
- Buchanan, George, his partiality as a historian exposed, i. 13, 21, 59, 60, 61, 63, 68, 86, 98, 115, 133, 142, 156, 165, 203, 211, 263 ; ii. 61, 137, 138, 307, 388, 591 ; iii. 12 ; his account of the first rise of the Congregation, i. 159 ; of the Queen-Regent, 163 ; his mistake of the quality of the Commissioners sent to France, 166 ; his account of their conferences there, 170, 171 ; of the Crown-Matrimonial, 175 ; of the first petition of the Congregation, 180 ; of their petition to the Parliament, 181 ; of Knox's preaching, 190 ; he varies from other historians, 255, 268, 269, 483 ; ii. 24, 40, 61, 77, 192, 228, 229, 263 ; his account of D'Osell, ii. 39 ; his praises of Queen Mary are with a malicious design, 64 ; writes untruths and aspersions and mistakes against her, 89, 93, 103, 108, 118, 159, 221, 258, 279, 280, 300, 301, 307 ; is forced to acknowledge light conduct in the Lord James Stewart, 103 ; expresses sorrow for Lord John Gordon's fate, 170 ; receives the temporalities of Crossraguel Abbey from the Queen, 242 ; asserts facts that disagree with the public records, 280 ; his falsehood, 333 ; of Rizzio and the Queen, and of several other occurrences, 394, 396, 398, 399, 400, 405, 410, 423, 445, 448, 467, 468, 471, 476, 488, 498, 499 ; his traducing of the Queen different from Mr Knox, 509 ; and from the Acts of Council and other historians, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 521, 522, 523, 524, 531, 544, 548, 549, 557, 609, 637, 751 ; his book 'De jure regni apud Scotos' noticed, 725 ; his inaccuracy and unfaithfulness corrected, 776 ; his account of the battle of Langside, 815 ; is chosen Moderator of the 14th General Assembly of the Kirk, iii. 164.
- Bull, Pope's, in favour of King James V., i. 461-464 ; confirming the institution of the College of Justice, 464-482.
- Burghley, Lord, is in Scotland on Queen Elizabeth's affairs, ii. 6, Note.
- Burnet, Bishop Gilbert, i. 40, 143, 168 ; a mistake in his history of the Reformation, 237 ; a caution to the readers of it, 238 ; copy of a bond taken from his history, 273, 274 ; his account of the Congregation Parliament, and their petition to Queen Elizabeth in favour of the Earl of Arran, ii. 6, 7 ; his observations on the annexed subscriptions of the Clergy censured, 9.

## C

- CAITHNESS, George, Earl of, is in the Parliament 1560, i. 312 ; is Chancellor of Assize on the trial of Earl Bothwell, ii. 546 ; ratification to him of the office of Justiciary, 561 ; subscribes the bond in favour of Bothwell's pretensions to marry the Queen, 562, 565 ; joins the Lords at Hamilton in behalf of the Queen, 658.

- Cairncross, Robert, Bishop of Ross, one of the Governor's Council, i. 70.
- Calderwood, an enthusiastic and partial author, i. 108, ii. 349; his account of Queen Mary's progress against Moray, ii. 363; of the Assemblies, iii. *passim*.
- Calvin, John, advises Knox to return to Scotland, i. 153; is asked to use his authority in the matter, 189.
- Cambuskenneth, Abbey of, destroyed, i. 211.
- Camden, Mr, his account of the dissimulation of the Scots Congregation, i. 252; of the blockade of Inchkeith, &c. by the English ships, 264; of Mary of Lorraine, 282, 284, Notes; of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, ii. 40, 55, 56, 58; his veracity vindicated against a late French writer, *ibid*; his further account of the two Queens, 75, 77, 151, 231, 256, 354; of Queen Elizabeth and Lord R. Dudley, 204; and of the parties for and against Queen Mary's title to the Crown of England, 227; his veracity, 244; charges Moray and Morton with being in the conspiracy against King Henry Darnley, 546; his account of Queen Elizabeth's resolutions, 770.
- Campbell, Hon. Archibald, had the registers of the General Assemblies, iii. 27.
- Colin, of Glenorchy, takes part in the deprivation of the Queen-Regent, i. 236; predecessor to the Earl of Breadalbane, ii. 362, 363; is one of the hostages of the treaty of Berwick, i. 266.
- Sir Hugh, of Loudon, joins the Earl of Argyll, i. 81; is deputed by the Congregation to wait on the Queen-Regent, 186; marches with the Earl of Glencairn to Perth, 199; joins in a bond for Queen Mary's defence, &c. ii. 809; is taken prisoner in arms for her at the battle of Langside, 817.
- Sir John, of Lundy, carries the Cardinal's message to the Governor, i. 77; attends the Cardinal on a visitation of his Diocese, 98; takes part in the Queen-Regent's deprivation, 236.
- Sir John, of Calder, one of the Governor's Council, i. 85.
- Mathew, of Tarmgannar, one of the leaders of the Congregation, i. 202.
- Sir Mathew, of Loudon, one of Lord Gordon's cautioners, ii. 352; ancestor of the Earl of Loudon, *ibid*.
- Carberry-hill, ii. 629.
- Carey, Henry, Lord Hunsden, accused by Queen Mary, ii. 240.
- Carmichael, Peter, one of Cardinal Beaton's murderers, i. 108; offers to make confession, 125.
- Carnegie, Robert, of Kinnaird, sent to thank the French King for his supplies, i. 136; employed by that King to deal with the Earl of Arran to demit the Regency, *ibid*; is rewarded, 137; is a Commissioner at the treaty of Norham, 139; and employed in two treaties with England, 160, 164.
- Carswell, John, Superintendent of Argyll and the Isles, i. 311; ii. 554.
- Cassillis, Gilbert, third Earl of, appointed one of the Governor's Council, i. 70; refuses to meet with him, 80; is one of the *English Lords*, and seeks assistance from Henry VIII., 81; but disavows it afterwards, 126; accompanies the Queen-Dowager into France, 135; is with her at Stirling, 140; is one of the Commissioners sent to witness the Queen's marriage, 166; was faithful to his trust, 173, 349; dies at Dieppe, 172.

- Cassillis, Gilbert, fourth Earl of, i. 312 ; is one of the assize on Bothwell's trial, ii. 545 ; signs a bond in favour of Bothwell's pretensions to marry the Queen, 562, 565, 569 ; repairs to the Queen on her escape, 798 ; signs a bond in her defence, 809 ; is engaged for her at the battle of Langside, 816 ; his son taken prisoner there, 817.
- Castellau, Mons. de, ii. 59 ; his sentiments on Queen Mary's marriage to Darnley, 280, 281 ; arrives in Scotland, 304, 444, 445 ; reconciles the Queen and Darnley, 445.
- Cathcart, Allan, Lord, i. 312 ; joins the Queen's Lords at Hamilton, ii. 656, 658.
- Cecil, Sir William, sifts the intentions of the Scottish Congregation, i. 252 ; is an English Commissioner, 286 ; signs the articles of agreement at Berwick, 291 ; and the treaty of peace at Edinburgh, 295 ; a memorial written by him, 368 ; a discussion, do. 407 ; keeps up a correspondence with Knox, ii. 88 ; hates Lord Dudley, 204 ; is a great enemy to Queen Mary, 430 ; his diary not to be credited, 500, 565, 576, 731, 732 ; dissuades the French Ambassador from going into Scotland, 771 ; is the Earl of Moray's fast friend, 783 ; his account of Queen Mary's retreat into England, 823 ; abstract of letters out of Scotland in his own hand, iii. 329-339 ; other letters, 339-350 ; letters to and from him, and allusions, *passim*.
- Chalmers, David, accused of being one of Darnley's murderers, ii. 519 ; ratification of lands to him, 558 ; is a Lord of Session and companion of Earl Bothwell, 372, Note.
- Chalonar, Thomas, an English Commissioner, i. 139.
- Chapperon, Captain, a French Commissioner, i. 288 ; the memorial he brought to the Queen in cypher, 411.
- Charles IX. King of France, is congratulated on his accession by Queen Elizabeth, ii. 14 ; sends a commission to Scotland, 19.
- Charteris, of Kinfauns, a conspirator against Cardinal Beaton, i. 104, Note ; is hard to the Congregation in Perth, 208.
- Chastelet or Chatelard, comes to Scotland, ii. 177 ; is tried and condemned at St Andrews, 179.
- Chastelherault, Duke of, see Earl of Arran.
- Chisholm, William, Bishop of Dunblane, i. 312 ; is one of Arran's Privy-Council, i. 80 ; attends the Cardinal on a visitation of his diocese, 98 ; meets the English Commissioners at Dunse, 163 ; signs a petition to Queen Elizabeth in favour of the Earl of Arran, ii. 7 ; is attached to Queen Elizabeth's measures, 9 ; his successor, William Chisholm, sent to Rome to procure a dispensation for Queen Mary's marrying Lord Darnley, 320 ; with which he returns, 344 ; sent by her into France with instructions, 591 ; copy of his instructions, 592 ; is intercommuned by the associated rebel Lords for his loyalty, 769.
- Chomley, or Cholmondely, Sir Richard, Governor of Berwick, ii. 290.
- Christison, William, a Reformed preacher, appointed to Dundee, i. 310.
- Clentin, Henry. See Sieur D'Osell.
- Clergy, are wealthy, i. 4 ; iii. 20 ; licentious and careless, i. 5, 149 ; active in suppressing heresy, 23, 50 ; threatened by the King, 25 ; prevent King James V. from meeting his uncle King Henry VIII., 45 ; make large donations to maintain a war with England, *ibid*, 464 ; promise the King money, 50 ; resolve to give money to the Governor, 76 ; highly offended with Arran, 91 ; did not generally applaud the Cardinal for

putting Wishart to death, 106 ; are protected by Act of Parliament, 145 ; tax themselves for defraying the charge of the siege of St Andrews Castle, *ibid* ; alarmed, they apply to the Governor for help, 147 ; are more attentive to their own affairs, 148 ; a Provincial Synod held at Edinburgh, 149 ; condemn Knox, 151 ; are sensible of their decline, 158 ; are willing to reform some points, 181 ; a Convention of all the Clergy by the Queen-Regent, 184 ; the Articles then drawn up, 185 ; but negatived, *ibid* ; are threatened with vengeance by the Congregation, 197 ; commanded to join the Congregation, 246, 247 ; are persecuted, ii. 197, 199, iii. 10, 11, 83 ; their lands seized, iii. 9.

Clerk, William, ii. 309.

Cockburn, Sir Alexander, of Ormiston, harbours Wishart, i. 101.

——— John, of Ormiston, forfeited for aiding the English, i. 148 ; forfeiture reduced, 175 ; holds a conference with Sir Ralph Sadler at Berwick, 242 ; seized by Earl Bothwell in his return from Berwick, 243 ; and has the money of the Congregation taken from him, *ibid* ; is in the Parliament 1560, 315 ; is with the Queen at Carberry Hill, ii. 633.

——— James, of Scraling, i. 315 ; is one of Lord Gordon's cautioners, ii. 352 ; her Majesty's Comptroller, and accused of the King's murder, &c. 665.

——— of Langton, is one of the assize on Bothwell's trial, ii. 545 ; endeavours Queen Mary's escape, 647 ; signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809.

Comprehension, or Peace, i. 122 ; accepted and ratified, 135.

Congregation, enter into covenant, and style themselves The Congregation of the Lord, with a full account of the first rise of the name, i. 154, 159 ; they present a petition to the Queen-Regent, 177, 178 ; their demands, 180 ; their supplication to the Parliament, 182, 183 ; are pleased with the Queen-Regent's answer, and silence a preacher, 182 ; their supplication not presented, 183 ; but presented to the Convocation of the Clergy by the Queen-Regent, 185 ; they attend their preachers to Perth, 187 ; and prepare to act by open force against the Queen-Regent, 188, 193-197 ; several messages between the Queen-Regent and them, 198, 199, 200 ; they enter into a second covenant, 201 ; leave Perth, 202 ; and convene at St Andrews, 203 ; make great havoc among the Churches and Monasteries, 203-212 ; a truce proposed, 207 ; steal the coining irons from the Mint, 213 ; attempt to excuse their conduct, 214 ; hold conference by Commissioners, with her Majesty, 215-218 ; they fall off in numbers, 219 ; and their leaders are perplexed, 220 ; accept terms of accommodation, *ibid* ; convene at Stirling, and enter into a third covenant, 224 ; collect an army at Govan Moor, 226 ; the Lords meet again at Stirling, 228 ; take Broughty Castle, 230 ; write to the Queen-Regent, commanding her to dismiss the French from Leith, 231 ; meet seditiously in Edinburgh, 232 ; proclaim an Act depriving the Queen-Dowager of the Regency, 234, 241 ; are in difficulty and want of money, 242, 244 ; obtain a supply of money from England, 243 ; the leaders separate, 245, 253 ; are promised assistance from England, 251, 252 ; treat with the Duke of Norfolk, 257 ; copy of the Treaty made at Berwick, 258 ; they meet in St Andrews for thanksgiving, 265 ; send orders through the Kingdom to collect an army, 266 ; join the English army, 267 ; meet at Dalkeith, 268 ; besiege Leith, 271 ; enter into a new bond, 273 ; the Treaty of Edinburgh in their behalf, 291 ; conces-

- sions granted to them by the King and Queen's deputies, 296 ; appoint preachers in several towns, 309, 310 ; meet in Parliament, 311-315 ; sundry Acts passed by them, 322-326, ii. 2, 3 ; but not ratified, ii. 5 ; write to Queen Elizabeth to move her to marry the Earl of Arran, 6 ; receive an envoy and proposals from France, 18, 19 ; to which they return answer, 25 ; (after this they become the ruling party.)
- Contareno, Peter Francis, the Pope's Legate to Scotland, i. 96. See Grymanus.
- Cornwall, Thomas, an English Commissioner, i. 160.
- Coupar-Angus, Abbot of, one of the Governor's Council, i. 80.
- Craig, Mr John, was a Dominican Friar, i. 494 ; proclaims the banns between Queen Mary and Earl Bothwell, ii. 578 ; for which he is obliged to excuse himself to the Assembly of the Kirk, iii. 190 ; appointed to be Knox's colleague, iii. 56 ; refuses to do service, 117.
- Crail, Town of, i. 203.
- Cranston, Patrick, makes a riot in Holyrood Chapel, ii. 211.
- Craw, Peter, named one of Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners, i. 286.
- Crawford, Earl of. See Lindsay.
- Crichton, Alexander, of Brunstane, i. 101, 175.
- Robert, Bishop of Dunkeld, i. 312 ; ii. 8.
- Croc, Mons. de la, arrives in Scotland from France, i. 225 ; and delivers letters to the Queen-Regent and the Prior of St Andrews, 226 ; arrives with a proposal of marriage to Queen Mary with the Emperor's younger son, ii. 197 ; departs by way of England, 198 ; his letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow concerning King Henry Darnley, 448 ; his character by Holinshed, 453 ; his letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow about the Queen's illness, and the King's indifference about her, 467 ; iii. 285 ; stands for the Duke of Savoy at the baptism of James VI., ii. 478 ; at which he assists, 486 ; arrives in London, 495 ; returns to Scotland, 524, 615, Note ; mediates between the Queen and the insurgent Lords, 631 ; but to no purpose, 632 ; departs, *ibid.*
- Crofts, Sir James, an English Commissioner, i. 240 ; is Captain of Berwick, 242 ; one of the Commanders of the English army under Lord Grey, 267 ; sent by Lord Grey to the Queen-Regent, 269 ; suspected of treachery, 276 ; his letters to the Council of England and others, 377, 381, 384, 393, 399, 400 ; reported to be slain, ii. 89.
- Cromwell, Thomas, an English Commissioner, i. 37, 49.
- Cullen, Captain, ships of, seized, i. 255 ; appointed to carry victual, 264.
- Culross, William, Abbot of, signs a confirmation of the Treaty of Berwick, 277 ; is in Parliament 1560, 313 ; signs the petition to Queen Elizabeth in behalf of Arran, ii. 8.
- Cumming, Robert, schoolmaster in Arbroath, complained of for teaching the ancient faith, iii. 62.
- Cunningham, Lord, i. 236.
- Hugh, a Scots Commissioner, i. 87
- James, son of the Earl of Glencairn, a hostage to England, i. 267.
- William, of Cunninghamhead, sent by the Congregation to the Queen-Regent, i. 215 ; in Parliament 1560, 314, 326 ; signs a paper in favour of Arran, ii. 9 ; is a Commissioner to the Assembly, 305 ; is in Edinburgh, 365.
- Cupar-Fife, destruction of churches in, i. 193.

## D

DACRES, Lord, sent to plunder Scotland with an army, i. 118 ; is an English Commissioner, 164, 240, ii. 127 ; makes an indenture with the Master of Maxwell, ii. 64 ; iii. 216.

—— Sir Thomas, ii. 176.

Dalhousie, Laird of, joins in a bond for the defence of Queen Mary's person and right, ii. 809 ; engaged for her at the battle of Langside, 816.

Danville, Mons., a Marischal, and son of the Grand Constable Montmorency, accompanies Queen Mary to Scotland, ii. 63 ; takes journey through England in his return to France, 83 ; sends Chatelard to Scotland, 178.

Darnley, Henry Lord, eldest son of the Earl of Lennox, named for a husband to Queen Mary, ii. 187, 242, 246 ; has the Earldom of Angus confirmed to him, 258 ; presents himself before the Queen, 263 ; suspected of Popery, 264 ; is led by Lord Robert Stewart, 272 ; disobliges the Earl of Moray, and is advised by the Queen to excuse himself to that Lord, 275 ; a determination of the Privy-Council of England against his marriage, 276 ; honours to be conferred on him, 279 ; receives them, 284 ; his oath of a Knight, 288 ; of an Earl, 289 ; his mother imprisoned by Queen Elizabeth, 295, 299 ; and only released after his murder, 307 ; his own and his father's liberty threatened, *ibid* ; is disliked for his pride, and his death secretly hatched, 292, 297, 298, 301, 305, 307, 309, 332, 334, 336 ; called Duke of Albany, 337 ; proclaimed such, 342 ; is married to the Queen, 344 ; is offended with Knox's preaching, iii. 116 ; is proclaimed King, ii. 346, 347 ; which causes envy and strife, 348, 349, 355, 356, 489 ; writes to the Nobility, 360 ; submitted to by the insurgent Lords, 366 ; visits several towns with the Queen, 367-370 ; receives the Order of Knighthood from France, 390, 391 ; is influenced by the Earl of Morton, 395 ; several reports in relation to the Queen and him cleared up and discussed, 397-401 ; his manner of life, 401 ; affords the Queen and others displeasure by his viciousness, &c. 403-406 ; plots Rizzio's murder, 406, iii. 261, &c. ; assists in it, ii. 414 ; writes for Moray and the other rebels, 418 ; takes a resolution of going abroad, 449, 450, 455, 456 ; is in Glasgow, 467 ; his foolish conduct and disrespect to the Queen and Nobility, 455-467 ; his inconstancy, iii. 278 ; absent at the baptism of the Prince, 488 ; falls sick at Glasgow, 496 ; visited by the Queen, 499, and brought to Edinburgh, 500 ; is murdered, 504, 505 ; his character, 507-509 ; embalmed and buried, 517 ; deposition concerning his murder, iii. 295.

Debateable Ground, i. 46.

Denmark, King of, asked for succour, i. 114 ; forbiddeth Scotchmen to traffick with Sweden, ii. 266.

Desse, Monsieur de, arrives in Scotland with a considerable force from France, i. 132 ; performs many brave actions during his stay here, 133.

Discipline, Book of, iii. 13 ; ordered to be compiled, 14, 15 ; some remarks on it, 16-20 ; Knox's account of it, 23 ; subscribed by some of the Nobility, 24 ; the Queen asked to sign it, 46 ; ordered to be revised, 84 ; unheeded in Assembly and Parliament, 185.

Dominic, founder of the Dominicans, Notice of, i. 11.

Don Carlos, projected as a husband to Queen Mary, ii. 187.

- Douglas, Archibald, Earl of, keeps King James V. guarded by his friends, i. 33-35 ; was married to the King's mother, 33 ; is banished to the north of the river Spey, 35 ; and never again received into favour, 36 ; goes to England, *ibid* ; returns, 66 ; is named one of the Governor's Council, 70, 80 ; his forfeiture reversed, 71 ; refuses to witness the young Queen's Coronation, 80 ; enters into a combination against the Government, and craves aid of King Henry VIII., 80, 81 ; set at liberty, 116 ; is instrumental in defeating the English at Ancrum Moor, 118 ; approves of the dissolution of the treaties with England, 126 ; is with the Queen-Regent at Stirling, 140 ; present at the trial of a heretic, 148.
- Archibald, of Kilspindie, Provost of Edinburgh, takes part in the deprivation of the Queen-Regent, i. 236 ; deposed by Queen Mary's order, ii. 92 ; connives with the rebels, 361, iii. 235.
- Sir George, returns from England, i. 66 ; one of the Governor's Council, 70 ; his forfeiture reversed, 71 ; is a Scots Commissioner, 72 ; is delivered as a hostage, 86 ; set at liberty, 116 ; approves of the dissolution of the treaties with England, 126.
- George, Postulate Bishop of Moray, illegitimate son of the Earl of Angus, ii. 396.
- George, of Lochleven, uterine brother to the Earl of Moray, named as a husband to Queen Mary, ii. 789 ; endeavours her escape, 791 ; effects it, 795.
- James, of Drumlanrig, joins the Earl of Angus in a combination against the Government, i. 81 ; is a Scots Commissioner, 139 ; 314, 326.
- John, a Carmelite Friar, is the Earl of Argyll's chaplain, and preaches against the times, i. 152, 155 ; is silenced by the Congregation to please the Queen-Regent, 182 ; cited by the Queen-Regent, 187 ; appointed to assist in compiling the Book of Discipline, iii. 14, 15.
- Robert, a hostage for the treaty of Berwick, i. 266.
- William, of Lochleven, afterwards Earl of Morton, i. 314 ; is charged to yield up Lochleven Castle, and to leave it with his family, ii. 375 ; surety received for him, 376 ; has the keeping of the Queen when imprisoned in Lochleven Castle entrusted to him, 643 ; his supplication, iii. 322.
- William, of Drumlanrig, is in arms against Queen Mary at Langside, ii. 816.
- Lady Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Angus, and niece of King Henry VIII., i. 81 ; given in marriage to the Earl of Lennox, 87 ; imprisoned in the Tower of London by Queen Elizabeth, ii. 295, 299 ; released, 307.
- Drummond, Lord, signs a bond for Queen Mary's defence, &c. ii. 809.
- a herald, plundered by the English, i. 269.
- Drury, Sir William, Captain of the fortress of Berwick, i. 403, 789 ; comes with a letter from Queen Elizabeth, and is coldly treated, 539 ; his letters, 403, 789, 801, 804.
- Dudley, Lord Plisle, Admiral of England, lands an army near Leith, i. 114, 115 ; and carries off several vessels, 116, ii. 212.
- Lord Robert, receives a letter from Queen Mary, ii. 145 ; recommended by Queen Elizabeth to her for a husband, 204, 224 ; charged with dispatching his wife to gain the hand of Queen Elizabeth, *ibid* ; is in great esteem with her, and created Earl of Leicester, 212, 227 ; is

- not pressing in the overture of his marriage with Queen Mary, 257 ; is her avowed friend, 436.
- Dunbar, Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow, is against condemning heretics to death, i. 18 ; account of him, 68 ; is one of the Governor's Council, 70, 80 ; protests in Parliament against the proposal to allow the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, 90 ; and against granting remission to the murderers of Cardinal Beaton, 125.
- Town of, pillaged by the English, i. 116 ; the Queen-Regent withdraws thither, 212 ; its castle given up and dismantled, ii. 757.
- Dundee, Town of, visited by a plague, i. 104 ; visited by the Queen-Regent, 163 ; its inhabitants destroy the Perth Churches from revenge, 191, 209, Notes ; its Provost takes part in the Queen-Regent's deposition, 236 ; its destruction vowed by the French, 264 ; visited by Queen Mary, ii. 83, 369.
- Dunse, Town of, a treaty of peace between Scotland and England, drawn up in the, i. 163.
- Durham, William, of Grange, ii. 305.
- Dysart, Town of, pillaged by the French under D'Osell, i. 255.

## E

- EDINBURGH, City of, attacked by the English, i. 115 ; burnt by ditto, 116 ; its Provost killed, 133 ; riots in it by the Congregation, 158 ; surrendered to the Queen's army, 220 ; no garrison of French or Scots allowed in the town, 222 ; its Provost takes part in the Queen-Regent's deposition, 236 ; its High Church re-consecrated, 251 ; a riot in it, ii. 129, 354 ; for which the Provost is deposed by the Queen's order, 361, iii. 235 ; broken into by the insurgent Lords, ii. 620 ; Council apologise to the Queen, 623 ; promise assistance to the associated Lords, 662, 663, 664 ; treaty of, i. 291-295.
- Edmonstone, James, suspected of, put in irons, and tortured for Darnley's murder, ii. 652.
- Edward VI. King of England, succeeds his father, Henry VIII., i. 128 ; concludes a peace with France, 134 ; receives the Queen-Dowager on her return from France to Scotland, 137, 138 ; makes peace with Scotland, 138, 143 ; his death, 150.
- Eglinton, Earl of, signs the deposition of the Queen-Regent, i. 235 ; is in the Parliament, 1560, 312 ; goes to France to pay his duty to the Queen, ii. 24 ; taken by the English, 62 ; upholds the Mass, 87 ; is reputed a violent Papist, 200 ; assists at the Prince's baptism, 486 ; repairs to the Queen after her escape, 798 ; signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809 ; and is engaged for her at Langside, 816.
- Elbeuf, Marquis d', intended to lead an army into Scotland, i. 225 ; is wrecked on the Dutch coast, 263 ; and returns to France, 264 ; accompanies Queen Mary, his niece, to Scotland, ii. 59, 63 ; remains in Scotland, 83 ; his daily allowance, 101 ; concerned in a tumult in Edinburgh, 129, iii. 48.
- Elizabeth, Queen of England, succeeds her sister Queen Mary, i. 176 ; is offended at the Queen of Scots assuming the arms of England, *ibid* ; 239, ii. 56 ; gives hopes to Lord Hamilton, *alias* Earl of Arran, of marrying him, 231 ; sends assistance to the Congregation, 251, 255 ; and deceives the Queen-Regent, 256 ; makes a league with the Congrega-

- tion, 258 ; reinforces her army in Scotland, 277 ; and by her Commissioners concludes a treaty in favour of the Congregation, 286-295 ; asked by the Commission of Estates to marry the Earl of Arran, ii. 6 ; her reply, 9 ; sends a message of condolence to Queen Mary, and asks her to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, 14, 15, 25 ; compliments her on the recovery of her health, 31 ; sends an expostulatory letter to the States of Scotland, 35 ; refuses a passage to Queen Mary through England, 40 ; sends out ships to intercept her, 57 ; yet congratulates her on her arrival in Scotland, 64 ; writes to her to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, &c. 65, 66 ; is angry at the proposal to declare Queen Mary heir to the English Crown, 76 ; but condescends to an alteration of the treaty of Edinburgh, 77 ; is not pleased with Queen Mary's answer, 133 ; writes to Queen Mary, promising to send her portrait, 136 ; agrees to an interview with her, but all of a sudden declines it, 148, 149 ; arguments against it, iii. 328 ; intermeddles in a proposal of marriage to Queen Mary, ii. 186 ; recommends Lord Robert Dudley for a husband to her, 204 ; her instructions to Randolph her Ambassador, 205-208 ; makes treaties of peace by Commissioners, 209 ; creates Dudley Earl of Leicester, 212 ; her great affection for him, *ibid* ; further instructions to Randolph, 213-217 ; renews the proposal of an interview, 226, 227 ; writes to Queen Mary to stay the coming of the Earl of Lennox into Scotland, 228 ; yet recommends him, 231, 232 ; sends a message of reconciliation, 234 ; allows Lord Darnley to go into Scotland, 257, 280 ; judges Queen Mary's marriage with Darnley unmeet, 276 ; the letter of the Nobility of Scotland to her, 278 ; iii. 325 ; writes to Queen Mary about her marriage with Darnley, 296 ; animates and supports her enemies, 318 ; her message to the Queen and the rebel Lords, 321 ; with the latter of whom she holds correspondence, 329 ; sends to Scotland for a safe-conduct signed by the Queen alone, 371, 373 ; which she does not use, *ibid* ; her behaviour with the Earl of Moray, &c. 377-379 ; wills the Earl of Bedford to annoy the Borders of Scotland, 376 ; promises not to afford the murderers of Rizzio shelter in England, 428 ; and complains of one Ruxbie's being harboured in Scotland, 429 ; whom she had secretly sent into the country as a spy, *ibid* ; is much out of humour at the news of the birth of the Prince, 435 ; but promises to witness his baptism by proxy, *ibid*. 437 ; Bedford's instructions, 477-483 ; sends a font of gold in which to baptize the Prince, 478, 479 ; is desirous of maintaining friendship with our Queen, 483, 484 ; charges her Ambassador not to give the title of King to Darnley, 489 ; sends Throgmorton into Scotland with instructions, 667-674 ; and terms of accommodation, 674 ; writes to her Ambassador in Scotland about Queen Mary's liberation, 702 ; and upbraids the factious Lords, 703-705 ; signifies her mind concerning affairs in Scotland, 747 ; forms a new project for Queen Mary's relief, 770 ; and designs to send a Minister to compose differences, 771 ; intends to send Mr Leighton, 800 ; her letter to Queen Mary, 9th January 1565, iii. 354-357.
- Elphinston, Michael, a rebel under hiding, ii. 356.
- 
- Nicholas, sent into England by the rebel Lords for support, ii. 357 ; allowed to see Queen Mary in Lochleven Castle, 691 ; sent into Teviotdale, 792.
- Ely, Thomas, Bishop of, an English Commissioner to Scotland, i. 236.
- Erskine, Sir Alexander, of Gogar, servant to the Queen, ii. 85.

Erskine, John, 4th Lord, properly 5th Earl of Mar, Ambassador from King James V. to King Henry VIII., i. 49 ; is with the King at his death, 54 ; one of the Governor's Council, and is appointed one of the keepers of the young Queen, 70, 132 ; accompanies her to France, 134 ; sent by her with a commission into England, 135 ; constituted Governor of Edinburgh Castle, 142 ; sent by the Queen-Regent to the Congregation, 208 ; is one of her Deputies at the Conference of Preston, 217 ; favours her entry into Edinburgh, 220 ; takes part in her deposition from the Regency, 235 ; refuses to befriend the Congregation, 244 ; receives the Queen-Regent into Edinburgh Castle, 267.

————— 5th Lord, properly 6th Earl of Mar, i. 312, 326 ; signs the petition to move Queen Elizabeth to marry the Earl of Arran, ii. 8 ; is of Queen Mary's Privy-Council, 78, 141 ; is with her at Aberdeen, 164, 166 ; likes well the notion of Queen Mary's marrying Leicester, 260 ; writes to the Earl of Moray of suspicions entertained against him, 314 ; created Earl of Mar, 350 ; is present at the birth of the Prince, 432 ; accompanies the Queen to Alloa, 444 ; resigns the Castle of Edinburgh, 555, 556 ; gets the custody of the Prince, and has his Earldom ratified, *ibid* ; prevents the Earl of Bothwell from getting the Prince into his power, 606 ; associates for the Prince, and is one of the chiefs of the faction against the Queen, 607 ; raises an army against her, 614, 615 ; the several steps of his behaviour to that Princess, 628, 632, 637, 640, 641, 643, 647, 652, 657, 677, 701 ; named one of the eventual Regents to the Prince, 707 ; concurs in the severe treatment of the Queen, 714 ; is present at the coronation of James VI., 719, 720 ; goes to Lochleven, 736 ; thence to Stirling, 738 ; sends men to the Earl of Moray against the Queen, 805 ; is keeper of Stirling Castle, *ibid* ; is in arms against the Queen at Langside, 816 ; signs the Book of Discipline, iii. 24. Sederunts, *passim*.

————— Laird of Dun, signs a call to John Knox, i. 153 ; and the Covenant and Articles of Reformation, 154 ; is one of the Commissioners sent by Parliament to France to witness Queen Mary's marriage, 166 ; his fidelity is approved in Parliament at his return, 173, 349 ; threatened and reproached by the Ecclesiastical Convention, 181 ; deputed by the Congregation to the Queen-Regent, whom he wishes to please, 187 ; but is displeased with her, 188 ; is with Knox at Perth, 189 ; where he preaches, 190 ; deputed by the Congregation to meet the Queen-Regent's Commissioners, 217 ; joins in her deprivation, and other measures against her, 235, 238 ; appointed Superintendent of Angus and Mearns, 311, 326 ; is a Commissioner to the Assembly, ii. 305 ; is liked as a preacher by Queen Mary, 324 ; appointed a minister, iii. 29 ; is Moderator of the 11th General Assembly of the Kirk, 119 ; continued such, 137, 146.

————— Sir Thomas, of Brechin, sent to France with Beaton to confirm the league between the Countries, i. 110.

————— Thomas Lord, sent to England by the Queen to accept and ratify the Act of Comprehension, i. 135.

————— Thomas, Master of, i. 139.

Evers, Lord, attacks Edinburgh, but is beat back at the Netherbow, i. 115 ; is a commander at Ancrum Moor, 118.

## F

FALKLAND, Town of, i. 54.

Ferguson, David, a preacher of the Congregation at Dunfermline, i. 311.

Ferdinand, Emperor of Germany, ii. 185; his second son proposed as a husband to Queen Mary, 186, 197.

Ferrier, Professor, of St Andrews, remark of, on the Constitution of the General Assembly, iii. 79, Note.

Finlayson, James, condemned and burnt for heresy, i. 98.

Fleming, James Lord, accompanies the Queen-Dowager into France, i. 135; appointed by Parliament to go to France to witness Queen Mary's marriage, 166; he sickens at Dieppe, and returns to Paris, where he dies, 172; his fidelity approved in Parliament, 173, 349-353.

———— John Lord, adheres to the Queen, ii. 292; made Lord Chamberlain of the Kingdom and Master Usher of the King and Queen's chamber-doors, 351; is in waiting when Rizzio is murdered, 417; signs a bond in favour of Bothwell's pretensions, 562, 569; is one of the Privy-Council, 588; joins the Queen's Lords at Hamilton, 656; refuses to join the associated Lords, 658; withdraws to Dumbarton Castle, of which he is keeper, 718, 792; and there, with others, enters into a bond for the Queen's liberty, 718, 719; corresponds with the English Ambassador in her behoof, 745; repairs to her after her escape, 798; signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809; and is engaged for her at the battle of Langside, 812.

———— Malcolm Lord, separates from the factious Lords, i. 80; named one of the Governor's Councillors, 85; killed at the battle of Pinkie, 132.

———— Lady, Queen Mary's aunt, accompanies her to France, i. 134.

———— Mary, one of the Queen's maids, accompanies her to France, i. 134; made her bed-fellow, ii. 178; is married to Lord Lethington, 241.

Foix, or Four, Monsieur Paul de, a French Ambassador to Queen Mary, ii. 118; Ambassador to England, 218; by his means Moray obtains audience of the English Queen, 377.

Forbes, John Master of, one of the assize on Bothwell's trial, ii. 545.

Forrest, Henry, condemned and burnt for heresy, i. 15.

———— Thomas, condemned and burnt for heresy, i. 17.

Forrester, or Forster, Sir John, ii. 209.

———— Robert, condemned and burnt for heresy, i. 17.

Foulis, James, of Colinton, Clerk-Register, appointed one of the Governor's Council, i. 70.

Fox, Edward, i. 37.

—— the Martyrologist, takes no notice of the ridiculous prophecy ascribed to Wishart when at the stake, i. 106.

France, Francis King of, requested for succour to Scotland, i. 114; enters into a treaty with England, 122; dies, 127. See Henry II.

Francis, Dauphin of France, married to Mary Queen of Scots, i. 169, 170; succeeds to the crown of France, 223; upbraids the Prior of St Andrews by letter, for disloyalty, 226; sends forces and money into Scotland, *ibid*; concludes a peace with England, 238; sends a reinforcement into Scotland, 263; and names Commissioners to compose differences there, 286; his commission to the Deputies, 306-308; con-

tract of his marriage, in French, 353 ; oath of fidelity to him taken by the Scots Commissioners, 363 ; his death, ii. 11 ; which causes joy, 12.  
Fraser, Mynart, suspected of King Henry Darnley's murder, ii. 652.

## G

GAGE, Sir John, i. 72 ; conducts the Solway Moss prisoners to the Sta chamber, 64.

Galloway, Bishop of, one of Arran's Council, i. 80 ; goes to France with the Queen-Dowager, 135 ; ii. 741 ; 809.

Gardiner, Stephen, Bishop of Winchester, i. 72.

Gargraif, Sir Thomas, ii. 209.

George III. King of Great Britain, causes the Acts of the Scottish Parliament to be printed, i. 27, Note.

Gibson, Robert, and other Priests, complained of for saying Mass, iii. 83.

Glammis, John, 7th Lord, suspected of heresy, i. 99, Note.

———— 8th Lord, i. 312 ; signs a bond in favour of Bothwell's pretensions, ii. 563, 569 ; is engaged for the Queen at the battle of Langside, 812. *Sederunts, passim.*

Glencairn, William Earl of, one of the Governor's Council, i. 70, 80 ; is tampered with to convey the young Queen into England, 72 ; is a Scots Commissioner, *ibid* ; refuses to witness Mary's coronation, 80 ; joins with the Earl of Angus, 81, 85 ; makes a league with King Henry VIII. against his native country, 87 ; he and his son receive pensions from the English King, 88.

———— Alexander, 5th Earl of, accompanies the Queen-Dowager into France, i. 135 ; is present at the trial of one Wallace, a heretic, 148 ; is one of the chiefs of the Congregation, 151 ; signs a call to Knox, 153 ; signs the bond of the Congregation, 154 ; is deputed by the Congregation to the Queen-Regent, 186 ; comes to assist the rebels in Perth, 199, 200 ; subscribes the new bond, 202 ; is deputed to the Queen-Dowager, 216 ; meets her Commissioners, 217, 224 ; writes to her, 228 ; signs her deprivation of the Regency, and is elected one of the interim Council, 235, 237 ; goes to the West, 245 ; is one of the leaders of the Congregation army, and joins the English forces, 267 ; signs a ratification of the treaty of Berwick, 277 ; waits on the Queen-Regent on her death-bed, 278 ; is in the Parliament 1560, 312, 326 ; sent to England, ii. 5 ; goes in great state, iii. 9 ; returns with good promises, ii. 25 ; is one of Queen Mary's Privy-Council, 78 ; is present at Willock's being made a Superintendent, 87 ; is in great straits, 127 ; dislikes Darnley, 265 ; is a Commissioner to an Assembly, 305 ; joins the rebel Lords, 358, 365 ; retreats to Dumfries, 367 ; is denounced rebel, 368 ; and retires into England, 370 ; is served with a summons of treason, 380 ; obtains a remission, and is allowed to attend the Queen, 420 ; is one of Arran's cautioners, 425 ; received into the Council, 426 ; yet enters again into rebellion, 607 ; raises an army against the Queen, 614 ; attempts to seize the Queen and Bothwell, 616 ; pursues his schemes, 617-619 ; the several steps of his proceedings with the other Lords against the Queen, 628, 632, 637, 640, 641, 643, 647, 652, 657, 667, 701 ; makes a riot in the Chapel-Royal, 654 ; named one of the eventual Regents to the Prince, 707 ; concurs in all the measures taken against Queen Mary, 714, 716, 724, 727, 728, 729, 750, 752, 758, 763, 767, 776,

- 783, 793, 804 ; is in arms against her at the battle of Langside, 816 ; subscribes the Book of Discipline, iii. 24 ; appointed to demolish churches, 37. Sederunts, *passim*.
- Goodman, Christopher, appointed by the Congregation preacher at St Andrews, i. 309 ; goes to England, iii. 128 ; account of him, *ibid*.
- Goodrick, Thomas, Bishop of Ely, entertains the prisoners taken at Solway Moss, i. 65.
- Gordon, Lord, eldest son of the Earl of Huntly, committed prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, ii. 173 ; is tried and condemned as a traitor, *ibid* ; narrowly escapes death, *ibid* ; married to a daughter of the Duke of Chastelherault, 176 ; admitted to bail, 352 ; is with the Queen under the name of the Earl of Huntly, 417 ; escapes from Holyrood on the night of Rizzio's murder, 418 ; attends the Queen at Dunbar, 420 ; sits in Council as Earl of Huntly, 424 ; is cautioner for Arran, 425 ; made Chancellor, 426 ; his cautioners discharged, *ibid* ; is present at the birth of the Prince, 432 ; his forfeiture reversed in Parliament, 561 ; signs a bond in favours of Bothwell, 562, 565, 569 ; is in the Queen's company when she is seized by that Earl, 571 ; offers to assist the citizens of Edinburgh, 619 ; on their refusal he retires to the Castle, and makes his escape, *ibid* ; adheres firmly to the Queen's interests, and continues loyal to her, 718, 719 ; his Lieutenantship of the North discharged, 727, 741 ; forbidden to molest the destroyers of Aberdeen and Elgin Cathedrals, 784 ; signs a bond for Queen Mary's defence, &c. 809 ; his protestation touching the murder of the King, iii. 290. Sederunts, *passim*.
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- Adam, a younger son of the Earl of Huntly, pardoned by the Queen, ii. 171 ; appeared eminently for her in her misfortunes, *ibid*.
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- Alexander, son to the Lord Gordon, had the title of Bishop of Athens, and made Bishop of Galloway, i. 236 ; joins the Congregation, *ibid*, 238 ; yet is disrespected by them, 250 ; is made a Superintendent, 251 ; iii. 53, 71 ; signs a ratification of the Treaty of Berwick, 277 ; signs a petition in favours of Arran to Queen Elizabeth, ii. 7 ; subscribes the Book of Discipline, iii. 24 ; heavy charges against him, 187, 189.
- 
- George Lord, i. 312 ; signs a petition to Queen Elizabeth in favour of Arran, ii. 8 ; is one of the Queen's Privy-Council, 78.
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- Sir John, of Deskford or Finlater, wounds Lord Ogilvy severely in a brawl in Edinburgh, and is imprisoned, ii. 154 ; by which he brings heavy misfortunes on his father, the Earl of Huntly, and himself, 161 ; hinted at in the Pope's letter as a husband for Queen Mary, 158 ; is taken prisoner at Corrichie, and barbarously beheaded at Aberdeen, 170.
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- John, of Lochinvar, Knight, i. 314 ; ii. 9 ; predecessor to Viscount Kenmure, is one of Huntly's cautioners, 352 ; one of the assize on Bothwell's trial, 545 ; signs a bond for the Queen's defence, &c. 809 ; is engaged for her at the battle of Langside, 816.
- Gormund or Gorme, Donald, of Sleate, ii. 181.
- Gourlay, Norman, condemned and burnt for heresy, i. 16.
- Grahame, Archibald, ii. 257, 305 ; recommended by Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, 308.
- Graham, Viscount, of Preston, i. 169.
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- George, Earl of Monteith's second son, a hostage to England, 267.
- Grand Prior of France, uncle to Queen Mary, accompanies her to Scotland, ii. 59, 63 ; returns through England, 83 ; is killed at the battle of Dreux, 196.

- Gray, Patrick Lord, (of Scotland,) suspected of heresy, i. 99, Note; contracts with King Edward VI. to deliver up the Castle of Broughty, 143; is in Parliament 1560, 312; ii. 8, 9; is allowed to come from England on his parole, 320.
- Grey, Lord, (of England,) enters Scotland with an army, i. 133; takes and fortifies Haddington, *ibid*; enters Scotland again, and joins the army of the Congregation, 267; asks a truce from the Queen-Regent, at Leith, 269; has a skirmish with the French there, 270; and besieges that town, 271; attempts to storm its fortifications, but in vain, 275, 276; impeaches Sir James Crofts, and succeeds him in the command of Berwick, 276; continues the siege of Leith, 277; returns to England with his army, 309; and demolishes on his way the fort before Dunbar, *ibid*.
- Grymanus, Marcus, the Pope's legate, arrives in Scotland, i. 82; the substance of his commission, 96; he leaves Scotland, and represents to the Pope, and several States, the civilities of that Nation, 96, 97.
- Guent, Richard, i. 37.
- Guise, Francis Duke of, uncle to Queen Mary, i. 67; chosen one of her curators, 140; and confirms the conditions of surrender by Arran to the Queen-Dowager, 141; his Duchess one of the procurators at the treaty of Queen Mary's marriage, 166; is suspected of poisoning the Scots Commissioners, 172; declares Queen Mary Queen of England, 176; becomes chief favourite of Francis II. of France, and advises a prosecution of the rebels of Scotland with the utmost rigour, 223; a short account of the Family of Guise, 280, Note; he is barbarously assassinated, 195, 196; his character, *ibid*.

## H

- HADDINGTON, Town of, burnt and pillaged, i. 116.
- Haldenrig, battle at, i. 48.
- Hales, John, writes against Queen Mary's title to the Crown of England, ii. 226.
- Haliburton, George, of Pitcur, i. 315; ii. 366, 418.
- James, Provost of Dundee, ordered to seize Paul Methven, but allows him to escape, i. 187; attacks Leith, but is repulsed, 243; is killed, 244.
- Hamilton, Lord Claud, Commendator of Paisley, and a son of the Duke of Chastelherault, is an English hostage, i. 267; signs a bond for Queen Mary's defence, ii. 809; leads part of her army at the battle of Langside, 814.
- Sir David, i. 156.
- Lord David, i. 305.
- Mr Gavin, Abbot of Kilwinning, sent for by the King of France, i. 136; sent by the Queen-Regent to Perth to treat with the Congregation, 200, 217; signs a ratification of the treaty of Berwick, 277; is in the Parliament 1560, 313; ii. 8; meets the Archbishop of St Andrews in Edinburgh, 100; sent by the rebel Lords to Queen Elizabeth, 377; sent to intercede for the Duke of Chastelherault with Queen Mary, and is successful, 379; offers to assist the citizens of Edinburgh, 619; joins the Lords at Hamilton for the Queen, and protests at the Prince's coronation, 716, 717, 720; protests in name of Argyll, &c. for the Queen's liberty, 775; sent into France to hasten Chastelherault's return, 776; refuses the desire of the General Assembly to desert the Queen, iii. 174; his excuse, *ibid*.

Hamilton, Lord James, eldest son of Arran, Colonel of the Scots Guards in France, i. 228 ; returns to Scotland, *ibid* ; comes by way of England, when he had hopes held out to him of being married to Queen Elizabeth, 231 ; styled Earl of Arran, and acts as one of the chiefs of the Congregation in all their proceedings, 235 ; signs the deprivation of the Queen-Regent, *ibid* ; presses the Congregation to remain in Edinburgh, 244 ; goes to Fife on their behalf, 245 ; enters Dysart with a troop, 254 ; withdraws to Cupar, 255 ; is at the siege of Leith, 271 ; signs a ratification of the treaty of Berwick, 277 ; reinstated in his French estates, 305 ; 311, 326 ; his letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, 384 ; is proposed for a husband to Queen Elizabeth, ii. 6 ; is one of Queen Mary's Privy-Council, 78 ; absent from a pageant in Edinburgh, and is in the Catholic interest, 82, 87 ; absents himself from Court because of the Mass, 99, 100, 109 ; is of profligate habits, but is unreprieved by the Reformed preachers, 108, 129, iii. 48 ; is at St Andrews, ii. 110, 111 ; is reported to intend taking away the Queen, 115 ; is at Dunfermline, 125 ; goes again to France, 131 ; his deliriousness, 138 ; quarrels with some of the Nobility, 138, 139 ; appears before the Queen and Council, 139 ; makes a discovery against the Earl of Bothwell, 140 ; is prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, 330 ; is liberated on caution, 425 ; subscribes the Book of Discipline, iii. 24 ; protests against the Queen's Proclamation, 41 ; at which she is angry, 42.

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— Sir James, of Finnart, very severe to the heretics, i. 21 ; is accused of treason and executed, 22, 23.

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— of Evandale, signs a bond for Queen Mary's defence, &c., ii. 809 ; is in arms for her at the battle of Langside, 816.

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— James, Bishop elect of the Isles, i. 312 ; ii. 7.

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— Laird of Stenhouse, Captain of Edinburgh Castle, i. 116 ; is killed, 133.

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— of Rochbank, assists Queen Mary in her escape from Lochleven, ii. 797.

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— brother to Patrick the Martyr, Sheriff of Linlithgow, retires from the Kingdom by advice of the King, i. 16 ; returns and accuses Sir James Hamilton, 22.

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— John, Abbot of Paisley, natural brother to the Earl of Arran, Governor of Scotland, has the entire sway of his brother, i. 73, 82, 95 ; is one of the Governor's Council, 70, 80 ; is made Lord Privy-Seal and Treasurer, 82 ; brings over the Governor to be reconciled to the Church, 95 ; advises him to suppress the offers of the Duke of Somerset, 130 ; remains close to his brother, 141 ; is made Archbishop of St Andrews, 144 ; causes one Wallace, a heretic, to be burnt, 148 ; calls a Synod at Edinburgh, 149 ; writes to the Earl of Argyll to draw him off from the new doctrine, 156 ; condemns Walter Mill to be burnt for heresy, *ibid*, 157 ; his Cathedral destroyed by Knox and his mob, 204 ; takes shelter in Edinburgh Castle, 268 ; is in the Parliament 1560, 312 ; where he is threatened with death by his brother the Duke, 322 ; signs a petition to Queen Elizabeth in favour of his nephew, ii. 7 ; makes offer by Bishop Leslie of his duty to Queen Mary, on the death of her husband, 14 ; comes to Edinburgh with 80 horsemen, 100 ; is arraigned, 198 ; the cause of it, 199 ; is one of Arran's sureties, 425 ; administers the Sacrament of Baptism to the Prince, 486 ; signs a bond in favour of Bothwell's pretensions to the hand of Queen Mary, 562, 563, 569 ; is sworn one of the Queen's Privy-Council, 588 ; offers to assist the citizens of

- Edinburgh, 619 ; continues stedfast to Queen Mary, 719 ; protests at the coronation of the Prince, 720 ; suspected of being privy to the King's murder, 741 ; signs a bond in the Queen's defence, 809 ; his memorandum to Monluc, Bishop of Valence, iii. 2 ; his letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Scots Ambassador at Paris, 4-7 ; in which he brings a heavy charge against the Reformed preachers, 6 ; is impannelled for saying Mass, and confined by the Queen's order, 69 ; his good and seasonable advice to Mr Knox about reforming the Church, 21 ; which was unheeded, *ibid* ; reponed to his ancient jurisdiction, 152, 363 ; which enrages the Kirk, 154.
- Hamilton, Lord John, Commendator of Arbroath, second son of Chastelherault, afterwards created Marquis of Hamilton, ratifies the treaty of Berwick, i. 277 ; 313 ; ii. 8 ; is one of the Assize on Bothwell's trial, 545 ; leaves Scotland to avoid the Earl of Moray's severity, and goes through England to France, to solicit aid for Queen Mary's relief, 783 ; order of Council against him, *ibid* ; refuses the call of the Assembly to desert the Queen, iii. 174 ; his excuse, *ibid*.
- Mr Patrick, son to Kinkavil, and Abbot of Fern, in Ross-shire, is burnt for heresy, i. 13, 14 ; his sentence, 329. Appendix II.
- Robert, Master of, iii. 54.
- Sir William, of Sanquhar, appointed to treat with England concerning peace and marriage, i. 69 ; 312 ; repairs to the Queen on her escape, ii. 798 ; signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809 ; is engaged for her at the battle of Langside, 816 ; subscribes the Book of Discipline, iii. 24 ; harbours an excommunicated elder, to the annoyance of the Kirk, 170.
- Harlaw, William, a tailor, afterwards one of the new preachers, i. 150, 151.
- Hattan, Sir Christopher, one of the Earl of Bedford's retinue in Scotland, and in the greatest favour with Queen Elizabeth, ii. 495.
- Hay, Alexander, admitted Depute-Clerk of Council under Lethington, iii. 358.
- Mr Edmund, one of Bothwell's advocates on his trial, ii. 542.
- James, Bishop of Ross, sits in judgment on some heretics, i. 16.
- Mr John, Commendator of Balmerinoch, ii. 286 ; sent to England as an Ambassador, 293, 307 ; sent to the Earl of Moray, 333.
- Lord William, of Yester, i. 312 ; ii. 8 ; attempts the Queen's rescue, ii. 647 ; repairs to her on her escape, 798 ; signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809 ; and is engaged for her at the battle of Langside, 816.
- Henry II. King of France, sends aid to the Governor of Scotland, i. 132 ; sends for the young Queen, 134 ; concludes a peace with England, *ibid* ; makes large offers to Arran to demit the Government to the Queen-Dowager, 136 ; is one of Queen Mary's curators, 140 ; presses the Queen-Regent to declare war against England, 164 ; writes to the States of Scotland to send some persons to witness the marriage of Queen Mary to his son, 165 ; his letter, 348, Appendix IX. ; his perfidious dealing with the young Queen, 168, 169 ; grants an Act of Naturalization to all Scotsmen, 173 ; his death, 222.
- VIII. King of England, i. 7 ; appoints Commissioners to meet the Scots, 37 ; assumes King James V. of Scotland into the order of his Knighthood, and proposes an interview with him, 38 ; renews the proposal, 39, 40, and makes several advantageous offers, 41 ; sends Sir Ralph Sadler, his Ambassador into Scotland, 42, 45 ; is highly in-

- censed at King James's disappointing him in the expected interview and orders his army to Scotland, 47 ; is defeated at Haldenrig, 48 ; but routs the Scots army at Solway Moss, 52 ; orders the chief of the Scots prisoners taken there to be led in triumph through London, 64 ; prevails with them to endeavour to obtain the young Princess for his son Prince Edward, 65 ; dismisses them on these conditions, *ibid*, 66 ; sends Sadler a second time into Scotland, 71 ; concludes a treaty of commerce and marriage with this Country, 72 ; changes his measures, 74 ; orders the Scots ships to be seized in the English ports, 78 ; fosters rebellion in Scotland, 87, 88 ; has some of the Scots Nobility pensioners, 88 ; sends a priest hither, 94 ; orders his army and fleet to invade Scotland, 114 ; gives his niece in marriage to the Earl of Lennox, whom he sends into Scotland in a warlike manner, 117 ; agrees to a truce, *ibid*, but soon breaks it, 118 ; his forces worsted by the Scots at Ancrum Moor, *ibid* ; concludes a peace with France, 122 ; assists the murderers of Cardinal Beaton, 127 ; his death, *ibid*.
- Hepburn, John, Bishop of Brechin, i. 70.
- Patrick, Bishop of Moray, i. 70, 80 ; his palace destroyed, 209, 210 ; his rents detained, ii. 661.
- of Waughton, i. 315 ; attempts to rescue Queen Mary, ii. 647.
- Herbert, Lord, quotation from, i. 37, 116.
- Hieriot, Adam, appointed preacher by the Congregation at Aberdeen, i. 310.
- Walter, of Ramorny, ordered to enter himself in ward, ii. 356.
- Hierman, Archbishop of Cologne, author of a learned and pious treatise, i. 93, 249.
- Herries, Lord, see Maxwell.
- History, short tabular view of Scots Ecclesiastical, iii. 88, Note.
- Holinshed, Raphael, i. 48, 117, 137 ; gives the Queen-Regent an excellent character, 284 ; an account of Queen Elizabeth's sending out ships to intercept Queen Mary's passage from France, ii. 57, 66 ; gives a favourable account of several affairs,—of the Earl of Huntly, 173, 426 ;—of the Queen's journey, 229 ;—of Darnley, 263 ;—of the fines imposed on some Scottish towns, 369 ;—of Darnley's receiving the Order of St Michael, 391 ;—of Queen Mary, 434 ;—of Killigrew's journey, 444, 446 ; his account of the battle of Langside, 817, 818.
- Holyrood, Palace of, the burial place of King James V., i. 55 ; is burnt, 116 ; plundered, 212 ; agreed to be given up by the Congregation, 221 ; taken possession of by the Queen-Regent, 223 ; is the abode of Queen Mary, ii. 63, 64 ; its windows secured, 115, Note ; is the place where Rizzio was murdered, 407 ; broken into, and its chapel demolished by the Earl of Glencairn, 654.
- Home, Alexander Lord, takes part in the Queen-Regent's deposition, i. 236 ; is a Scots Commissioner, 240 ; 312 ; Randolph's character of him, 271, 272 ; is a friend to Darnley, 292 ; one of Lord Gordon's cautioners, 352 ; joins the faction against the Queen, 607 ; is a leader of part of the rebel army, 617, 618 ; is in arms against the Queen at the battle of Langside, 816.
- of Wedderburn, i. 315 ; attempts the Queen's rescue, ii. 647.
- Horne, George, of Spotte, i. 315, ii. 305.
- Houston, Margaret ; ii. 433.
- Howard, Sir George, i. 269.

- Howard, William Lord, sent into Scotland with the Order of St George to King James V., i. 37, 38; comes again to Scotland, 41, 239.
- Hubert, Nicholas, a Frenchman, ii. 513.
- Hunter, James, hanged for heresy, i. 98.
- Huntly, George Earl of, Commander of the Scottish forces at Haldenrig, i. 48; is named one of the tutors to Queen Mary, 64; is one of the Governor's Council, 70, 80; is averse to the Queen's marriage with Prince Edward of England, 76; joins Cardinal Beaton in carrying her to Stirling, *ibid*; assists at her coronation, 80; is assisting to the Governor, 86, 116; made Chancellor, 124; taken prisoner at the battle of Pinkie, 132; accompanies the Queen-Dowager to France, 135; is with her at Stirling, 140; advises Arran to demit his government in her favour, 141; is present at the trial of one Wallace, a heretic, 148; falls into disgrace with the Queen-Regent, but is again received into favour, 161; gives advice to procure an army of mercenaries, 163; makes some prosperous inroads into England, 165; is employed by the Queen-Regent in sundry negotiations with the Congregation, 208, 217; signs the accommodation of the Links of Leith, 223; returns home after a conference with some leaders of the Congregation, 224; sends the Earl of Sutherland to the Queen-Regent, 254; prevents the destruction of Aberdeen Cathedral, 265, 266; and upholds the Mass in Strathbogie, iii. 7; sundry opinions of him by historians, i. 272, 273, 279; signs a ratification of the treaty of Berwick, 277; 326; makes offer of his duty to Queen Mary on the death of her husband, ii. 13, 14; is favourable to her interest, 30; is one of her Privy-Council, 78; is sworn, 79; is present at a pageant in Edinburgh, 82; becomes a mortal enemy of the Lord James Stewart, 86; is recommended to the Queen by the Pope, 158; is brought to great misfortunes by his son, Sir John Gordon, 161; is declared traitor, 166, 167; Mary goes north against him, and her forces under the Lord James attack him at Corrichie, 169; he is killed in the engagement, 170; his dead body attainted in Parliament, 171; his misfortunes and ruin proceeded from the interest and malice of his great enemy, the Earl of Moray, 172, 173, 200.

## I

- INCHKEITH, Island of, fortified by the French, i. 256; besieged by the English, 264; account of it, 432, Note; ii. 757.
- Innermeath, John Lord, i. 312; ii. 8.
- Innes, Messrs Lewis and Thomas, of the Scots College in Paris; the former, author of the Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, i. 323; has transmitted some curious papers giving light to several parts of the history of Scotland in Queen Mary's time, 323, 324-326.
- Interim, proposed by the Cardinal of Lorraine, to be received by the people of Scotland, ii. 221; rise and nature of it, *ibid*.

## J

- JAMES V. King of Scots, present at the trial of some heretics, i. 16; receives from the Pope the tenth of all benefices for three years, *ibid*, 461; is petitioned by the clergy against the heretics, 21, 23; bears an irreconcilable hatred to the Douglasses, 22, 36; refuses to meet his

uncle King Henry VIII. at York, 24; threatens the clergy, 25; takes the Government on himself in the 13th year of his age, 33; but is taken into custody by the Earl of Angus, who governs both him and the Kingdom, 33, 34; makes his escape from the Earl, 35; sets about reforming certain abuses, 36; enters into a strict friendship with his uncle King Henry VIII., 37; though solicited by the Pope and the Emperor to disunite from him, 39; receives the Order of St George from Henry, 38; receives some Protestant books from him, which he does not read, 40; receives several advantageous offers, 41; complains to King Henry of his Ambassador, Lord Howard's mismanagement, 41, 42; sends a messenger to Rome, asking reformation, *ibid*; receives an embassy and presents from Henry, 43-45; disappoints him in the expected interview, by the machination of the clergy, 45, 46; and thereby mortally offends him, 47; collects an army against the English forces, and is inclined to pursue them, but hindered by the Nobility, 49; returns to Edinburgh on discovering a conspiracy against his life among his courtiers, 50; reproaches them openly as cowards, *ibid*; gathers another army, 51; which is defeated at Solway Moss, 52; whereupon he turns melancholy, 53; and dies, *ibid*, 54; is buried at Holyrood, 55; his character, 56; institution of the College of Justice, 57, 464-482; his faults, 59, 60; and marriages, 61, 62.

James, Prince, son of James V., i. 62.

—— Prince of Scotland, son of Queen Mary and King Henry Darnley, afterwards King James VI., i. 100, Note; born in Edinburgh Castle, ii. 432; joy at his birth, 433; manner and ceremony of his baptism, 486, 487; a faction of the Nobility rebel against his mother, and declare for him, 607; is crowned by them at Stirling, and a Regent appointed, 716-723; remarks thereupon, 724-726.

—— Lord, Prior of St Andrews, natural son of King James V., accompanies Queen Mary into France, i. 134; joins and concurs with the Congregation, and signs a call to Knox, 153; sent to France to witness the Queen's marriage, 166; approbation of his fidelity, 173, 349; his conduct there, 171; disgusted at his sister's refusing him the Earldom of Moray, *ibid*; dissuaded by his party from going into France with the Crown-Matrimonial, 175; employed by the Queen-Regent to commune with the Congregation, 198; on Knox and Willock's accusing him of unfaithfulness, he deserts the Queen-Regent, 200; subscribes a new bond, 202; refuses to return to his allegiance, 203; becomes one of the chief supports of the Congregation, 206, 208, 211, 216, 217, 222, 224; has a conference with Mr Melville, 223; goes to the West, 224; receives letters from Queen Mary and the French King, her husband, charging him with disloyalty, 226; manages, in several occurrences, transactions, skirmishes, and treaties, for the Congregation,—signs the deprivation of the Queen-Regent, and is chosen one of the Interim-Council, 235, 237; charges the French unsuccessfully, 244; is in Fife for the interests of the Congregation, 245; enters Dysart with a force, 254; withdraws to Cupar, 255; is chosen to meet the Duke of Norfolk at Berwick, 257, 258; signs the treaty there, 262; is a leader of the army of the Congregation when they join the English army, 267; signs a ratification of the treaty of Berwick, 277; attends the Queen-Regent on her death-bed, 278; his latent practices for obtaining the Crown the source of the calamities which befell Scotland,

283 ; engages for the performance of the Agreement made in name of the Nobility, &c. and the Plenipotentiaries from France, 309 ; convoys the English army to Berwick, *ibid* ; is in the Parliament 1560, 313, 326 ; his letter to Sir Ralph Sadler, 384 ; signs a Petition to Queen Elizabeth in favour of Arran, ii. 8 ; is deputed to go into France and invite the Queen to return to Scotland, 13 ; iii. 39 ; passes through England, and arrives in France, ii. 19 ; and is graciously received by her Majesty, 20 ; again demands the Earldom of Moray, 22 ; which is promised, 23 ; returns quickly to Scotland, *ibid* ; his duplicity, *ibid*, Note ; is employed by Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary, 26, 28 ; made one of Queen Mary's Privy-Council, 78 ; is her sole favourite, 79 ; makes a riot in the Chapel-Royal, 85, 86 ; seeketh too much his own advancement, 88 ; his manners, 98 ; constituted Lord Chief-Justice on the Borders, 102, 107 ; the malicious reports of Knox and Buchanan thereon, *ibid*, 103 ; uses immoderate luxury at his marriage, *ibid* ; attended to the Borders with great pomp, 107, 108 ; his severity there, 118 ; created Earl of Mar, 139, 141 ; flattering compliments paid to him by Knox and Buchanan, 158, 159 ; created Earl of Moray, 163, 164 ; made Lieutenant in the expedition against the Earl of Huntly, 169 ; whom he defeats, 170 ; his great enmity to that family, 172 ; account of his management, deceit, tergiversations, and disloyalty, in Randolph's letters and abstracts, 175, 179, 197, 199, 202, 203, 219, 222, 225, 237, 239, 241, 243, 248, 250, 259, 266, 272, 275, 299, 300, 309, 311, 319, 331, 335 ; and in Throgmorton's letters his treason and cruel usage of Queen Mary, with an account of his cunning and behaviour, 279, 280, 286, 287, 288, 290, 383, 386, 387, 687, 691, 736, 737, 739, 740, 741, 742, 744, 745, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761 ; has a conference with the Earl of Bedford and Mr Randolph about the Queen's marriage with the Earl of Leicester, 250 ; becomes one of the chiefs of the rebellious Lords, who withdraw to Stirling and write to Queen Elizabeth for support, 329, 330 ; takes up arms, 331 ; denounced rebel, 351, 353 ; retires with others into Argyllshire, 357, 358 ; thence to Edinburgh, 355 ; which he leaves, 366, 367 ; and from Dumfries retires into England, 370 ; assurance made to him, iii. 240 ; charge, &c. 241 ; goes to London, and begs aid from Queen Elizabeth, ii. 377 ; his servile compliance to obtain it, *ibid*, 378 ; sends Robert Melville to intercede for him with the Queen, 383 ; makes suit to Rizzio for his favour, 388 ; has a hand in Rizzio's murder, 408, Note ; iii. 260-378 ; returns to Edinburgh immediately after his murder, 418 ; renews his suit to the Queen for favour, and obtains it, 420 ; and by her means is reconciled to the Earl of Huntly and others, 426, 427 ; is one of Arran's sureties, 425 ; present at the birth of the Prince, 432 ; accompanies the Queen to Alloa, 444 ; a report spread of his having been in the knowledge of King Henry Darnley's murder, 510 ; makes a very lame defence for himself, *ibid* ; his answer to the protestation of Argyll and Huntly, iii. 294, 312 ; leaves the Kingdom, ii. 535, 546, Note, 609 ; is named by the rebel faction to the Regency, 707 ; arrives in Scotland from abroad, 730, 731 ; several reports concerning him, 732 ; particularly of his being the chief promoter of the troubles in Scotland, *ibid* ; accepts the Regency, 733 ; and ratifies the Acts of Parliament 1560, iii. 184 ; visits Queen Mary on Lochleven, 736-738 ; enters on the office of Regent, 750, 751, 753 ; has Edinburgh Castle surrendered to him, 755 ; and Dunbar Castle, 756 ; the South

country is disaffected to him, 763, 769 ; makes a progress thither, 773, 774 ; summons a Parliament, 776 ; orders the execution of four persons concerned in the King's murder, 782 ; a sharp reflection on him by Sir James Melville, 785 ; his severity, 786 ; visits the Queen again at Lochleven, 789 ; is praised for honourable government, which is contradicted, 787, Note ; summoned by Queen Mary to demit the Regency, with which he refuses to comply, 799 ; prepares for war, 800 ; and defeats the Queen's army at Langside, 811, &c. ; subscribes the Book of Discipline, iii. 24 ; is appointed to demolish churches, 37 ; guards the door of Holyrood Chapel, 39 ; charges against him, 239-242, 343. *Sederunts, passim.*

John de Medicis, afterwards Pope Leo X., i. 8.

—— de Morvillier, Bishop of Orleans, a French Plenipotentiary, i. 239.

Johnston,—an English pirate, complained of being harboured in Scotland, by Queen Elizabeth, ii. 67, 71.

—— Queen Mary's pursuivant imprisoned, ii. 805.

Johnstone, John, clerk of Secret Council, iii. 35.

Julius II., Pope, uses Indulgences, and sends the Sword of State to King James IV., i. 8.

Justice, College of, instituted by King James V., i. 57 ; its confirmation by Papal bulls, 464-482.

## K

KEITH, Lord, detained prisoner by the Earl of Northumberland, ii. 493.

Kennedy,—a young gentleman burnt at Glasgow for heresy, i. 18.

—— Gilbert, see Earl of Cassillis.

—— Quentin, Abbot of Crossraguel, is to be arraigned, but escapes, ii. 199 ; his revenues given to Buchanan, 242 ; publicly disputes with Knox, iii. 33 ; his letter to Archbishop Beaton, 393 ; his controversy with Willock, 396-404 ; publishes a book, 405 ; extracts from it, 406-412.

Ker, Sir Andrew, instructions of, to be declared to the Earl of Bedford, iii. 352 ; i. 49, Note.

—— John, of Ferniehurst, i. 315 ; ii. 9.

—— Sir Walter of Cessford, i. 315 ; ii. 9.

—— Mark, Commendator of Newbattle, son of Sir Walter Ker of Cessford, and predecessor to the Marquis of Lothian, ii. 8 ; one of the Queen's Privy-Council, 340.

Killegrew, Henry, a messenger of Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary, ii. 428 ; makes some complaints to Queen Mary, 429 ; his coming thankfully acknowledged by her, 435 ; required to be called home, 437 ; sent again to Scotland, 444 ; comes to condole Queen Mary in her distress after King Henry Darnley's death, 521.

Killor, or Kello, a Blackfriar, burnt in Edinburgh, i. 16.

Kilmaurs, Alexander Lord, an hostage on the part of Glencairn his father, i. 86 ; is a pensioner of King Henry VIII., 88 ; was 5th Earl of Glencairn, *ibid*, Note ; set at liberty, 116. See Glencairn.

Kinghorn, Town of, set on fire by the English, i. 132.

Kirkaldy, Sir James, of Grange, Lord Treasurer, dissuades King James V. from following the advice of the Clergy, i. 24, 25, 82, 104, Note ; one of Cardinal Beaton's murderers, 124 ; offers to treat for the giving up of St Andrews Castle, 125 ; receives a pension from England, 143.

—— Sir William, son of Sir James, cited with a summons of treason for the murder of Cardinal Beaton, i. 124 ; lays an ambush for some

French soldiers in Fife, 254 ; defeats a French company, 264 ; charged to enter himself a prisoner within Dumbarton Castle, ii. 352 ; not too much liked by Queen Mary, ii. 30 ; declared rebel, 357, 358 ; joins the factious Lords against the Queen, 365 ; and is a main instrument of bringing her to surrender herself at Carberry Hill, 632-637 ; accepts Bothwell's challenge, but is refused, 633 ; is much displeased with the harsh and cruel treatment given to the Queen, 637, 644, 645 ; writes to the Queen, 645 ; secretly favours her, 716 ; is sent to pursue Bothwell, 729, 730 ; is made Governor of Edinburgh Castle by Moray, 756 ; contributes much to defeat the Queen's army at Langside, 813.

Knox, John, i. 26, 53 ; charges faults on King V., 59 ; his account of the Cardinal's alleged forgery, 63, Note, 102 ; was Wishart's sword-bearer, 104, Note ; 105, 108 ; is in St Andrews Castle with the Cardinal's murderers, 129 ; which he calls a godly deed, 146 ; is banished to France, and made to serve all winter in the galleys, 130 ; differs from Buchanan in his accounts, 133 ; returns from abroad, 150 ; is summoned before the Ecclesiastical judicatory, 151 ; writes to the Queen-Regent, accepts a call to Geneva, and is burned in effigy in Edinburgh, *ibid* ; is called home by the chiefs of the Congregation, 152 ; his letter to them produces a covenant, 153, 154 ; his history not to be trusted as to dates, 181 ; ii. 81, 154, 263 ; iii. 15 ; returns to Scotland, i. 184, 188, 189 ; whets the minds of the people to violence at Perth, &c. 188, 190, 198, 200, 201, 203, 204, 205, 210 ; is left to instruct the Perth people, 193 ; his message to the Queen-Regent, 198 ; preaches at Crail, 203 ; in St Andrews, 204 ; calls the mob that followed him and did his work a rascally multitude, 211, 212 ; is appointed preacher in Edinburgh, 213 ; retires to Stirling, 225 ; a confession of his, 229 ; gives advice for deposing the Queen-Regent, 233 ; his accounts of his party and himself, 242-245, 273-276, 311, 320 ; ii. 13, 24, 94, 201, 202, 328, 365, 655 ; his foul tongue, ii. 275 ; his account of the Queen-Regent, 279, 282, 284 ; is appointed preacher in Edinburgh by the Congregation, 309 ; his letter to Mr Railton, 395 ; to Sir James Croft, under the name of John Sinclair, 397-399, 402, 403 ; several harsh reflections in his history, ii. 12, 24, 39, 81, 87, 88, 89, 94, 179 ; his harsh and unmanly treatment of Queen Mary, 80 ; his ridiculous stories, 84, 94, 158, 192, 193, 328, 581 ; keeps up a correspondence with Cecil, 88 ; his manner of preaching and form of prayer, 101, 687 ; his confession of Moray's immoderate luxury, 103 ; his malice against Queen Mary, 101, 108, 140, 421, 458 ; his party spirit in his history, 139, 158, 307, 328, 581, 655, iii. 12 ; ingenuous in his account of Huntly, 161 ; is wrong in an account of a famine, 192 ; his unchristian observation on the murder of the Duke of Guise, 196 ; his unquenchable thirst of reviling Queen Mary, 199 ; engaged in a mutinous assembly raised by his seditious letter, 210, 217 ; his quarrels with Moray, 219, Note ; omits to take notice of the Queen's propensity to justice, 221 ; discovers a bad temper on the death of Mr Henry Sinclair, Dean of Glasgow, 223 ; his marriage, 224 ; tells of Queen Elizabeth's giving letters of recommendation to the Earl of Lennox, 231, 232 ; and of her hypocrisy in the marriage of Queen Mary to Lord Henry Darnley, 280 ; raises a mutinous assembly in Edinburgh, 316, 323 ; preaches before Darnley, iii. 116 ; assigns a right cause for the rebellion of the disaffected lords, ii. 349 ; his great sway, 361 ; is wrong in his account of the King's progress to Peebles, and in other matters, 399, 401 ; his ac-

count of the King, 403 ; his observations on Rizzio's murder, 409, 414, Note, 419, 421 ; his consent obtained to it, 407, Note ; his account of several facts not just, 448, 455, 468, 523, 687 ; flees from Edinburgh after Rizzio's murder, 657 ; disputes sharply about the anointing James VI. at his coronation, 723 ; his account of procedure in 1560, iii. 13, 14 ; refuses to become a Superintendent, 14 ; appointed to assist drawing up the Book of Discipline, in which he bears the chief sway, *ibid.* 15 ; his intention regarding the Church temporalities, 20, 21 ; Archbishop Hamilton's advice to him, which he disregards, 21, 22 ; his account of the Book of Discipline, 23 ; disputes with some Churchmen, 31, 33 ; his account of it, 32 ; preaches fiercely against the Mass 42 ; for which he is called before the Queen on account of his irreverent language, 43 ; complains of the miserable pay of the preachers, 47 ; is sent by the Kirk into the West Country, where he promotes sedition, 59 ; preaches during the Parliament 1569, 69 ; claims to himself the gift of the Holy Spirit in preaching, 70 ; draws up the form and manner of excommunication, 77 ; a charge against him, 81, 82 ; is ordered to abstain from preaching, for abusing that office, 116 ; his account of the convening the Superintendents, 118 ; refused to be sent to be minister at St Andrews, 127 ; is recommended by the General Assembly of the Kirk to the Bishops, &c. of England, 148 ; disputes with Quintin Kennedy of Crossraguel, 33, 396-404 ; and with Mr Wingate, 33, 424-428.

## L

- LABAST, Mons., a French captain, killed with 50 of his men, i. 255.
- Lake, Sir Francis, a commander of the English army, i. 267.
- Lamb, Robert, hanged at Perth for heresy, i. 98.
- Lauder, Mr John, Archdean of Teviotdale, i. 148.
- Mr Henry, the Queen's advocate, i. 83.
- of Bass, endeavours to rescue Queen Mary, ii. 647 ; signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809 ; and is in arms for her at the battle of Langside, 816.
- Learmonth, George, of Balcomie, i. 315 ; charged to enter himself in ward within Dumbarton Castle, ii. 356 ; is one of the leaders of the rebel army, 366.
- Sir James, of Balcomie, sent to England as Ambassador to King Henry VIII., i. 46 ; an account of him, *ibid.* Note ; sent again to England to treat of a marriage between Prince Edward and Mary Queen of Scots, 69 ; sent to Stirling with a message to the Queen-Mother from the Governor, 120.
- Leicester, Earl of, see Dudley.
- Leighton, Mr Thomas, an intended Ambassador of Queen Elizabeth to Scotland, ii. 800.
- Leith, Town of, burnt by the English, i. 116, 132 ; surrendered to the Queen-Regent, 220 ; fortified by the French, 226, 256 ; blockaded by sea by the English ships, 264 ; besieged, 271, 275 ; almost taken, 276 ; the besiegers reinforced, and the siege continued, 277 ; its fortifications demolished, 289.
- Lennox, John Earl of, is in favour with King James V., i. 35.
- Matthew, Earl of, sent home by the influence of Cardinal Beaton, i. 75 ; carries the sceptre at the young Queen's coronation, 80 ;

one of the Governor's Council, *ibid* ; makes suit to King Henry VIII. for his niece, 81 ; seizes some money coming from France, 82 ; he and his accomplices raise forces against the Governor, 85 ; and march against him, 86 ; marries the Lady Margaret Douglas, 87 ; his bargains with King Henry VIII., *ibid*, 88 ; goes to England, 87, 116 ; brings ships from England to the west of Scotland, 117, 118 ; his forfeiture, 482 ; presents himself before Queen Mary, ii. 230 ; is recommended to her by Queen Elizabeth, 231, 240 ; a short account of him, 231, Note ; a Parliament summoned to remove his forfeiture, 258, 259 ; Lady Lennox confirmeth the Earldom of Angus to Lord Henry Darnley, their son, 258 ; she is committed to the Tower of London, 290, 295, 307, 336 ; account of him in Randolph's letters, 271-275, 297, 301, 304, 307, 334, 336, 337 ; is a subject of England, 276, 296 ; is one of the leaders of the Queen's army against the rebel Lords, 366 ; writes to Queen Mary of his son, King Henry's design of going abroad, 450, 451, 456, 457 ; letters betwixt the Queen and him about the discovery of the King's murderers, 524-532 ; cited to be present at Bothwell's trial, 533 ; craves a delay of the trial, 536-538 ; which is not granted, 539 ; is absent from the trial, 543 ; retires into England, 553.

Leo. X. Pope, see John de Medicis.

Leslie, John, Vicar-General of Aberdeen, and afterwards Bishop of Ross, gives an account of several occurrences in Scotland,—of the remissness of the Clergy, i. 5 ; of the invasion by the English, 48, Note ; of Oliver Sinclair, 51 ; of Queen Mary's birth, 54 ; of King James V.'s wives, 61-62 ; of Arran's being proclaimed Governor, 64 ; of the hostages given to the Queen Regent's party, 86 ; of the Pope's legate, 96 ; of Leon Strozzi, 129 ; of the battle of Ancrum-moor, 118 ; of Arran's demission of the Regency to the Queen-Mother, 142 ; of an Ecclesiastical Synod, 149 ; of a proposal to have an army of mercenaries, 163 ; of an intended invasion of England, 165 ; of the death of the Commissioners to France, 172 ; of the Queen's anxiety to prevent divisions, 184 ; of a Synod to compose differences, 184, 185, 187 ; of the riots at Perth, &c. 202, 206, 212 ; of the articles drawn up on the Links of Leith, 220 ; of Pelue, Bishop of Amiens, the Pope's legate, 228 ; of a skirmish at Leith, 244 ; of the Earl of Sutherland, 254 ; of the English fleet, 255 ; and its commander, 256 ; of the arrival of some French at Leith, 263, 265 ; of the Church of Old Aberdeen, 266 ; of the conference between the Queen-Regent and the Congregation, 269 ; of some fighting at Leith, &c. 272, 277 ; differs from other historians in his account of the Queen-Regent, 280 ;—of a Parliament, 1556, 482 ;—of the negotiation or indenture of peace, 484 ; he is sent to France to pay the respects of the loyal part of the Nobility to the Queen, ii. 14 ; arrives there, 19, 20 ; his account of the French King's intention in sending D'Osell into Scotland, 40 ; of the Queen's arrival, 63 ; of the Lord James, 79 ; he returns to Scotland in the ship with the Queen, 61 ; is imposed on by Ruxbie, a spy from England, 430 ; convoys Malvoiser to Scotland, 445 ; writes to Archbishop Beaton, 467, iii. 286 ; charges Moray of being accessory to the King's murder, ii. 510 ; vindicates the Queen, 515, 522, 577 ; signs a bond in favour of Bothwell's pretensions, 562, 563, 569 ; is one of the Queen's Council, 579 ; signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809 ; his account of a famous disputation, in which he took part, iii. 31-33.

- Leslie, John, assists in the murder of Cardinal Beaton, i. 108 ; offers to confess to the Government on terms, 125 ; is banished, 130.
- Norman, eldest son of the Earl of Rothes, chief actor in Cardinal Beaton's murder, i. 63, 104, Note, 107, 108 ; offers to confess on terms, 125 ; declared guilty of high treason, 126 ; receives pay from England, 143 ; repents, and is killed in France, 113, Note.
- See Earl of Rothes.
- William, ii. 792.
- of Balquhain, nephew of Bishop Leslie, repels those attempting to destroy Aberdeen Cathedral, i. 265, 266.
- Lethington, Lord, See Maitland.
- Lignorelles, Mons. sent by the French King to the rebel Lords, ii. 733, 734 ; his doings, 735, 736, 746, 747, 758.
- Lilliard, Maiden, i. 118, Note.
- Lindsay, Sir David, of the Mount, writes a poem called the 'Tragedy of Cardinal Beaton,' i. 106, 111 ; his poems condemned, 184, Note.
- David, Master of Crawford, marries a daughter of Cardinal Beaton, i. 107 ; afterwards 9th Earl of Crawford, i. 312 ; signs a Petition to Queen Elizabeth in favour of Arran, ii. 8 ; sends an offer of his duty and fidelity to Queen Mary, 13 ; signs a bond in favour of Bothwell's pretensions, 562, 563, 569 ; joins the lords at Hamilton in the Queen's behalf, 656, 658 ; and signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809.
- David, appointed preacher by the Congregation at Leith, i. 311.
- John, 5th Lord, appointed one of the keepers of the young Queen, i. 70 ; conducts her to Dumbarton Castle, 132 ; accompanies her to France, 134 ; sent to hear proposals for peace by the Congregation, 206 ; 312, 326 ; ii. 8.
- Patrick, 6th Lord, one of the conspirators and actors in Rizzio's murder, ii. 412, 414 ; iii. 260-278 ; receives remission through Huntly and Bothwell's intercession, ii. 423 ; is one of the assessors of Argyll on Bothwell's trial, 540 ; joins the faction against Queen Mary, 607 ; and takes part in all their proceedings, 607-814 ; has the Queen delivered into his keeping, 646 ; is a man of savage manners, *ibid*, Note ; goes to Lochleven, 697, 706 ; and compels the Queen to sign her own abdication, &c. 713 ; with which he returns to his confederates, *ibid*, 714 ; is at the Prince's coronation, 719, 720 ; is of Regent Moray's Council, 750 ; is in arms, and active against the Queen at the battle of Langside, 814, 816 ; subscribes the Book of Discipline, iii. 24, 25. *Sederunts, passim*.
- John, advice of, at the burning of Friar Forrest, i. 16.
- Master of, one of the leaders of the Congregation, i. 245 ; lays an ambush against the French, 254 ; i. 314.
- of Pitscottie, historian, i. 45, Note.
- Linlithgow, Churches of, destroyed by Knox's mob, i. 212 ; plundered by the French, 253 ; visited by Queen Mary, ii. 83.
- Little, Margaret, ii. 433, Note.
- Livingstone, Alexander, 5th Lord, appointed one of the keepers of the young Queen, i. 70 ; conducts her to Dumbarton Castle, 132 ; accompanies her to France, 134 ; remains firm to the Governor, Arran, 141 ; takes part in the deposition of the Queen-Regent, 236.
- William, 6th Lord, father of the first Earl of Linlithgow, i. 312 ; is attending the Queen at Rizzio's murder, ii. 418 ; joins with other Lords at Hamilton on the Queen's behalf, 656, 658 ; repairs to

- her on her escape from Lochleven, 798; signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809; and is in arms for her at the battle of Langside, 816.
- Livingston, Beatrix, wife of one Wallace, a heretic, i. 148.
- Mary, one of the Queen's companions, i. 134.
- Lords, Queen's, ii. 716, 718, 775, 807, 809.
- Associated, or King's Lords, form a faction, and perpetrate many treasonable actions, ii. 607, 614, 617-621, 623-625, 628, 632, 634, 640, 641, 643, 647, 648, 651-653, 657, 659, 661, 665, 677, 701, 714-720, 731-816; coin money, 725; iii. 315; their way of keeping promises, iii. 184; destroy the seals, ii. 754; iii. 316.
- Lorn, Lord, signs a call to Knox, i. 153; and the Covenant of the Congregation, 154.
- Lorraine, Charles, Cardinal of, uncle to Queen Mary, is one of her curators, i. 140, 141; is a chief favourite of Francis II., 223; a French Plenipotentiary in a treaty of peace, 238; is said to have promised a supply of money to Queen Mary, ii. 158; visits Ferdinand, Emperor of Germany, 185; and proposes a marriage between Queen Mary and the Emperor's second son, 186, 197; is civil to Throgmorton on the Queen's account, 209; is not satisfied with Mary's taking Elizabeth's advice in her marriage, 218; proposes an *Interim* in Scotland, 221; offers the Duke of Orleans for a husband to Queen Mary, 243, 265; gives her advice in regard to England, 266; and in regard to the rebel Lords, 391, 392.
- Lundie, Walter, of Lundie, i. 314, 326; ii. 305.
- Luther, Martin, i. 9, 11, 12.
- Lyle, Lord, informs against Cardinal Beaton, i. 67.

## M

- MacDONALD, James, of Islay, i. 261.
- M'Farlane, a Highland gentleman, a leader against Queen Mary at Langside, ii. 817.
- M'Gill, James, of Nether-Rankeillor, Clerk-Register, i. 163, 240; takes refuge with the Queen-Regent in Edinburgh Castle, 268; is of the Queen's Privy-Council, ii. 78; is with the Queen in the North, 164, 166; his office given to Sir James Balfour, 418; one of the conspirators in Rizzio's murder, *ibid*; re-appointed to his office by Moray, 541, Note; one of Argyll's assessors on Bothwell's trial, 541; is a Senator of the College of Justice, *ibid*; his declaration to Sir N. Throgmorton, 734; Sederunts, *passim*.
- M'Kenzie, Dr., i. 108, Note; his opinion of Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, 149.
- Magdalene, Queen of James V., i. 61, 62.
- Maitland, Richard, of Lethington, i. 139, 163; ii. 223.
- William, Younger of Lethington, one of the Congregation, and sent by them to London, i. 245, 252; chosen a Commissioner by the Congregation, 257; and is one of those who draw up the treaty of Berwick, 258; and signs it, 262; attests a copy of a commission, 309; 318, 326; is sent to the English Court, ii. 5; goes in grand style, iii. 9; returns to Scotland, ii. 25; not much liked by Queen Mary, 30; a heavy charge against him by Camden, 58; his letter to Cecil, iii. 211; is sent into England with instructions, &c. ii. 65, 72, 73, 75; is taken notice of for his address, wisdom, and great management of affairs, in Randolph's

letters, &c. 81, 83, 88, 98, 111, 113, 121, 124, 131, 145, 175, 177, 179, 236, 239, 240, 241, 249; sent again to England, 142; urges by letter Queen Mary's right of succession to the Crown of England, 182; sent with a public character into England, &c. 188, 191; returns from his embassy, 201; has the Abbey of Haddington given him, 208; is not averse to the Queen's marriage with Lord Darnley, 242; is deputed by her to confer with the Earl of Bedford, 243, 248, 250; account of the conference, 250-256; sent into France, 266; arrives at London, 275; account of his negotiations, 278-287, 291, 292, 298, 301; is one of the conspirators against Rizzio, 407, Note; is pardoned by the Queen for his concern in his murder, 423; writes to the Queen-Mother of France through the Archbishop of Glasgow, 453; proposes a divorce between the Queen and Darnley, 474, 475; is taken prisoner by Bothwell, 571; joins the faction of the Lords against the Queen, 607, 608, 628; several parts of his acting against her, 684, 688, 692, 700, 736, 738, 740-744, 760, 761; is in arms against her at Langside, 816; vilifies the Book of Discipline, iii. 46, 313; Tytler's account of him, ii. 628. *Sederunts, passim.*

Malvoiser, or Mauvissiere, Mons., see Castelnau.

Marischal, William Earl of, appointed one of the keepers of the young Queen, i. 70; and of the Governor's Council, 80; is unwilling to accept, 85; is sent with a commission to the Queen-Dowager, 120; accompanies her into France, 135; is pleased with Knox's sermons, 151; confers with the leaders of the Congregation, 206; returns home after the accommodation of the Links of Leith, 224; consents to the deprivation of the Queen-Regent, 235; enters Edinburgh Castle with her, 268; attends her on her death-bed, 278; i. 312; makes a speech in the Parliament in favour of the New Confession, 321, 326; is one of the Queen's Privy-Council, ii. 78; his caution or wariness, 99; his daughter married to the Lord James, *ibid*; attends the Queen when in the North, 161, 163, 166; subscribes the Book of Discipline, iii. 24. *Sederunts, passim.*

Martigue or Martiques, Count Sebastian, arrives from France with a reinforcement of horse and foot, i. 263-265; fights the English near Leith, 270; taken out of Scotland in the English ships, 309; ii. 21; his advice to Queen Mary, ii. 21.

Mary, Queen of Scotland, wife of James V., i. 62; labours for Cardinal Beaton's liberation, 73; sends for the Earl of Lennox, 75; taken to Stirling Castle, 76; principal person of the Governor's Council, 80; sets up a faction against him, and calls a Parliament at Stirling, 120; obtains the release of John Knox and other prisoners from the French galleys, 130; agrees to send her daughter, Queen Mary, into France, 133, 134; embarks herself for that Kingdom, 135, 136; returns through England, 137; and there nobly received and kindly entertained by King Edward VI., 137, 138; accompanies the Governor to Inverness, 139; gains the favour of the people, *ibid*; deals with the Governor to have the Regency demitted to her, *ibid*; receives it on terms, 140, 141; is proclaimed Regent, 142; calls Knox's letter a pasquil, 151; cites the Reformed preachers, 152; countenances a Popish procession in Edinburgh, 158; forms her Court of too many Frenchmen, 160; applies herself to rectify disorders, 161; goes north to suppress the Highlanders, 162; tries to have an army of mercenaries, 162, 163; holds Circuit Courts at Inverness and other towns, *ibid*; is desirous to declare war against England

164 ; orders a fort to be built at Eyemouth, *ibid* ; presents the French King's letter to the Parliament concerning the Queen's marriage, 165 ; petitioned by the Congregation, 177-182 ; her answer, 183 ; calls a convocation of the clergy, 184 ; whom she resolves to assist, 186 ; is disobeyed by the Congregation, 187 ; denounces the preachers rebels, 187, 188 ; is highly incensed by the riots at Perth, 193 ; several messages and conferences between her and the Congregation, 194, 197, 198, 199 ; an agreement with them, 200 ; marches through Fife against them, 206 ; the severities of her soldiers at Perth occasion the retaking of that place by the rebels, 202, 208, 209 ; resolves to send forces to Stirling, 211 ; retires to Dunbar, 212 ; makes a proclamation against the rebels, 213 ; confers with Commissioners from the Congregation, 215-218 ; returns to Edinburgh, 219, 220 ; is advised by her brothers to prosecute the rebels, 223 ; takes possession of Holyrood-House, *ibid* ; receives succours from France, and fortifies Leith, 225-227, 230 ; sends the Lyon King-at-Arms to the Congregation, 231 ; is deposed from the Regency by them, 234, 235 ; regains the Castle of Glasgow, 246 ; takes possession of Edinburgh, 251 ; resolves to crush the Congregation, 253 ; sends to Queen Elizabeth to recall her ships, 256 ; receives reinforcements from France, 263 ; takes refuge in Edinburgh Castle, 268 ; has a letter from the chiefs of the Congregation, 268, 269 ; her sickness and death, 272, 278-280 ; her character, 281-283 ; is much lamented, 284 ; is maliciously aspersed by Knox, *ibid*, 285 ; her body carried into France, 285.

Mary, Queen of Scots, born, i. 53 ; succeeds her father, King James V., 62 ; is crowned at Stirling, 80 ; is sent to Dumbarton, and thence to France, 134 ; has four young ladies of the name of Mary to attend her, *ibid* ; grants a commission to several persons to be her procurators at the treaty of her marriage, 166, 361-363 ; her marriage-contract, 169, in French, 353-359 ; is married to the Dauphin of France, 170 ; advised by her friends to assume the arms of England, 176 ; ii. 74, Note ; to which she had undoubted right, 251 ; reproaches her brother the Prior of St Andrews, 227 ; appoints Commissioners to treat with those of England, 286, 306, 308, 317 ; grants a concession to the Nobility and people of Scotland, 296-306 ; refuses to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, &c. ii. 5 ; both parties in Scotland make addresses to her on the death of her husband, 13, 19 ; she is attended by their agents, 20 ; the English Ambassador's letter to her, 26 ; her answer to it, 27 ; iii. 210 ; is ill with an ague, ii. 31 ; is complimented on her recovery by Queen Elizabeth, and asked to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, *ibid* ; her excuse for refusing, 32-35 ; sends to England for a safe-conduct to return to Scotland through that country, but is refused, 40 ; some account of her before leaving France, in Throgmorton's letter, 40-54 ; sets out for Scotland, 55 ; has a conference with the English Ambassador, 55, 56 ; is waylaid on her passage to Scotland by English ships, 57, 58 ; but escapes them, and lands safely at Leith, 61, 63 ; is congratulated by Queen Elizabeth on her safe arrival, 64 ; is allowed to have the Mass service, iii. 39 ; she writes to Queen Elizabeth, and sends Maitland with instructions to her Court, ii. 65, 71, 72 ; a declaration concerning an interview with Elizabeth, iii. 327, 328 ; constitutes a regular Privy-Council, ii. 78 ; some accounts of her and her Court in Randolph's letters, 80-82, 85-89, 94-101, 109-132, 175-181, 197-203, 208, 210, 211, 217-220, 224-228, 239-250, 258-275, 291, 296-321, 330-339 ; insulted by

Knox, 80 ; begins a progress through the Kingdom, 83, 84 ; deposes the Provost of Edinburgh, 91, 92 ; appoints a Court of Justice at Jedburgh, &c., and constitutes her brother the Lord-Justice, 102-106 ; slandered by Knox and Buchanan, 103 ; her letters to and from Queen Elizabeth, 132-136 ; reconciles the Noblemen of her Kingdom, 139 ; receives the Castle of Dumbarton from the Duke of Chastelherault, 141 ; proposes to her Council an interview with Queen Elizabeth, 142 ; and matters following thereupon, 142-153 ; the interview does not take place, 153 ; receives letters from the Pope, &c., 158 ; procedure of her Council against the Earl of Huntly, his Family, and followers, 161-169 ; pardons Lord Adam Gordon, 171 ; returns to the South, iii. 61 ; suspends the execution of Lord Gordon, Huntly's heir, ii. 173, 174 ; persuaded by her uncles, &c., against peace with England, 183 ; several proposals of marriage made to her, particularly by the Emperor in name of his son, 186, 187 ; sends her Secretary again to England, 188 ; concerning her claim and right to that Crown after Queen Elizabeth's death, and that he should, in presence of the Estates of England, declare the validity of her title, 191, 192 ; is in grief for the death of her uncles, 196 ; further proposals of marriage to her, 197 ; grants an Act of Oblivion, 200 ; goes into Argyllshire, 201, 202 ; has an Ambassador from Sweden, 203 ; the contents of Queen Elizabeth's message to her, 205-208, 213-217 ; further overtures of marriage to her, 211, 212 ; her great propensity to justice, 221, 222 ; her refined sentiments on religious toleration, iii. 122 ; sends Mr Melville into England to adjust differences with Elizabeth, ii. 228, 229 ; and makes a progress to the northern parts of Scotland, *ibid* ; acknowledges by letter Queen Elizabeth's recommending and allowing Lennox's coming to Scotland, 232, 233 ; a memorial to her from Elizabeth by Randolph, 234-239 ; her secret reasoning concerning Leicester's proposal of marriage to her, 244-246 ; appoints her Secretary to meet the English Commissioners at Berwick about it, 250 ; an account of the conference there, 250-256 ; holds a Parliament, in which she declares that the reversing of Lennox's forfeiture is at the request and suit of her sister of England, 258, 259 ; goes into Fife, 261 ; her reception of Lord Darnley, 263, 264 ; sends her Secretary again to England, 266, 275 ; his commission, iii. 220 ; Resolutions of the Privy-Council of England concerning her marriage with Darnley, ii. 276 ; the troubles that may ensue on that marriage, 277, iii. 221-223 ; message from Queen Elizabeth by Throgmorton, and his negotiations in Scotland on that head, ii. 278-291 ; confers honours on Lord Darnley, 288, 289 ; writes to the English Queen, 292 ; and sends Mr John Hay with instructions to her, 293 ; is in fear of Moray and his accomplices, 309 ; examines into the causes of the riots raised by the Congregation, 323 ; writes to the Lords, Barons, &c. asking their assistance, 326-328 ; cites all her subjects to assist her against the rebel Lords, 339, 340 ; marries Darnley, 344 ; proclaims him King, 342, 346, 347 ; resolves to crush the faction against her, and issues proclamations against them, 349-354, 356-360 ; receives a message from Queen Elizabeth by Tamworth, 354, iii. 223-228 ; who refuses a passport because Darnley was styled King in it, 355 ; her answer to him, iii. 228-232 ; offers made to Elizabeth by Queen Mary and Darnley, 232-235 ; she marches against the rebels, ii. 363, 366 ; whom she forces to take shelter in England, 367 ; recalls the army, iii. 245 ; charges the lieges to be ready, 246 ; her declaration of

the intention of the rebels, 250 ; goes through Fife to St Andrews, Dundee, &c. ii. 368, 369 ; is at Dumfries, 370 ; grants a safe-conduct to some English Ambassadors, 373 ; pardons Chastelherault, 379 ; enacts the coinage of a silver coin called a ' Mary-ryal,' 382, 400, iii. 257 ; her right of succession to the English Crown secretly favoured by Throgmorton, ii. 383 ; has an Ambassador at the English Court always ready to act in that matter, 389 ; her letter by Melville, iii. 259 ; receives embassies from France, ii. 390, 391 ; adjourns the meeting of Parliament, 393 ; calumniated by Buchanan, 400 ; vindicated from the false reports of Knox and Buchanan, 400-404 ; is ill-used by Darnley, 403-406 ; has good and just grounds of displeasure against him, 405, 406 ; writes to France a particular account of Rizzio's murder, 411-422 ; yet pardons all the murderers except two, 423 ; is advised by her Council to await her accouchement in Edinburgh Castle, 425 ; reconciles the contending Noblemen, 426, 427 ; goes to Alloa, and returns to Edinburgh, 427 ; has intercourse with Queen Elizabeth about some rebels who took shelter in England, 428, 429 ; is delivered of a Prince, 432 ; iii. 136 ; and sends Sir James Melville with the news to Queen Elizabeth, ii. 434 ; which vexes that Queen, 435 ; has several friends in England, 436 ; who renew the proposal of her being declared heir to that Crown, *ibid* ; her letter to Robert Melville, 439, 440 ; she writes to Queen Elizabeth justifying herself for ordering Randolph out of Scotland, 442 ; goes into the country after her recovery, 444 ; vindicated from the wicked accounts of Knox and Buchanan concerning her and the King, 445-448, 467 ; by the French Ambassador's letter, 448 ; by the Lords of the Privy-Council of Scotland, 453-459 ; and by Mr Robert Melville, her Ambassador at the Court of England, 460 ; she goes to Jedburgh to promote peace and order, and sends the Earl of Bothwell into Liddesdale, 463 ; whom she visits when confined from the effects of some wounds received there, 464 ; she falls sick at Jedburgh, 465 ; her Council make proclamation to keep good rule there, 468 ; she recovers, and visits Berwick on her return towards Edinburgh, 469-471 ; writes to the Privy-Council of England of her right and title to that Crown, 471, 472 ; will not hearken to the proposal for divorcing the King, 474, 475 ; receives a letter from the Earl of Bedford, and gives him a safe-conduct, 476, 477 ; goes to Stirling for the christening of the Prince, 484 ; writes to Queen Elizabeth, 489, 490 ; and claims being declared next heir to the Crown of England, 492 ; the Earl of Bedford satisfied with the Queen except in the treatment of Darnley, 495, 496 ; passes the Christmas holidays, 1566, with Lord Drummond and the Laird of Tullibardine, 496 ; returns to Edinburgh, 497 ; visits Darnley while ill at Glasgow, 499 ; causes him to be conveyed to Edinburgh, 500 ; where she attends him, 503 ; is defended from slander by Bishop Leslie, 515 ; emits a proclamation for the discovery of the murderers of the King, 519 ; sends back Mr Robert Melville as Ambassador to England, and receives from that country a message of condolence, 521 ; retires to Seton for the benefit of her health, 522, 523 ; intercourse by letters between her and the Earl of Lennox, 524-532 ; returns to Edinburgh, 533 ; is seized by Bothwell, and carried with a show of violence to Dunbar Castle, 571 ; and from thence is taken to Edinburgh Castle, 575 ; where she approves of a bond by some of the Nobility in favour of Bothwell's pretensions to her hand, 576, 577 ; and gives an

- order for proclaiming the banns of her marriage with him, 577, 578, iii. 162; makes a public declaration of her good-will towards him, 580; and marries him, 581; sends a Minister into France to excuse her conduct, 591, 592; his instructions, 592-601; and another into England for the same purpose, 601-606; a faction formed against her, 607; a *story* about her by Knox and Buchanan, 609; issues proclamations for peace on the Borders, 610, 611; which proclamations give rise to false rumours, which she attempts to counteract, 612; removes from fear of the faction to Borthwick Castle, 616; is besieged there, but goes to Dunbar, 618; from which she marches to face the rebels, 624-626; voluntarily surrenders herself to the rebel faction at Carberry Hill, 635; where she takes leave of Bothwell, 634; is conducted to Edinburgh, 638; where she is reviled by the mob, 639; and commiserated by the better sort, 640, 655; she is sent secretly away prisoner to Lochleven, 643-646; her plate and jewels seized by the rebel Lords, 653; her imprisonment viewed by many of the Nobility as a crime of the highest treason, 656; they convene at Hamilton on her behalf, *ibid*; the French Minister denied access to her, 665; as is also the English Ambassador, 677; some account of her ill-treatment, in Throgmorton's letters, 684-700, 734-747, 757-763; is compelled by Lord Lindsay to sign her own abdication, and other papers, 697, 706-713;—one constituting eventual Regents, 706-708; another of demission in favour of the Prince her son, 708-710; and a third constituting her brother Moray, Regent during her son's nonage, 710-712; several Lords favour her cause, 716; and enter into a bond for her defence, 718; conference between her and the Earl of Moray, 736; is discovered attempting her escape from Lochleven, 791; but succeeds in her next attempt, 795; is conveyed to Hamilton, and there attended by a number of the Nobility, 798; revokes the writs she had subscribed in prison, 799; and emits a proclamation for her subjects to convene to her, 800; iii. 324; sends a message to Moray to demit the Regency, and to restore her to her dignity, ii. 799, 804, 805; several of the Nobility and gentry enter into a bond to obtain her restoration, 807, 809; marches with her army toward Dumbarton, but in the way is met by Moray, 811; and her army is defeated at Langside, 814-817; she flees toward Galloway, 820, 821; is accompanied and advised by Lord Herries, 821, 822; flees into England, 822, 823; a reflection on her misfortunes, 826-832; grants leave to some Friars to preach, iii. 118; places the Prince in Spottiswood's arms, 136; extracts exculpatory of her in regard to Darnley's murder, 306-310; her letters to the Pope, 311; letter to Bedford, 350; to Elizabeth, 351, 353.
- Mary, Queen of England, succeeds her brother King Edward VI., i. 150; persecutes the maintainers of the Reformed doctrines, *ibid*; resolves in conjunction with the Queen-Regent of Scotland to cement the two Nations in a firm bond of peace, 160; aids Spain against France, 164; her death, 175.
- Marys, Queen's, i. 134; ii. 240, 301.
- Marychurch, ii. 67, 71, 73.
- Mason, Sir John, i. 410.
- Maximilian, I., grandfather of Charles V., i. 8.
- Maxwell, Lord, ancestor of the Earls of Nithsdale, i. 51, Note; undertakes an expedition on the West Borders against the English, i. 51; is

of the Governor's Council, 70 ; escapes from Edinburgh Castle, 81 ; makes a proposal in Parliament to allow the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, 89 ; which is carried, 90 ; is set at liberty, 116 ; approves in Council the Act for dissolving the treaties made with England, 126 ; accompanies the Queen-Dowager to France, 135 ; is a Scots Commissioner at Norham, 138, 139 ; signs a bond in favour of Queen Mary, &c., ii. 809 ; is in arms for her at Langside, 816.

Maxwell, Master of, put in ward for saying he would not desist from helping the Congregation, i. 188 ; takes part in the deposition of the Queen-Regent, 235, 238 ; is one of the Commissioners of the Congregation at drawing up the treaty of Berwick, 257, 262 ; 314, 326 ; makes an indenture with the English Warden, ii. 64 ; iii. 216-218 ; ii. 127 ; iii. 10 ; subscribes the Book of Discipline, iii. 24.

——— Sir John, of Terreagles, second son of Lord Maxwell, afterwards Lord Herries, Warden of the West Marches, signs a petition to Queen Elizabeth in favour of the Earl of Arran, ii. 6, 9 ; Commissioner deputed by Queen Mary—settles and seals the convention of peace on the Borders, 244 ; is one of Huntly's cautioners, 352 ; keeper of Lochmaben Castle, 370 ; charges Moray with a foreknowledge of Darnley's murder, 510 ; is one of the assize on Bothwell's trial, 545 ; requests the Queen, on his knees, not to marry the Earl of Bothwell, 583 ; yet is loyal to her, and is trusted by Queen Elizabeth for her behoof, 749 ; acknowledges the King and the Regent Moray's authority, and is received notwithstanding his former stubbornness, 774 ; repairs to the Queen on her escape from Lochleven, 798 ; signs a bond for her defence, &c., 809 ; has the command of the horse in her army at the battle of Langside, 816 ; attends and guards her retreat, 820 ; is her adviser, and accompanies her in her flight into England, 821, 822. Sederunts, *passim*.

——— Robert, publicly disputes with Willock, iii. 33.

Meldrum, Sir George, of Fyvie, sent by Arran as Ambassador to King Henry VIII., when in France, to demand a truce, i. 117.

Melville, James, one of Cardinal Beaton's assassins, i. 108.

——— Sir James, i. 25, Note ; sent by the French King to know the state of affairs in Scotland, 222 ; has a conference with the Lord James Prior of St Andrews, 223 ; tells of the bad advice given to Queen Mary by her friends in France, ii. 21 ; his account of Queen Elizabeth's behaviour to the Lord Robert Dudley, 204, 257 ; is sent with a memorial to that Queen, 228 ; and gives account of her cunning and bad inclination to Queen Mary, 233, 234 ;—of Throgmorton's instructions, 283 ;—of the Earl of Northumberland's covetousness in detaining our Queen's money, 369 ;—of Queen Elizabeth's duplicity, 378, 388 ; differs from Knox, 379 ;—of the Earl of Moray, 388, 389 ; is desired by the Queen to give the King his best advice, 406 ; his account of Rizzio's murder, 410 ; and of the rebel Lords, 420, 430 ; is sent to Queen Elizabeth with the news of the birth of a Prince, 434 ; his account of her behaviour on hearing the news, 435, 436 ; some extracts from his Memoirs concerning Queen Elizabeth, 437-441 ; a mistake in his account of the King's following the Queen, 470 ; a merry story related by him in connection with the baptism of the Prince, 488 ; is in error in his account of the Queen's marrying Bothwell, 576, 577 ; though right in asserting that several of the Nobility concurred in that marriage, *ibid* ; gives an account how the Earl of Mar prevented Bothwell from getting James

- VI. into his power, 606 ;—of the King of France's letter to Mons. de Croc, 615 ;—of the cruel treatment Queen Mary met with from the associated Lords, 639-641 ; narrative of the manner of her signing the instrument of resignation, &c., 697 ; is sent with a message to the Lords on the Queen's side, 716 ; and to meet the Earl of Moray on his return from abroad, 732 ; he charges that Earl with cruelty to the Queen, 733 ; a reflection of his, 785 ; gives an account of the battle of Langside, 812.
- Melville, Robert, brother to Sir James, i. 252 ; sent by Queen Mary as Ambassador in ordinary at the English Court, ii. 389 ; is in great credit there, 430 ; his advice for managing matters, 437 ; his letter to Archbishop Beaton, 460 ; the letter of the Estates of Scotland sent by him to England, iii. 290 ; is dispatched back to England, ii. 521 ; sent into England to excuse Queen Mary's marrying Bothwell, 592 ; his instructions thereon, 601-606 ; is the determined enemy of Bothwell, *ibid*, Note ; accompanies Lord Lindsay to the Queen on Lochleven, 697 ; testifies that Queen Mary signed her resignation, &c. through fear, 799.
- Menzies, Thomas, of Pitfoddels, Provost of Aberdeen, appointed one of the Governor's Council, i. 70 ; subscribes the Queen-Regent's deposition, for the boroughs, 235 ; signs the Aberdeen excuse to the General Assembly, iii. 175, 176.
- Merchants, Scottish, the vessels of the, confiscated in the English ports, i. 78.
- Mesnage, James, a French Ambassador to Scotland, i. 84.
- Methven, Henry Lord, one of the Governor's Council, i. 70.
- Paul, Baker in Dundee, turns preacher, i. 151 ; sentence of banishment pronounced against him, 151 ; is notwithstanding entertained in Dundee, *ibid* ; the Provost of Dundee ordered to apprehend him, but lets him escape, 187 ; appointed by the Congregation preacher at Jedburgh, 310 ; is excommunicated for adultery, iii. 71, 72 ; and ordered to penance therefore, 140, 141 ; his supplication, 139.
- Mewtas, Sir Peter, sent by Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary, ii. 77, 132 ; his real mission, 136.
- Mezeray, a French historian, i. 61 ; assents to the notion that the Scots Commissioners died in France by poison, 172 ; his account of the death of Francis II., ii. 11, Note ; his high eulogium on Queen Mary, 64.
- Mildmay, Sir Walter, ii. 374.
- Mill, Walter, an aged priest, tried and condemned for heresy, i. 156, 157 ; the last who suffered at the stake in the Protestant cause in Scotland, 158.
- Miln, Robert, W. S., a most industrious collector and transcriber of valuable documents illustrative of Scottish history, ii. 222 ; his initials at transcribed Acts, &c. *passim*.
- Moffet, a Protestant madman, ii. 269, 270.
- Monluc, John Bishop of Valence, arrives in Scotland as a French Ambassador, i. 273 ; receives a commission from Francis and Mary to treat with the English Commissioners, 286-309 ; one of those who draw up the treaty at Berwick, 288-291 ; and the treaty of peace at Edinburgh, 291, 295 ; an account of him, iii. 1, 2.
- Monteith, Earl of, one of the Lords of the Congregation, i. 228 ; is a chief leader of their army, 267, 277 ; 312, 326 ; is in arms against the

- Queen at Langside, ii. 816 ; subscribes the Book of Discipline, iii. 24 ; his son, George Graham, one of the hostages of the treaty of Berwick, i. 267.
- Montgomery, Captain Lorge, Knight of the Order of St Michael, arrives in Scotland with a reinforcement from France, i. 119 ; returns thither, *ibid.*
- Montmorency, Duke of, Prime Minister and Great Constable of France, i. 222 ; is discharged from Court on the death of Henry II. King of France, 223 ; is a French Plenipotentiary in concluding treaties of peace, 238.
- Montrose, Earl of, appointed one of the keepers of Queen Mary, i. 70 ; is sent to Stirling with a message to the Queen-Dowager, 120 ; is of Queen Mary's Privy-Council, ii. 78 ; signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809.
- Monypenny, David, younger of Pitnilly, charged to enter himself in ward, ii. 356.
- Moray, James, Earl of, natural brother of King James V., General of the Scots army, i. 49 ; appointed one of the Governor's Council, 70, 80 ; is averse to a match with England, 76 ; appointed by Parliament to meet the French Ambassadors, 84. See James, Prior of St Andrews.
- Moret, Mons., arrives in Scotland, ii. 121, 122, 125.
- Morton, James, 4th Earl of, signs the first Covenant, i. 154 ; is one of the Scots Commissioners at the treaty of Upsettlington, 240 ; concurs with the Congregation, and signs the ratification of the treaty of Berwick, 277 ; is in the Parliament 1560, 312, 326 ; is sent to England by the Congregation, ii. 5 ; goes in grand style, iii. 9 ; signs a petition to Queen Elizabeth in favour of Arran, ii. 8 ; returns from England, 25 ; is of Queen Mary's Privy-Council, 78 ; attends the Queen when in the North against Huntly, 161, 164, 166 ; dislikes Darnley, 265 ; is a leader of the Queen's army against the rebels, 366 ; labours to sow dissension between her and the King, and to remove Rizzio out of the way, 395, 396 ; is accused of occasioning much of the King's profligacy, 406 ; assists at Rizzio's murder, 414, iii. 260-284 ; is declared traitor for the same, but is pardoned, ii. 423, 428 ; excites insurrection on the Borders, 462 ; is, on good grounds, charged with having had a hand in the King's murder, 510 ; attends the Earl of Bothwell in the panel at his trial for that murder, 542 ; and by his management gets him acquitted, 546 ; is one of the chiefs of the faction against Queen Mary, 607 ; for his and their treasons, cruelties, severities, and oppressions towards her, see under the name Glencairn, or Lords ; subscribes the Book of Discipline, iii. 24 ; a discharge to him concerning a box of papers, 297 ; his death, ii. 824. *Sederunts, passim.*
- Mowbray, Sir John, of Barnbogle, one of the assize on Bothwell's trial, ii. 546.
- Murray, James, a setter-up of slanderous placards, ordered to be apprehended, ii. 533.
- Patrick, a violent man in the cause of the Congregation, has a boy shot at Perth, i. 202.
- Sir William, of Tullibardine, comes from France to sue for favour to the Earl of Bothwell, ii. 265 ; ancestor of the Dukes of Atholl, *ibid.*, Note ; sent to search after the Earl of Bothwell, 729.

- Murray, Lieutenant-Colonel, of Ochertyre, author of a rare work entitled "Sketches of Scenes in Scotland," i. 191, Note.  
 Myreton, Patrick, publicly disputes in Edinburgh, iii. 31, 32.

## N

- NOAILLES, Mons., Envoy from France to Scotland, ii. 18 ; receives audience and answers, and returns to France, 25.  
 Norfolk, Duke of, enters Scotland with an army, but soon returns, i. 47, 49 ; is an English Commissioner in a treaty concluded at Greenwich, 72 ; arrives at Berwick to enter into a treaty with Scots Commissioners, 253, 257 ; which he concludes there with the Lords of the Congregation, 258-262 ; accuses Sir James Crofts of treachery, 276 ; writes to Lord Grey, and advises him to continue the siege of Leith, 277.  
 Northumberland, Earl of, an English Commissioner at the treaty of Upsettlington, i. 240 ; is watched, as being one of the heads of the Popish party in England, ii. 290 ; detains money belonging to Queen Mary, 369.  
 Norwich, Bishop of, an English Commissioner in Scotland, i. 139.

## O

- OCHILTREE, Lord, accompanies the Earl of Glencairn to Perth, i. 199 ; subscribes the new Bond or Covenant of the Congregation, 202 ; carries a letter to the Queen-Regent from the Congregation, 214, 216 ; is appointed to meet her Commissioners, 217 ; appointed to meet the Lords at Glasgow, 224 ; writes to the Queen-Regent, 228 ; takes part in her deprivation, 236 ; 238 ; goes to the West, 245 ; is one of the leaders of the army of the Congregation, 267 ; signs a ratification of the treaty of Berwick, 277 ; is in Parliament 1560, 312 ; signs a petition to Queen Elizabeth in favour of Arran, ii. 8 ; is present at Willock's admission to be Superintendent of Glasgow, 87 ; meets with other rebel Lords at Ayr, 358 ; and comes with them to Edinburgh, 365 ; takes part all along against the Queen, and is in arms against her at the battle of Langside, 816 ; subscribes the Book of Discipline, iii. 24.  
 Octavian, arrives at Leith with money, &c. from France, i. 226 ; is sent back for more help, 227.  
 Ogilvy, Alexander, of Boyne, is one of the assize on Bothwell's trial, ii. 546 ; signs a bond for Queen Mary's defence, &c., 809.  
 ——— James Lord, signs a ratification of the treaty of Berwick, i. 277 ; ancestor of the Earls of Airlie, 312, 326 ; severely wounded by Sir John Gordon of Finlater, ii. 154 ; signs a bond for Queen Mary's defence, &c., 809 ; was coming to assist her at Langside, but was too late, 818.  
 ——— James, of Balfour, and James, of Finlater, in ward in Edinburgh, ii. 156.  
 ——— John, of Inverquhar, one of the Congregation, i. 199, 314.  
 ——— Mrs Marion, i. 112.  
 Oliphant, Lawrence Lord, is one of the assize on Bothwell's trial, ii. 545 ; signs a bond for Queen Mary's defence, &c., 809.  
 O'Neal, Shan or John, a man of great interest in Ireland, ii. 260.

- Oration, or Petition of the Protestants of Scotland to the Queen-Regent, i. 178-180.
- Orders sent from England, i. 380.
- Orkney, Bishop of, see Reid.
- Ormiston, Lady, a favourer of heretics, i. 148.
- Osell, or Oysel, Mons. d', Ambassador from France, i. 133; delivers the Regalia of Scotland, in name of Queen Mary, to her mother the Queen-Dowager, 142; builds a fort at Eyemouth, 164; inadvertently carries some French troops and ordnance over the river Tweed, 165; is in several negotiations and engagements for the Queen-Regent, her daughter Mary Queen of Scots, and her husband the French King,—receives letters from the Congregation, 195; confers with some of the Congregation, 199; makes a truce, 207; signs the accommodation of the Links of Leith, 223; being enraged at the death of a French captain killed by Lord Lindsay, he pillages some Fife towns, 255; is denied access to the Queen-Regent on her death-bed, 278; receives a commission to meet the English Ambassadors on the Borders, 286; a copy of his commission from Francis and Mary, 307; leaves Scotland in the English ships, 309; ii. 21; his advice to Queen Mary, *ibid*; Buchanan's account of him, ii. 39, Note; sent by Queen Mary from France to England, to ask a safe-conduct for her, 40; returns without one, *ibid*; sent to Rome for a dispensation, 265.
- Otterburn, Sir Adam, of Redhall, a Scots Commissioner to England, i. 37; sent by King James V. to England to make his compliments, &c. to his uncle King Henry VIII., 41; is appointed to meet the French Ambassadors, 84; is Provost of Edinburgh, 115; sent by the Governor to the English General, *ibid*.

## P

- PANTER or Painter, David, Bishop of Ross, one of the Governor's Council, 70; Plenipotentiary for Scotland at a peace congress between France and England, 134; is a man of much interest at Court, and manages to get the Governor to consent to resign the Regency to the Queen-Dowager, 136, 139; for which he is rewarded with the Abbey of Poictou, 137; mentioned as one of the projectors of having an army of mercenaries, 163; is appointed to go to France to witness the Queen's marriage, &c., but does not go, 166; his death, and history, *ibid*.
- Parsonages, List of, in Scotland, iii. 391.
- Paussay, Mons. de la, gets intoxicated with *aqua composita*, ii. 403.
- Pelue or Pelleuce, Nicholas, Bishop of Amiens, arrives in Scotland from France as Legate *à latere* from the Pope, accompanied with some Doctors of the Sorbonne, i. 228; purges the High Church of Edinburgh from heretical pollutions, *ibid*; is appointed to meet the English Commissioners on the Borders, 286; copy of his commission, 306, 307; the order sent with him by Francis and Mary, 390-393; leaves Scotland in the English ships, 309, ii. 21.
- Percy, Sir Henry, one of the leaders of the English army into Scotland, i. 267; is an English Commissioner to a treaty on the Borders, 286; a letter from him concerning the affairs of Scotland, 364. See Earl of Northumberland.

- Perth, town of, the Cardinal and Governor hold a Court for condemning heresy in the, i. 98 ; its churches destroyed by Knox's rabble, 188-191 ; troubles in it, 202 ; held by the Congregation, 187, 198.
- Petrie, Mr Alexander, his history quoted, i. 246 ; iii. 133.
- Pinkie, battle of, i. 131.
- Pitcairn, Robert, Commendator of Dunfermline, one of Argyll's assessors on Bothwell's trial, ii. 540.
- Pope, entreated for succours by Scotland against England, i. 114 ; confirms Hamilton in the See of St Andrews by a Bull, 144 ; writes to Queen Mary to entertain well the Earl of Huntly, ii. 158 ; promises great sums of money to Queen Mary, 320. See Bull.
- Prayer, Book of Common, i. 154, 155 ; iii. 100, 141.
- Preston, conference at, i. 217.

## Q

- QUEEN-MOTHER, or Queen-Regent. See Mary Queen of Scotland.

## R

- RAILTON, Mr Knox's letter to, i. 395-397.
- Ramsay, Robert, accused by the General Assembly of saying that there was a mid-way between Popery and Protestantism, iii. 88.
- Randolph, Thomas, letter to, from Sir Ralph Sadler, i. 381 ; a letter in cypher from him to Sadler and Croft, 387 ; is resident Ambassador for Queen Elizabeth in Scotland, his instructions from his Mistress, ii. 15-18 ; delivers a letter from her to Queen Mary on her arrival in Scotland, 67 ; many letters by him to his Mistress and her Secretary Cecil, containing accounts of several occurrences in Queen Mary's Court and Council, and of the Civil and Ecclesiastical affairs of Scotland, with characters of several of the Scots Nobility, 68-71, 79-83, 85-89, 94-102, 109-132, 175-181 ; a severe reproof to the Scots Nobility for their abuse of their Queen, with several remarks on their actings and procedure, 111 ; abstract of several of his letters to Sir William Cecil, from 1st April 1563, 195-203, 208-212, 217-221, 224-228 ; his entire confidence in the Earl of Moray's service to the Queen of England, 203 ; takes notice of Queen Mary's propensity to justice, 221 ; is called to England by his Mistress, and sent back to Scotland with a sharp memorial from her to Queen Mary, 234 ; his letter to Queen Elizabeth, and letters and abstracts to Sir William Cecil, wherein he gives account of his negotiations with Queen Mary ;—with the substance of the conference with the Earl of Moray and Secretary Maitland ;—of her marriage with the Earl of Leicester ;—and of several of the private transactions, political occurrences, animosities, and divisions, &c. in Scotland ;—and of his being a complete tool for his mistress in fomenting mischief and rebellion in that Kingdom, 239-275, 291-321 ; is in concert with the factious Lords of Scotland against Queen Mary, and advises Cecil of the method to raise sedition and rebellion against her, 319, 330-339, 405 ; is ordered to assist Tamworth, whom Queen Elizabeth sent into Scotland, 355 ; instructed to confer with Queen Mary to compose the difference between her and the rebel Lords, 371 ; charged with falsehood, 378 ; is sent out of Scotland by order of Queen Mary, for assisting and corresponding with the rebels, 441, 442 ; supplies them with money, 443 ; some memorials sent by him to Scotland, 205, 213, 234.

Rapin de Thoyras, quotation from, ii. 5.

Raulet, Queen Mary's French secretary, ii. 259; displaced by Rizzio, 266.  
 Reid, Robert, Bishop of Orkney, a Scots Commissioner, i. 37, 139, 164; one of the Governor's Council, 70, 80; attends the Cardinal on a visitation of his Diocese, 98; sent to France to witness the Queen's marriage, 166; his fidelity approved of in Parliament, 167, 349-353; dies at Dieppe, 171.

Richardson, Sir Robert, an English priest, sent by King Henry VIII. into Scotland, i. 94; has a conference with Cardinal Beaton, 95; returns to England, *ibid*.

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Mr Robert, Master of the Mint, i. 219, 221; ii. 141; obliged to do open penance in Church, 212; commendator of St Mary's Isle, *ibid*; advances money to the Ambassadors to England, iii. 9.

Rizzio, David, an Italian, comes to Scotland with the Ambassador of the Duke of Savoy, and is employed as a musician to the Queen, and in writing her French letters, ii. 259, 266; notice of him in Randolph's letters, 291, 302; his favour sued by the Earl of Moray, who presents him with a diamond ring, 388; his death contrived, 393, 394; and is basely murdered in the Queen's presence, 407-410; Queen Mary's account of it, 411-423; Lord Ruthven's account of it, iii. 260-278; Acts and Proclamations consequent upon it, 280-284; the assassins pardoned, ii. 423.

Rochefaucault, Charles de la, Sieur de Randan, a French Commissioner in a Treaty between Scotland and England, i. 286; his domestics' liberty limited, 288; the Treaties in which he was engaged, 287-306; copy of his commission by Francis and Mary, 306-309.

Ronald, James, condemned and executed for heresy, i. 98.

Rookbie, or Rokeby, John, ii. 209.

Ross, Lord, assists the Archbishop of Glasgow in regaining his palace, i. 246; is one of the assize on Bothwell's trial, ii. 545, repairs to Queen Mary on her escape, 798; signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809; and is engaged for her at Langside, 812.

Roths, George Earl of, attends the interment of King James V., i. 55; is suspected of heresy, 99, Note; appointed by Parliament to go to France to witness the Queen's marriage, 166; approbation of his fidelity by the Parliament, 167, 349-353; dies at Dieppe, 172; his death there is questioned, *ibid*.

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Andrew Earl of, one of the leading men of the Congregation, takes part in the deposition of the Queen-Regent, i. 235; remains in Fife after the separation of the chiefs, 245; signs the ratification of the treaty of Berwick, 277; is in Parliament 1560, 312, 326; commanded to enter himself prisoner within the Castle of Dunbar, ii. 352; takes part with the rebels, 358, 365; is one of the assize on Bothwell's trial for Darnley's murder, 545; repairs to the Queen on her escape, 798; signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809; and is engaged for her at the battle of Langside, 816.

Rough, John, a Protestant preacher, entertained by the Earl of Arran, the Governor, i. 91; an account of him, *ibid*; is dismissed by Arran, 95; casts in his lot with the murderers of Cardinal Beaton in St Andrews Castle, 146.

Row, John, originally a friar at Rome, and sent as Pope's Nuncio into Scotland, but turns preacher, i. 494; is appointed by the Congregation

preacher at Perth, 310 ; appointed by the General Assembly to draw up the Book of Discipline, iii. 14, 15 ; is Moderator of the 16th Assembly, 187.

Rubay, appointed keeper of the Great Seal, and Chancellor, i. 160.

Russell, Francis Earl of Bedford, sent into France by Queen Elizabeth to condole with Queen Mary on the death of her husband, ii. 14 ; meets, by the appointment of the Queen of England, with the Earl of Moray, &c. at Berwick, to confer concerning Queen Mary's marriage with the Earl of Leicester, 243, 250 ; his account of the conference to Queen Elizabeth, 250-256 ; succours Moray, as it were without the secret knowledge of the English Queen, to avoid suspicion and blame by Queen Mary, 318 ; kindly entertains the rebel Lords at Carlisle, 377 ; asks Queen Mary for a safe-conduct, 476 ; sent by Queen Elizabeth to stand for her at the baptism of the Prince of Scotland, 477 ; his instructions, 477-483 ; her letter to him, 484 ; charged with a letter from Queen Mary to Queen Elizabeth, 489, 490 ; and with instructions, 491-494 ; has a rich present given him by Queen Mary, and departs home, 494, 495.

—— a Grey-Friar, condemned and executed for heresy, i. 18.

Rutherford, Mr John, Principal of St Salvador's College, St Andrews, iii. 72, 105.

Ruthven, Patrick, Lord, one of the Governor's Council, and appointed one of the keepers of the young Queen, i. 70, 85 ; is Provost of Perth, and displeases the Queen-Regent with an answer to a command from her, 186 ; repossessed of his office of Magistracy, 209 ; deputed by the Congregation to meet the Queen-Regent's Commissioners, 217 ; enters himself as a pledge for the performance of a treaty, 221 ; writes to the Queen-Regent, 228 ; chosen preses of a meeting of the Lords, 232 ; subscribes the Queen-Regent's deposition, 235, 238 ; is engaged in some skirmishing with the French troops, 253, 254 ; chosen by the Congregation as a Commissioner to England, 257 ; is one of those who draw up the treaty of Berwick, 255-262 ; is one of the leaders of the army of the Congregation, 267 ; his son is a hostage for the treaty of Berwick, *ibid* ; attests a copy of a commission, 309 ; is in Parliament 1560, 312, 326 ; is present at Willock's admission to be Superintendent of Glasgow, ii. 87 ; is accounted by Randolph a reputed enemy to virtue, 271, 272 ; is one of the principal actors in Rizzio's murder, 406, 411, 414 ; dies, 423 ; is an Ambassador to England, and goes in grand style, iii. 9 ; dictates an account of Rizzio's murder, &c. before his death, 260-278. Sederunts, *passim*.

—— William, Lord, signs a bond in favour of Bothwell's pretensions to the hand of Queen Mary, ii. 562, 569 ; appears against the Queen, 623 ; conducts her to her prison on Lochleven, 646 ; and takes part against her in all the proceedings of the associated Lords. See Glencairn and Lords.

Ruxbie, Christopher, complained of by Queen Elizabeth's Ambassador, as being harboured in Scotland, ii. 429 ; though secretly sent by that Queen as a spy, *ibid* ; gets access to Queen Mary by means of Bishop Leslie, 430 ; is discovered to be a spy, and humbly sues for Queen Mary's pardon, *ibid* ; she secretly keeps him, *ibid* ; Queen Elizabeth is informed of his apprehension, 436 ; 437, 438.

## S

- SADLER**, Sir Ralph, Ambassador from King Henry VIII. of England to King James V. of Scotland, to persuade him to break off connection with the Church of Rome, and to give him hope of being Henry's successor in the event of his son's death, i. 42-45 ; an extract from a letter of his, concerning the Court of King James V., 61 ; 63 ; is sent a second time into Scotland, 71 ; his commission and negotiations there, 77-79 ; desired to write to England for English Bibles, 92 ; told to attempt getting the Cardinal, the Governor, and the young Queen into his hands, and to send them prisoners into England, 122 ; a conference with him at Berwick, 242 ; his letters, 377-390 ; 393-395 ; 400.
- Salton**, Alexander, Lord, ii. 8.
- Sancto Gelasio**, Ludovick de, i. 139.
- Sandilands**, Sir James, of Calder, Lord St John, appointed one of the keepers of the young Queen, i. 70 ; styled Lord St John, 84, 85 ; is opposed to the raising of a mercenary army, and sent to the Queen-Regent on the subject, 162 ; presents some demands and supplications to the Queen-Regent, 181 ; signs a ratification of the treaty of Berwick, 277 ; is in Parliament 1560, 312, 326 ; sent into France with a copy of the Acts passed in that Parliament, to have them ratified, ii. 2 ; an account of him and of his Order, *ibid.* 3 ; is dismissed without an answer from the Queen, 4, 11 ; subscribes the Book of Discipline, iii. 24.
- Sands**, Andrew, a naval commander, i. 264.
- Sanquhar**, Lord, repairs to Queen Mary on her escape, ii. 798 ; signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809 ; and is in arms for her at the battle of Langside, 816 ; subscribes the Book of Discipline, iii. 24.
- Saville**, Sir Henry, takes the Solway Moss prisoners to London, i. 64.
- Scoon**, Abbey and Palace of, destroyed by the Reforming rioters, i. 209, 210.
- Scott**, Thomas, of Cambusmichael, Sheriff-Depute of Perth, condemned, ii. 423, Note.
- Scroop**, Lord, a commander of the English army, i. 267.
- Sir Henry, Warden of the West Marches, ii. 209.
- Sebastian**, one of Queen Mary's foreign domestics, suspected of being one of King Henry Darnley's murderers, ii. 530, 651, 652.
- Sederunts of Council**, i. 416, 418, 419, 422, 423, 424, 425, 428, 437, 438, 440, 450 ; ii. 104, 141, 153, 161, 163, 166, 222, 325, 339, 350, 354, 357, 358, 361, 372, 380, 424, 468, 579, 588, 590, 652, 713, 719, 727, 750 ; iii. 68, 77, 143, 159, 162, 218, 237, 239, 240, 243, 244, 246, 248, 252, 253, 255, 256, 257, 278, 279, 281, 282, 296, 315, 316, 324, 360, 364, 365, 367, 388, 389.
- Sempill**, Lord, sent to Stirling to the Queen-Mother, i. 120 ; sent by her to Perth to enquire into the cause of the riots by the Congregation there, 198 ; assists in regaining Archbishop Beaton's castle at Glasgow, 246 ; is one of the assize on the Earl of Bothwell's trial, ii. 545 ; signs an order for Queen Mary's imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, 643 ; and is in arms against her at Langside, 816. *Sederunts, passim.*
- Session**, Court of, see Justice.
- Seton**, Lord, made keeper of Cardinal Beaton in Blackness Castle, i. 67, 68 ; is one of the Governor's Council, 70 ; sent to Stirling with a message to the Queen-Dowager, 120 ; appointed by Parliament to go to France

- to witness Queen Mary's marriage, 166 ; returns, 172 ; his fidelity approved in Parliament, 173, 349-353 ; is Provost of Edinburgh, 212 ; assists Archbishop Beaton in regaining his palace at Glasgow, 246 ; entertains Queen Mary, 523 ; is in her army at Carberry Hill, 629 ; attempts her rescue from the rebel faction, 647 ; assists her to escape from Lochleven Castle, 797 ; signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809 ; and is in arms for her at the battle of Langside, 816.
- Seton, Alexander, a friar, turns preacher, i. 15 ; 332-334.
- Mary, one of the Queen's Marys, i. 134.
- Village of, burnt by the English, i. 116.
- Seury, the French Ambassador in England, asks Queen Elizabeth to recall her ships from Scotland, i. 256 ; part of an answer by Queen Elizabeth to him, 410.
- Seymour, Edward, Earl of Hertford, afterwards Duke of Somerset, is General of the north parts of England, lands his army above Leith, i. 114, 115 ; which he burns, 116 ; ravages the country, and retires to England, *ibid* ; re-enters Scotland, and does great damage in Merse and Teviotdale, 119 ; enters Scotland a third time with a formidable army, 130 ; gives the Scots army a total rout at Pinkie, 131 ; and burns Leith, 132.
- Seyton, ——— of Parbroath, charged to enter himself in ward, ii. 356.
- Simson, Sir Duncan, a priest, burnt at Edinburgh, i. 17.
- Sidney, Sir Henry, President of the Council in Wales, sent by Queen Elizabeth into Scotland, with instructions, ii. 147, 148 ; his character, 151.
- Scheldon, Lord of, sent from France to Queen Mary with great promises, ii. 218.
- Sinclair, Lord, signs a bond for Queen Mary's defence, &c. ii. 809.
- of Roslin, signs a bond for Queen Mary's defence, &c. ii. 809 ; and is in arms for her at Langside, 816.
- Mr Henry, Dean of Glasgow, Vice-President of the Court of Session, improves the Laws relating to the administration of Civil Justice, i. 161 ; is a Scots Commissioner to a treaty at Carlisle, 164 ; and again at Upsettlington, 240 ; made Bishop of Ross, 161, Note ; and Lord-President of the Court of Session, and a Privy-Councillor, ii. 114 ; an account of him, 223.
- Mr John, Dean of Restalrig, and Bishop of Brechin, and Lord-President of the Court of Session, i. 248 ; marries Lord Darnley to Queen Mary, ii. 344.
- John, a fictitious name of John Knox, which see.
- Oliver, a son of the family of Roslin, appointed General at Solway Moss, i. 51 ; is in London with other prisoners taken there, 64.
- Solway Moss, battle of, i. 52 ; the prisoners taken there are sent to London, 64 ; and return under obligations to King Henry VIII. of England, 65, 66.
- Somerville, Lord, a messenger, to King Henry VIII., i. 80, 83 ; but is apprehended and imprisoned, 81 ; is deputed by the Queen-Regent to meet the Commissioners of the Congregation, 217 ; signs a ratification of the treaty of Berwick, 277 ; is in Parliament 1560, 312, 321 ; repairs to Queen Mary on her escape, ii. 798 ; signs a bond for her defence, &c. 809 ; and is in arms for her at Langside, 812, 816.
- James, of Cambusnethan, one of the assize on Bothwell's trial, ii. 545.

- Spence, Black Mr John, accused of King Henry Darnley's murder, ii. 519.
- Spottiswoode, Mr John, Superintendent of Lothian, i. 311 ; iii. 13 ; appointed to draw up the Book of Discipline, iii. 14, 15 ; is engaged in a controversy, 33 ; sent by the Kirk to Queen Mary to testify their joy on the birth of the Prince, and to request her to allow him to be baptized after the Reformed manner, 136 ; his behaviour before the Queen, *ibid* ; his admonition to Professors within his bounds, 199-201.
- John, Archbishop of St Andrews, historian ; his account of various matters, with his remarks, i. 18, 19 ; 144, 148, 149, 193, 219, 233, 254, 263, 268, 269, 280, 317, 320 ; ii. 5, 200, 228, 316, 627 ; his account of the change made in the Church, iii. 21.
- St Andrews, Castle of, seized by Cardinal Beaton's murderers, whom they butcher in it, i. 108 ; kept by them, and shut up against the Governor, 124 ; besieged, but with small success, 126 ; receives supplies from the King of England, *ibid* ; the siege raised by treaty, 126, 127 ; the garrison live in great debauchery, and commit much depredation, 127 ; besieged again by the Lord Governor and the Captain-General of the French galleys, 129 ; surrendered on conditions, and demolished by order of the Privy-Council, 129, 130 ; Cathedral of, &c. destroyed by Knox and his mob, 204, 205 ; its Provost takes part in the deposition of the Queen-Regent, 236 ; the town, along with the castle, intended to be fortified and made a place for landing French troops, 253 ; its destruction vowed by the French, 264 ; visited by Queen Mary, ii. 83 ; iii. 358 ; the inhabitants request Knox to be given them for their Minister, which is refused, iii. 127 ; rents of its Bishopric and religious houses, 370, 374, 375 ; 510.
- Stark, Helen, drowned at Perth for heresy, i. 98.
- Stephen, Alexander, ii. 269.
- Stewart, Sir Alexander, of Garlies, i. 314 ; predecessor to the Earl of Galloway, is one of Huntly's cautioners, ii. 352.
- Lord James. See James, Prior of St Andrews.
- James, Earl of Moray. See Moray.
- James, Abbot of St Colme's Inch, i. 267 ; signs a ratification of the Treaty of Berwick, 277 ; is in Parliament 1560, 313 ; afterwards Lord Doun, intends to proceed to France, ii. 101 ; his errand thither, 112 ; is bearer of a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Mary, 136 ; created a Knight, along with others, by Lord Darnley, 289 ; iii. 5.
- John, Duke of Albany, secluded from the Regency, i. 32, 33.
- John, Earl of Lennox, is in favour with King James V., i. 35.
- Lord John, Prior of Coldingham, i. 313 ; his history, ii. 99, Note ; his unbecoming behaviour, 119 ; and rioting, 129, iii. 48 ; his marriage, ii. 132 ; goes to the North holding Justice Courts, 201 ; and dies there, 202 ; Knox's account of him, *ibid*, Note.
- Robert, Bishop of Caithness, i. 87 ; turned Protestant, iii. 71.
- Lord Robert, Abbot of Holyrood-House, signs a ratification of the treaty of Berwick, i. 277 ; in Parliament 1560, 313 ; his history, ii. 99, Note, 112 ; his light conduct, 119 ; is married, 131 ; goes to the North holding Justice Courts, 201, 202 ; his character by Randolph, 272 ; made Earl of Orkney, 301 ; is an Ambassador to England, and goes in grand style, iii. 9.
- Robert, a priest, boldly upholds the Mass, ii. 87.

- Stewart, William, Bishop of Aberdeen, sent as a Commissioner to England, i. 37 ; is one of the Governor's Council, 70.
- Stirling, George, Keeper of Dunbarton Castle, i. 117.
- Town of, i. 211 ; visited by Queen Mary, ii. 83 ; the Prince of Scotland baptized there, 484, and crowned, 719.
- Stow, Mr., an English historian, i. 116, 137, 267, 270 ; ii. 263.
- Strachan, James, boldly advocates the ancient faith, iii. 32.
- Straiton, David, burnt at Edinburgh for heresy, i. 16.
- Strozzi, Leon, Knight of Malta, comes to besiege St Andrews Castle, i. 129 ; comes to Leith with ships, and takes the Queen-Dowager to France, 135.
- Sutherland, Earl of, accompanies the Queen-Dowager to France, i. 135 ; takes part in her deposition, 235 ; is wounded in a skirmish with the French, &c., 254 ; is in Parliament 1560, 312 ; signs a petition to Queen Elizabeth in favour of Arran, ii. 8 ; account of him, 117, Note ; 176 ; strives to procure the Queen's mercy, 197 ; is forfeited, 199, 200 ; is allowed to return into Scotland, 352 ; signs a bond in defence, &c. of Queen Mary's person and right, 809.
- Sweden, King of, sends an Ambassador to Scotland, ii. 203.

## T

- TAMWORTH, John, comes from Queen Elizabeth with a message to Queen Mary, ii. 354 ; account of his reception, behaviour, return, &c., 354-356 ; Queen Elizabeth intends sending him again into Scotland, but refrains, 483, 484 ; the message which he brought, iii. 223-228 ; answers to the same, 228-232.
- Tetzel, John, Sub-Commissary under the Archbishop of Mentz, i. 9.
- Thermes, Mons. de, Commander of the French forces in Scotland, i. 133, 135.
- Thirleby, Thomas, Bishop of Westminster, i. 72.
- Thornton, Mr James, Chanter of Moray, ii. 428.
- Throgmorton, Mr Nicholas, Ambassador of the Queen of England at the Court of France, solicits Queen Mary to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, ii. 26-35 ; gives some light to the affairs of Scotland by his letter to the Queen, 28-31 ; he congratulates Queen Mary on her recovery, in name of his Mistress, and demands a ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, 31 ; communicates to his Sovereign the returns and answers he got, and several other incidents, 31-35 ; and likewise acquaints her of the conference he had with the Queen of Scots, and the reasons that Princess assigned for not ratifying the treaty, 40-54 ; is civilly used by the Cardinal of Lorraine, when made prisoner at the battle of Dreux by the Duke of Guise, 209 ; sent into Scotland, 278 ; his letters to Queen Elizabeth and her secretary, Cecil, &c. from Scotland, concerning the purport of his embassy, particularly of Queen Mary's marriage to Lord Darnley, which he advises Queen Elizabeth to agree to in an amicable manner, 278-291 ; his integrity and honesty, 378 ; he favours Queen Mary's title to the Crown of England, and writes to her concerning her rebellious subjects, 383-388 ; gives a good and honest testimony to Queen Mary's prudence and discretion, 383 ; comes to Scotland with instructions, &c. to Queen Mary and the associated Lords, 666, 667-676 ; but is not allowed to see Queen Mary, 677 ; answer of

the Scottish Lords to him, 677-683 ; writes several of the occurrences in Scotland in letters to his Mistress and Cecil, 684-700 ; the Scots Lords second answer to him, 701, 702 ; Queen Elizabeth's letter to him, 702-706 ; his letters continued, 734-747, 757-763 ; a present offered him by the Lords, which he refuses, 761 ; he acted an honest and a just part in his negotiations, 761.

Tregunwell, John, an English Commissioner, i. 37.

Trent, Decrees of the Council of, received by the Scottish Clergy in a Council held at Linlithgow, i. 149 ; an account of the proceeding of the Council, ii. 186, Note.

Tunstall, Cuthbert, Bishop of Durham, an English Ambassador to meet the Scots Commissioners at York, i. 49 ; again at Dunse, 163 ; again at Carlisle, 164 ; and again at Upsettlington, 240.

Tyrie, James, a Jesuit, disputes with Knox, iii. 33.

## U

UPSETTLINGTON, Treaty made at the village of, i. 240.

## V

VILLEGAGNON, Mons. de, Commander of some French ships, takes Queen Mary to France, i. 134.

Villemont, comes to Queen Mary from France, ii. 176, 177, 391.

Villeroy, sent by the Court of France to Queen Mary, but is denied access to her, ii. 665.

Vilmort, a Frenchman, made Comptroller of the Royal revenues by the Queen-Regent, i. 160.

## W

WALLACE, Adam, burnt for heresy, i. 148.

Wardlaw, Walter, a Scottish Cardinal, i. 112.

Wemyss, John, sent to remonstrate with the Queen-Regent, i. 162.

——— Town of, pillaged by the French, i. 255.

Welch, a private intelligencer of Queen Mary in the Catholic interest, ii. 240, 243.

Wentworth, Sir Thomas, conducts the Solway Moss prisoners to London, i. 64.

Wharton, Lord, an English Commissioner at Carlisle, i. 87 ; 164.

——— Sir Thomas, English Warden, leader of the English forces at Solway Moss, i. 51 ; sent into Scotland with English troops, in company with Lennox, 118.

Whitehead, John, a pirate, complained of by Queen Elizabeth for being harboured in Scotland, ii. 67, 71.

Whisky, see *Aqua composita*.

Williams, John, a Protestant preacher, harboured by the Earl of Arran, i. 91 ; but is dismissed, 95.

Willock, John, a Franciscan, turns Protestant preacher, i. 150 ; preaches in Edinburgh and Leith, 151, 225 ; cited by the Queen-Regent to appear at Stirling, 187 ; accuses the Earl of Argyll and the Lord James of unfaithfulness, 200 ; gives his opinion concerning the deposition of the Queen-Regent, 232, 233 ; appointed Superintendent of Glasgow, 311 ;

- is admitted such in the presence of a number of the Nobility, ii. 87 ; iii. 7, 10 ; is appointed to draw up the Book of Discipline, 15 ; disputes with Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel, 33, 396-404 ; is moderator of an Assembly, 89 ; having gone to England, the General Assembly write to him asking his return, 195-198.
- Winram, John, Prior of Portmoak, and sub-Prior of St Andrews, appointed Superintendent of Fife, i. 311 ; is in Parliament 1560, 313 ; in which he is appointed one of the Lords of the Articles, iii. 5 ; signs a Petition to Queen Elizabeth in favour of Arran, ii. 8 ; is appointed to draw up the Book of Discipline, iii. 14, 15.
- Winter, Mr William, admiral of the English navy, invades Scotland, i. 256 ; his instructions, 408, 409.
- Winzet, or Wingate, schoolmaster at Linlithgow, disputes with Knox, &c., iii. 33 ; his tracts, 412-508.
- Wishart, George, a famous preacher of heresy, apprehended by the Cardinal, i. 101, 102 ; and condemned to be burnt at St Andrews by the Clergy, *ibid* ; account of him and his death, 103-106 ; no notice is taken by contemporary historians of the ridiculous prophecy ascribed to him at the stake, 106 ; was in the plot against Cardinal Beaton's life, 109, 110.
- of Pitarrow, sent with a message to the Queen-Regent, i. 215-218 ; is a hostage for the performance of certain articles, 221 ; takes part in the Queen-Regent's deposition, 235 ; is one of the Congregation's Commissioners at the treaty of Berwick, 257, 258, 262 ; is in Parliament 1560, 314, 326 ; is comptroller of the Queen's household, ii. 366.
- Wood, John, of the Largo family, commanded to enter himself in ward, ii. 356.
- Wotton, Nicholas, Dean of Canterbury and York, an English Commissioner at a treaty of peace between England, France, and Scotland, i. 239, 286-295.

## Y

- YAIR, Henry, a priest, executed for Darnley's murder, ii. 424.

## ERRATA.

- For *Westminster*, Vol. i. page 72, 3d line from the bottom ; read *Winchester*.
- For page 50, &c. Book III. page 6, Note 2 ; read page 150, [Vol. i. page 322].
- For 278, Vol. iii. page 221, 10th line from the top ; read 277.
- For *or*, Vol. iii. page 405, Note ; read *and*.



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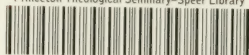
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